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## Exploring iconic images created by the Ministry of Information and their relation to cultural memory in Britain

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**Exploring iconic images created by the Ministry of Information  
and their relation to cultural memory in Britain**

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Submitted to King's College London for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

February 2019

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## Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Simon Tanner, for his valuable support, encouragement and constructive advice throughout my research. His willingness to give his time so generously has been very much appreciated. I would also like to thank him for the many discussions we have shared which have stimulated my ideas and for all the academic opportunities he has opened to me over the course of this PhD.

I would also like to thank my second supervisor, Dr Stuart Dunn, who has offered useful feedback and advice throughout my research. I would also particularly like to thank him for his initial interest in my early research ideas which unlocked opportunities for me in the Department of Digital Humanities at King's College London.

I am grateful for financial support for this research which comes from the Arts and Humanities Research Council. This funding was awarded in conjunction with the research project 'A Publishing and Communications History of the Ministry of Information, 1939-45'. I would like to thank everyone involved in this project who has helped and advised me during my research. Most importantly I would like to thank Professor Simon Eliot, Dr Henry Irving, Dr Marc Wiggam and Dr Hollie Price for their kind support and encouragement.

I am particularly grateful to Mark Dunton and his colleagues at the National Archives for their practical support, enthusiasm and encouragement, particularly during the data collection stages of my research.

I would like to thank Professor Jane Winters for her constructive suggestions and advice early in the process of this research and for her continued support throughout. Also, my gratitude goes to Sandra Elliott for opening up opportunities to me which have shaped my academic experience and ideas.

I would like to express my gratitude to researchers working with the Digital Methods Initiative. In particular, my thanks go to Dr Jonathan Gray for his constructive suggestions and guidance.

I would also like to thank members of the Cultural Memory Reading Group at King's College London for their contributions to the development of my ideas early on in my research. In particular, I would like to thank Aleksandra Kubica for her support and advice.

I am grateful to staff at The Mass Observation Archive at The Keep, University of Sussex for their assistance in my research.

My sincere thanks also go to those organisations and people who enabled me to bring my research to members of the public, including staff at Ealing Broadway Shopping Centre, the Museum of Croydon, Croydon Central Library, Nottingham Central Library and King's College London and, in particular, Rob Shakespeare, Heather Silvester and Liza Fortes.

I would particularly like to thank all those who generously gave their time to participate in the research, by completing a survey or taking part in an interview. Without you, this research would not have been possible.

Finally, I would like to thank my wonderful husband Abbas, my parents Rob and Maggi, and my brother Joseph, for their ideas, advice and thought-provoking conversation and most importantly for offering me constant support throughout my academic career and the writing of this thesis. For this I will be forever grateful.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Materials created by the British Ministry of Information (MoI) during the Second World War still have an influence in modern British culture and this thesis investigates how and why. The motivation to conduct the research detailed in this thesis developed out of a research project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), ‘A Publishing and Communications History of the Ministry of Information, 1939-45’ undertaken by the Institute of English Studies in collaboration with the Department of Digital Humanities at King’s College London. This project investigated how the MoI approached its communications and publishing objectives during the Second World War. It involved detailed study of the structure of the MoI, the people involved in the publishing process and the publishing outputs.

The MoI was established by the British government on 4 September 1939, the day after Britain declared war on Germany. It was created to control the flow of information to the British people and to allies and enemies abroad. It was responsible for managing news censorship, issuing guidance to the press, informing British people about important issues, giving them specific instructions and improving and maintaining morale on the home front (McLaine 1979; Balfour 1979; Welch 2016; Holman 2008; Irving 2014). Its role also extended abroad, as it produced materials to foster relationships between Britain and its overseas territories and allied nations, as well as materials for the RAF to drop over enemy countries. It approached these tasks by leveraging a wide variety of different media including pamphlets, posters, books, magazines, exhibitions, films and radio broadcasts.

Some outputs of the MoI are still reproduced and known by people today. This fact became a fundamental stimulus for the development of this doctoral research project. While the larger collaborative project examined the MoI’s outputs and their creation and reception during the Second World War, the area of interest that underpinned this doctoral research was the longer-term influence of these outputs. I wanted to understand why certain materials produced by the MoI for specific war-related publicity aims are still produced in the twenty-first century and are recognised and remembered by people with no direct link to the Second World War period. Here there seemed to be a missing link between the history of the MoI and its published materials and the role of these outputs in present-day British culture; this is where this thesis contributes.

Several questions were developed through consideration of this area of interest. What is the role of MoI materials in modern British culture and society? How do these materials fit within the many years of experience and memory of British people? Why have some materials become famous while others are forgotten? Due to the vast quantity of MoI material available for study, the focus of this study was narrowed to include only static visual materials produced by the MoI, since these are frequently republished and generally more well-known than other media forms. To understand these visual materials and address the questions raised above, the research required connections to be drawn between images, the interpretation of meaning in images, cultural memory, mediated memory and Second World War myths. Discussion of these concepts in the literature review in Chapter 2 provides the theoretical underpinning for this research.

Another influence for the research design was the awareness of the term ‘iconic’ as one often used to describe historical and cultural images and MoI images in particular. By investigating why certain images become famous and others do not, it seemed a suitable opportunity to fully interrogate the meaning and application of the term ‘iconic image’ when used in reference to MoI images. The history and definition of the term ‘iconic’ is discussed in the literature review and throughout this thesis and the data from the research process is considered in reference to this term, contributing to the establishment of a more accurate and applicable definition.

The structure of this thesis begins with the literature review in Chapter 2. In this section, literature on the history of the MoI and its outputs is discussed, followed by a review of archival material relating to the MoI and a review of the archival locations of MoI images (2.1). Then, the literature review focuses on theoretical understandings of images: how meaning is made and interpreted in images, the issue of audience agency in interpretation, power in images, definitions of ‘iconic images’ and the role of images in online media (2.2). Following this section, the literature on memory is reviewed and discussed in detail, focusing on the connections between collective, individual and cultural memory, the role of media in memory, memory of events not experienced directly, generational differences and nostalgia (2.3). The literature review ends with discussion of myth and propaganda in relation to the Second World War and the influence of propaganda in the development of these myths (2.4).

This review provides the theoretical underpinning for the clarification of specific research questions and the discussion and selection of research methods for the study. The research questions were:

1. What remembering processes are revealed when individuals encounter MoI images?
2. How and why are MoI images recognised and remembered?
3. How are MoI images interpreted?
4. What causes some MoI images to be defined as iconic?

The research occurred over four distinct phases, each involving one core method. The methods used are content analysis, survey, oral history interviews and digital methods. In Chapter 3, the theoretical framework is outlined (3.1) which forms the basis for understanding and applying these methods. The four-phase structure is then discussed to show how each method fits into the structure (3.2). Finally, each of the four methodological approaches and their implementation is discussed in detail (3.3). In Chapters 4 to 7, each phase of the research is covered in detail.

In Chapter 4, the exploratory phase is introduced and discussed. This phase involved content analysis of the responses to a 2009 Mass Observation (MO) Project Directive on the subject of the Second World War. The results of this analysis provided useful preparatory information on remembering processes, survey design and which MoI campaigns were most commonly remembered. These findings directly influenced the design of the following survey phase.

The survey phase is explored in Chapter 5. This phase of research involved the distribution of an online and printed survey to volunteers, which asked them to respond to a set of five MoI images. This provided valuable data on reactions to and memories and interpretations of the images. This data assisted in developing the approach for the oral history interviews conducted in the interview phase.

Chapter 6 details the process and findings of the interview phase, which was designed to expand on the findings of the survey phase. In this phase of research, sixteen in-person interviews were conducted with volunteers. Volunteers were shown ten MoI images and asked about their interpretation of the images, their related memories and emotions and thoughts on the use of the term 'iconic' in relation to the images. This phase provided the bulk of the data which addressed my research questions.

In Chapter 7, the research conducted in the digital phase is explored. This research process was designed to further expand on the data collected in the previous phases and move the focus of the research away from self-reported attitudes and memories relating to the MoI images and towards actual uses of the MoI images in online media. The research involved



the use of digital methods, specifically reverse image lookup and web histories, to locate versions of the MoI images republished on websites and analyse how they have been used and why.

Due to the time constraints of the interview research process, just ten images were included in the interview phase. This restricted scope allowed in-depth discussion of the memory processes and interpretations to be achieved, even if the findings were less easily generalised to a broader range of images. The scope of the study was also restricted to British cultural memory and so included only research participants living in the United Kingdom who had lived in the country for ten or more years.

The results of these four phases of research provided a comprehensive set of data from which to draw clear conclusions on the role of the MoI images in British cultural memory and the definition and application of the term ‘iconic’ in relation to these images. Conclusions drawn during each phase of research are explored in their respective chapters. The overarching conclusions based on the findings of all four phases addressing the research questions are detailed in Chapter 8.

All data supporting this study are openly available at <https://doi.org/10.18742/rdm01-483> and are described in the appendices.

## Chapter 2: Literature review

The starting point for this study was the British Ministry of Information (MoI) and its propaganda materials. This literature review therefore begins with discussion of the existing literature on the history of the MoI, its activities and its propaganda campaigns. The focus then turns to the theoretical literature on the study of images—including digital images used on the internet—and the study of memory, key concepts for this research. Finally, these concepts are considered together in light of literature on the cultural memory and myths surrounding the Second World War in Britain.

### 2.1 The Ministry of Information

The most comprehensive study of the function and output of the MoI is Ian McLaine's *Ministry of Morale*, published in 1979 (McLaine 1979). Other works have included discussion of the MoI as part of a wider study of propaganda, wartime morale or cultural memory of the Second World War. Notable among these are Michael Balfour's *Propaganda in war, 1939-1945* and the work of Temple Willcox on British propaganda (Balfour 1979; Willcox 1983, 1984). In studies of Second World War memory, the MoI is sometimes underrepresented. MoI campaigns are referred to individually and used as examples to support arguments, but the internal processes behind their creation and dissemination are sometimes neglected. This may be due to an interest in the reception of cultural material in years following the war superseding interest in the circumstances of the production of those materials during the war.

In his 1979 book, McLaine considers the concept of 'morale' with the aim of understanding how morale on the home front has become a positive myth in British culture. One of the key objectives of the MoI was to maintain and improve morale and McLaine aims to uncover why the MoI has acquired a reputation of incompetence, while British morale during the war is generally considered to have been good (McLaine 1979). He highlights examples of the MoI's failures, particularly during its early years, between 1939 and 1941, and argues that many of the initial failures of the MoI were not entirely its own fault, but rather were a result of conflicting aims and decisions between it and the other service ministries. As the conduit for government communication with the people, the MoI was first to be blamed. This early period was also marked by a chaos caused by the government's (and in particular Chamberlain's) lack of enthusiasm for the aims of the MoI. McLaine argues that the MoI was a 'victim of the lassitude which characterised the government's preparation for the prosecution of the war' (McLaine 1979, 18).

However, regarding the more fundamental failures in decision-making of the MoI, McLaine argues that the propagandists misunderstood the British public due to their own class backgrounds and their unsuccessful propaganda efforts were caused by this misunderstanding. The first poster issued by the MoI is the first and clearest example of this, with the slogan ‘your courage, your cheerfulness, your resolution will bring us victory’. McLaine suggests that the poster was unsuccessful because ‘the public cynically read into the poster the implication that sacrifices would be made by the many for the few’ (McLaine 1979, 31). This example demonstrates the nuanced interpretations made by the British public of propaganda materials and McLaine goes on to suggest that all efforts of the MoI to use propaganda to directly improve morale with such stark statements were inherently unsuccessful for the same reason.

Other examples of the MoI’s less than successful propaganda include the Silent Column campaign, one of several initiatives to discourage gossip, rumour and the disclosure of secrets. McLaine argues that, in contrast to posters designed by Fougasse (Cyril Kenneth Bird) for the Careless Talk Costs Lives campaign, which were understated and humorous and therefore generally positively-received, the Silent Column campaign was far more damaging to morale (McLaine 1979, 82–83). The campaign encouraged the belief that all rumour or negative opinions of the war were dangerous and should be suppressed and people should report one another to the police. This, combined with the targeting and internment of foreign nationals in Britain, created an ‘atmosphere of suspicion unconducive to national unity’ (McLaine 1979, 75). McLaine argues that these examples demonstrate that the propagandists had the mistaken idea that the British public would inherently bow to authority due to their obsession with class differences.

McLaine goes on to consider how the MoI began to function more effectively following the appointment of Brendan Bracken as Minister for Information in July 1941. Bracken had the support of Churchill and stood up for the decisions of the MoI against the government and the MoI began to learn from its own mistakes during his tenure. Despite McLaine’s more positive assessment of the MoI’s later years, his overall outlook is negative. The book includes far more detailed emphasis on the examples of failure of the early years than the work of the MoI after 1941. This view of the MoI as an example of British governmental and administrative incompetence, particularly in its early years, is one that is reflected in other works. Temple Willcox has written articles on the pre-war planning and functioning of the MoI and dwells on the fractious relationships between

the individuals involved that damaged the MoI's ability to operate efficiently (Willcox 1983).

Michael Balfour's study of British and German propaganda draws heavily on his own experience to explore the development and effectiveness of propaganda with close attention to the administrative processes in which he was involved (Balfour 1979). He worked as a Temporary Principal in the General Division of the MoI between 1939 and 1942 and then from 1942 as Assistant Director of Intelligence in the Political Warfare Executive and Psychological Warfare Divisions of Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force (Miall 1995). In another article, he uses his own experience to criticise interpretations made by McLaine, accusing him of showing 'inadequate historical imagination' in assuming 'that any unblinkered person could have realized then what only became evident later' (Balfour 1980, 137). In particular, he disagrees with McLaine's assessment that some mistakes were the result of class prejudice or deliberate deception on the part of the MoI (Balfour 1980, 136–37). Balfour's assessment of the MoI's early failures rely more on the internal structural and organisational problems; his own experience enables him to give more of an insight into the atmosphere of pragmatism at the MoI. For example, he disputes McLaine's suggestion that MoI officials learned from previous campaigns, instead arguing that high staff turnover and the lack of deliberate sharing of documentation meant that new officials were not very aware of the work of their predecessors (Balfour 1980, 138). Despite differences in interpretation, both Balfour and McLaine share the general interpretation of the MoI as an ineffective body in its early years, even if this ineffectiveness was the result of different factors. They agree that the MoI's propaganda then became more effective in later years, again for different reasons.

The increased focus on the failures of the MoI may be in some degree due to the interpretation of contemporaries. In 1941, Cedric Larson, who worked in the Morale Division of the US War Department, published an article for *The Public Opinion Quarterly* assessing the work of the MoI so far. He presents notable examples of mistakes made by the MoI caused by the conflicting concerns of censoring and disseminating information (Larson 1941). He also details the debates occurring at the time over the size of the MoI's staff and its bureaucratic nature. Larson presents the same notorious decisions of the MoI that were being criticised in the British press during those early years of the war; he even explains his inclusion of certain events in the article for their 'vivid portrayal of the confusion which characterized Senate House' (Larson 1941, 420).

Writing when he is, it is also natural for Larson to detail the improvements being made to the MoI at the time and to look forward to Brendan Bracken's leadership with optimism, suggesting that 'Brendan Bracken's close personal friendship with Prime Minister Winston Churchill should mean a more harmonious relationship between the War administration, the people, and the world' (Larson 1941, 431). This contemporary account typifies the narrative of transformation from failure to success that is found in many later studies.

Some historians have chosen to reassess the effectiveness of the MoI by taking a wider view and instead of focusing on the establishment of the MoI and its early years, focusing on the legacy of the MoI and its later years. In *Persuading the People*, David Welch reflects on some of the early failures of the MoI, including the 'Your Courage' poster referred to above, and describes the establishment of the MoI as a period of 'chaos and confusion' (Welch 2016, 13–15). However, he also argues that the MoI 'made considerable progress during the final year of peace' (Welch 2016, 13). Welch takes a positive attitude to the achievements of the MoI which, he argues, were the result of continuous 'dismantling and rebuilding' (Welch 2016, 17).

James Chapman discusses the films produced by the MoI and also presents a positive image of improvement and creativity in the MoI's output. He argues that, while it is clear that films were considered valuable as propaganda at the time, the histories of the MoI published by McLaine and Balfour neglect this aspect of the MoI's work (Chapman 1998, 1–5). Chapman argues that the process of film production was relatively smooth and creative and different kinds of film practice were employed. He also counters the argument that MoI propaganda was elitist and paternalistic and suggests that the MoI's film propaganda was the result of more complex negotiations between the different producers and the people. Chapman states that 'in adopting as its main theme the idea of a People's War, film propaganda was as much responding to the mood of the country as it was trying to determine it' (Chapman 1998, 252–54).

Mariel Grant argues that academic research has neglected the later years of the MoI because 'it was wound up quickly with little public debate about the matter' (Grant 1999, 50). Contemporaries were interested in the early years of the MoI due to its novelty and its mistakes; they were less interested in assessing its effectiveness at the end of the war. Grant focuses her attention on the overlooked area of the MoI's role in the development of Britain's information services after the end of the war, arguing that 'the MOI is best seen not as a dead end but as part of a transition' (Grant 1999, 50). The Central Office of

Information (CoI) was created after the MoI was closed down in March 1946, in order to preserve staff and some of its functions under a different name, and this new body was able to benefit directly from the wartime experience of the MoI (Grant 1999).

Efforts to reassess the achievements of the MoI have been realised in the collaborative research project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), of which this PhD research study was a part. The project ‘A Publishing and Communications History of the Ministry of Information, 1939-45’ was a collaboration between the Institute of English Studies and the Department of Digital Humanities at King’s College London. It was designed to approach the MoI from a communications history perspective, investigating the links between all those involved in the publishing process and audiences (MOI Digital 2014). The project was led by Simon Eliot, with contributions from Henry Irving among others, and a monograph is being prepared at the time of writing. Henry Irving has written about the constructive role of the MoI in British publishing history, arguing that its publishing activities evolved and improved over time and that it used ‘ground-breaking market research to better understand its readership’ (Irving 2016, 12). The project is a continuation of the recent reappraisal of the MoI’s activities and level of effectiveness described above. It looks at the work of the MoI more holistically, as opposed to focusing on the administrative problems in the early years, and highlights the creativity, adaptation and innovation of those working for the MoI during the Second World War. This research takes this more balanced appraisal of the MoI as a starting point for considering how the MoI’s published materials have had long-term impacts.

### 2.1.1 SPECIFIC MINISTRY OF INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS

Some of the most detailed analyses of the creation and dissemination of the MoI’s propaganda exist in the form of in-depth studies of particular campaigns. The anti-rumour campaigns have received attention from scholars as some of the best examples of the MoI’s use of humour in propaganda. They also demonstrate the MoI’s failures and improvements in the design of campaign material. In one article, Jo Fox explores the tensions in British society that were heightened by the anti-rumour campaigns. She describes how a sense of British identity was nurtured both by the successful Fougasse posters and in reaction to the disliked and divisive Silent Column campaign (Fox 2012). She argues that ‘while there were tensions within the official attempts to condition a “people’s community” through overt propaganda campaigns, it was paradoxically in response to those campaigns...that the power of the People’s War idea emerged’ (Fox 2012, 966). By conducting a detailed analysis of one specific set of propaganda images

and their reception, Fox is able to suggest a more nuanced narrative for how the myth of the People's War developed, rather than just making assumptions based on a broad interpretation of wartime culture.

In his 2010 book, James Taylor also focuses on the Careless Talk Costs Lives campaign images, but from the perspective of the work of Fougasse. He situates the posters in the context of Fougasse's earlier work, existing poster design conventions, the propaganda aims of the MoI and the more general cultural context. For example, he argues that the Careless Talk Costs Lives campaign was designed to fit into a context where spy fiction was increasing in popularity (Taylor 2010, 50). Taylor takes care to draw in detailed information about the campaigns and posters that is often neglected by broader studies of propaganda. He considers the size of the posters and the conditions of their display, as well as public responses to the campaigns gleaned from Mass Observation (MO) surveys (Taylor 2010). Again, with a more detailed focus on a smaller set of campaigns, Taylor avoids generalising about the effects of propaganda on morale, memory or myth.

Dig for Victory is another campaign that has attracted increased attention. Franklin Ginn's book, *Domestic Wild*, explores the history of suburban gardening and its relationship to cultural memory (Ginn 2016). He situates the Dig for Victory campaign as an important element of the wider myth of a united and resilient Britain of the Second World War. He presents evidence to suggest that the campaign was not always all that successful in terms of encouraging domestic food production, however the campaign's real success has emerged since the war: 'the government did succeed in fomenting a believable myth about its own leadership...that is perhaps indeed stronger today than it was at the time' (Ginn 2016, 48). He goes on to detail how the Dig for Victory campaign has been repurposed frequently in the decades after the war, to reinforce and popularise environmentalist and austerity arguments. By analysing evidence about the reception of the Dig for Victory campaign during the war and in these later reproductions, Ginn questions the national myth and argues that it gained strength as a myth only in more recent years as Dig for Victory has been repurposed to encourage and exploit nostalgia (Ginn 2016).

Rebecca Bramall is another who has examined the Dig for Victory campaign and its role in forming the dominant myths of the Second World War. She focuses on examples of repurposing also referenced by Ginn and argues that Dig for Victory has been seized as a method of presenting radical ideas of anti-consumerism as unthreatening and appealing. At the same time, it is also being used to promote conservative projects due to its links to nationalism and Britain's ostensibly 'glorious' past (Bramall 2011, 3). Bramall argues

that the Dig for Victory campaign lends itself to these uses because people are able to present it as an example of historical precedent. By repurposing Dig for Victory, a group or movement is ‘foregrounding the *historicity* of the solutions it presents and recommends’ (Bramall 2011, 14).

### 2.1.2 ARCHIVAL MATERIAL FROM THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

Archival material from the MoI, other government ministries and related organisations was reviewed. The aim of this review was to gather information about how the MoI created campaigns and campaign images and how it disseminated these materials. The secondary aim was to learn more about which campaigns were most prominent and widely promoted and what impact they had on the attitudes of the British public during the war.

#### **Archives**

##### *The National Archives*

Documents relating to the MoI are held in the National Archives in London. Most of the relevant documents are held under catalogue reference INF titled ‘Records created or inherited by the Central Office of Information’. The CoI was the successor organisation to the MoI, which was dissolved in March 1946 (INF, The National Archives of the UK (TNA) 1915). The description of the catalogue reference is:

*Records of the Central Office of Information (COI) and its predecessor government information departments and ministries relating to the provision of government publicity and public information comprising:*

- *General records of COI and predecessors from 1917;*
- *Records of the Films and Films and Television Divisions.*

The catalogue contains 34 series. Three of these series were selected as the most relevant to my research objectives: INF1 containing files of correspondence from the MoI from the immediate pre-war period and during the war, INF2 containing both guard books and related papers and a set of publicity material from the MoI and the CoI and INF13 containing a selection of MoI and CoI posters and publications.

As well as the INF catalogue reference, useful documents were also located in BT, titled ‘Records of the Board of Trade and of successor and related bodies’ with the description:



*Records of the Board of Trade and of successor and related bodies concerning government responsibilities for trade and industry.*

Specific documents found in the catalogue relate to the Make-do and Mend campaign which was created by the Board of Trade. These documents are located under the series INF64 'Board of Trade: Industries and Manufactures Department: Correspondence and Papers', with the description:

*Correspondence and papers of the Industries and Manufactures Department relating to all matters affecting industry.*

*A high proportion of the files relate to specific commodities and manufactured goods, including utility goods.*

Another catalogue reference of interest is CAB containing records of the Cabinet Office and specifically the series CAB 67 titled 'War Cabinet: Memoranda' with the description:

*This series consists of the WP(G) Series of War Cabinet memoranda which was of a less secret nature than the WP and CP Series and was more widely distributed.*

#### *The Mass Observation Archive*

Another source of useful documentation is the Mass Observation (MO) Archive which is located in the University of Sussex Special Collections. The archive contains papers from the MO Project between 1937 and 1949, with a few later additions from the 1950s and 1960s. It also contains papers from the later re-launched version of the MO Project from 1981 onwards (East Sussex County Council 2007). This archive contains the daily (and later weekly) Home Intelligence Reports made to the MoI from MO, other MO reports, original survey documents, press cuttings and copies of posters and pamphlets.

#### **Method of review**

The titles and descriptions of the available series in the National Archives catalogue were reviewed to locate any that might contain information about the MoI campaigns or campaign material. Relevant documents were also located when referenced in secondary literature. The specific documents that seemed to be most relevant were selected on this basis and requested from the archive. I read each document, took notes and photographs of particularly relevant pages.

The same method of review was employed with the MO Archive. Some of these documents were available to view in PDF format inside the archive and downloaded and saved.

## **Ministry of Information administration**

### *Poster design and war artists*

Much of the material located in the INF catalogue reference consists of reports of the Home Morale Emergency Committee, the Planning Committee and subcommittees and correspondence between members of these committees and others. INF 1/231 contains correspondence relating to poster campaigns between Sir Kenneth Clarke, controller of home publicity at the MoI, and others. Sir Kenneth Clarke was the chairman of the War Artists' Advisory Committee, which worked to employ official war artists (De Cacqueray 2018).

This correspondence gives some insight into how MoI officials liaised with one another and with artists to create poster campaigns. In a meeting on Tuesday 28 November 1939, Sir Kenneth Clark, Surrey Dane and R. A. Bevan discussed four poster series under consideration, including The Empire's Strength, Britain's Industrial Strength, Britain's War Effort and How Labour Helps to Win the War. They also discussed which artists they should approach to produce rough sketches for these series. Their discussion seems to be focused on the aesthetic value of the images they are producing for the campaigns, in so far as they are sufficiently attractive and striking to make an impact on those who view them (INF 1/231, 1939a, 2–3).

The importance of ensuring posters were aesthetically pleasing is revealed frequently in the documents detailing the planning of campaigns. In a meeting between Sir Kenneth Clarke and Surrey Dane on 3 September 1940, the RAF poster 'Mightier Yet' is discussed. Dane suggests that 'bright posters on the hoardings would have a more tonic effect than their present dilapidated condition' adding that due to 'the large surface of photograph the design would look rather muddy when printed' and 'a lively coloured version of the poster should be made'. The perception that colour and aesthetically pleasing images would have a positive impact on public morale is clear from these exchanges (INF 1/231, TNA 1939a).

The documents also give some insight into the difficulties in the working relationships between MoI officials and artists. A letter from R. A. Bevan to Surrey Dane, dated 27 November 1939, explains that Sir Kenneth Clarke is coming in to look at the rough

sketches produced by artists so far. Bevan also informs Dane that Dame Laura Knight, a member of the Royal Academy and war artist, refused to produce a rough without the promise of direct commission, making it difficult for them to make a decision on the commission (INF 1/231, TNA 1939a, 6). This demonstrates the concern of some artists at the time that they would spend time producing material for the MoI only to have it rejected and no commission offered.

### *Home Morale Emergency Committee*

In May 1940 the Policy Committee established a new Home Morale Emergency Committee to examine ‘methods to maintain public morale during the days of stress and danger which then seemed to be approaching’. Reports of this committee and the Planning Committee demonstrate how the MoI approached producing publicity materials for the purpose of improving morale. In the second interim report of the Home Morale Emergency Committee, dated 23 May 1940, it is proposed that the MoI print ‘high-class posters with extracts from speeches’ to be displayed in banks and potentially religious institutions (INF 1/250, TNA 1940b, 4–5). The first full report to the Policy Committee, dated 4 June 1940, identifies the key elements of low morale that need to be addressed as fear, confusion, suspicion, class feeling and defeatism. It gives some proposals on what could be done to address these problems.

Subsequent documents from the Planning Committee give clear action points for dealing with these issues. In one undated report of the Planning Committee, the members outline their suggested approach to tackling these problems under the headings of ‘what to say’, ‘to whom it should be said’ and ‘how to say it’ (INF 1/250, TNA 1940b, 29–30). In this report, there is a section on the use of posters which states:

*‘The effect of the ordinary poster is too long-delayed to make it a valuable means of propaganda in the present crisis. Background posters are obviously out of the question. We recommend, however, that the poster be used in the manner of a proclamation, and we are having printed a large number of poster sheets, bearing the Union Jack, with space for letterpress left blank, so that these can be over-printed with any urgent message to the nation and put up very rapidly. We have authorised a new series of anti-gossip posters on realistic lines as a contrast to the earlier comic series.’* (INF 1/250, TNA 1940b, 30)

The preference for proclamation posters over more visual ‘background’ posters indicates a preference for the written word over the image in times of direct crisis. This is clearly

due to the speed and ease of production but also perhaps due to the impression that the written word offers more practicality and impact for the public in a time of emergency.

The reports demonstrate clearly the holistic approach taken by the committees to propaganda and improving morale. The use of posters was one small part of a large arsenal of tools to influence the British public, including film, press advertising, illustrated press and radio. The committee always attempted to make use of all of these tools and spread its campaigns across different media for the largest impact.

#### *Poster production and display*

Some documents containing notes on meetings give information on the numbers of specific posters printed and distributed, however this information is irregular. A note from the Planning Committee dated 14-26 June 1940 gives details of 'action taken or in hand'. A poster titled 'Mightier Yet' depicting battleships is confirmed as succeeding the 'Go For It' poster and it is confirmed that 13,500 copies will be printed. 50,000 copies of a Careless Talk Costs Lives poster with the words 'If you must talk, talk victory' will be produced, 450,000 posters depicting the Union Flag (mentioned previously) are to be printed and also 500,000 anti-gossip posters 'of a new type' are also to be printed, although it is unclear which type of poster is referred to (INF 1/250, TNA 1940b, 32-33). A note about a meeting on 2 September 1940 confirms that RAF financial approval has been applied for the 'Mightier Yet' poster, although again it is not clear exactly which poster is referred to (INF 1/250, TNA 1940b, 49).

Under the INF 2/1 catalogue reference, there are documents indicating number of international printing orders for booklets produced by the MoI between 1941 and 1942. The documents show the numbers of booklets produced for each country (INF 2/1, TNA 1941a). Unfortunately, there are no similar documents indicating the number of poster printing orders in such a structured way. A War Cabinet Committee document from 8 November 1939 gives specific details about the production of coloured posters to warn people against discussing confidential matters in public places. It states the numbers of posters to display in different locations, including 541,000 to hotels and public-houses, 50,000 to local authorities and 21,000 to post offices (CAB 67/2/38, TNA 1939b). The document does not give details of the designs of the posters to be printed, but it does give an impression of the kinds of locations where posters would have been seen during the war.

Another document, produced in November 1939, gives basic details of the order in which campaigns will run as railway posters. In the 'first period', posters by Fougasse for the

Careless Talk Costs Lives campaign would be displayed. In the following five periods, posters on The Empire's Strength, the Fighting and Auxiliary Services, Britain's Industrial Strength, Britain's War Effort and How Labour Helps to Win the War would be displayed. There is little practical detail about the display of posters, but this does give some indication of the kinds of posters which were displayed at railway stations (INF 1/231, TNA 1939a, 4–5).

### *Adaptability*

A feature of the discussions about propaganda campaigns evident in the documents is adaptability. There are many examples of decisions being made to drop or bring forward certain posters or campaigns to meet the particular aims in improving morale. One document, containing notes on a meeting of the Home Planning Committee's Subcommittee on Practicability on General Morale dated 16 September 1941, states that members agreed that further propaganda on the Battle of the Atlantic was not needed at that moment, but emphasis should be on economy in civilian consumption (INF 1/250, TNA 1940b, 84).

Notes for a meeting of a sub-committee of the Home Planning Committee on 18 August 1941 show discussion of a campaign to combat the 'apathetic outlook of "what have I got to lose"'. This suggests that the MoI had received evidence that this outlook was in existence. It may be that this knowledge came from the frequent Home Intelligence Reports that gave information on the state of morale of the British public and will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter (INF 1/250, TNA 1940b, 83).

Other documents indicate that MoI officials reacted to the developing Nazi propaganda. One document titled 'Home Front Propaganda' dated 8 July 1940 outlines how class relations can be improved, based on the knowledge that 'the chief ingredients in German propaganda is the suggest that the wealthier classes in England will "desert"' (INF 1/250, TNA 1940b, 92).

## **Documents for specific campaigns**

### *Anti-gossip campaign*

Some of the most detailed discussions present in the MoI documents relate to the anti-gossip propaganda campaign. As has been noted earlier in the literature review, there were several attempts at creating propaganda materials to combat gossip, rumour-spreading and the accidental sharing of sensitive information. Debate over how this issue should be approached is noticeable in the archive.

Early references to the campaign are found in a report of the War Cabinet's Committee on the 'Issue of Warnings Against Discussion of Confidential Matters in Public Places' dated 8 November 1939. It details locations where warnings should be displayed and states that coloured posters should be displayed in all mercantile marine offices and on all ships. It is also stated that London clubs would require special treatment in terms of propaganda, since they were locations where careless talk was more likely (CAB 67/2/38, TNA 1939b).

In an undated report of the Planning Committee referred to in the previous section, the members state that they have 'authorised a new series of anti-gossip posters on realistic lines as a contrast to the earlier comic series' (INF 1/250, TNA 1940b, 30). In a meeting of a sub-committee on anti-gossip on 14 March 1941, Sir Kenneth Clarke said that so far, 'anti-gossip propaganda had been either comic or horrific' and suggested a focus on 'informative propaganda' (INF 1/250, TNA 1940b, 78). The 'horrific' anti-gossip propaganda may refer to the Fifth Column campaign and the 'comic' could refer to a range of posters under the 'Careless Talk Costs Lives' and 'Keep Mum' slogans, including posters designed by Fougasse. The meeting included further debate over whether the campaign should be comic, scary or instructional. Five people present at the meeting believed that comic propaganda on this subject was 'misconceived' and should not be created. The committee also agreed that 'the slogan 'careless talk costs lives' was not sufficiently closely connected with the war effort, and might be revised or superseded' (INF 1/250, TNA 1940b, 79).

This debate demonstrates the range of opinions on how to approach the issue of gossip and the debate may stem from outside information gained from meetings, reports and surveys of the general public. In a meeting of the Planning Committee on 2 July 1940 with Mr Surrey Dane of Odhams Press and Mr Christiansen on the Daily Express, the two men shared criticism of the anti-rumour campaign to date, Christiansen stating that 'you couldn't stop people talking but you could do something by explaining to them why they could not be given certain information' (INF 1/250, TNA 1940b, 44). In another meeting on 9 July, the term 'Silent Column' was approved for the campaign, demonstrating the development of the anti-gossip campaign based on feedback and debate (INF 1/250, TNA 1940b, 45).

Some insight into the popularity of certain anti-gossip campaign posters is revealed in a document of the 'War Cabinet Committee on Issue of Warnings Against Discussion of Confidential Matters in Public Places' dated 13 March 1940, which details the number of

posters printed and distributed. Two specific poster designs are referred to: the “Official Warning” of which 1,242,500 were printed and the Fougasse series of which 734,200 were printed. The document also details a reprint order of 248,000 for the Fougasse series, perhaps suggesting its popularity. In terms of distribution, 1,500,000 were posted in voluntary sites and it is stated that ‘requests are coming in daily, particularly for the Fougasse series’ and ‘the present designs are so much in demand that it may not be necessary to incur more expenditure yet’ (CAB 67/5/29, TNA 1940c).

Another file, located in the Records of the Metropolitan Police Office at the National Archives, gave a small insight into the nature of the display of posters in the Careless Talk Costs Lives campaign and the impact of the posters on some individuals. The file contains records of the arrest of Charles Max Sakritz, who was sentenced to one month of hard labour for destroying a ‘careless talk’ poster in Forest Gate, East London in 1940 (MEPO 3/1149, TNA 1940a; Howells 2018). The poster he tore down was designed in a similar way to *Keep Calm and Carry On*, but with the slogan ‘Don’t help the enemy! Careless talk may give away vital secrets.’ His action against the poster seems to have been triggered by his pro-Nazi sympathies, which, through this incident, were revealed to the British government. The crime was witnessed and reported by neighbours, who also gave evidence of his Nazi sympathies (MEPO 3/1149, TNA 1940a; Howells 2018). This incident illustrates the power these posters asserted in communities, as the voice of the British government, and the positive and negative impacts these posters could have on members of the public.

### *Make-do and Mend*

The development of the Make-do and Mend campaign is also documented in some detail in separate documents of the Board of Trade. The minutes of a meeting of the Board of Trade Advisory Committee on Make-do and Mend on 1 October 1943 demonstrates again the multimedia approach to the campaign, detailing work on booklets, films, broadcasts, publicity material, regional organisation and advice centres (BT 64/3023, TNA 1941b, sec. 16). Another document dated 28 October 1943 details how the Make-do and Mend campaign was established and outlines its aims (BT 64/3023, TNA 1941b, sec. 5). One interesting finding from these documents concerns the number of women involved in the creation and management of the campaign. There were thirteen women and two men present at the Advisory Committee meeting on 1 October 1943 and women’s organisations are referred to frequently as those managing many of the campaign’s activities (BT 64/3023, TNA 1941b, sec. 16).

While there are frequent references to the content of new publicity materials and posters being created and requested, and there are statistics on the impact of other activities such as advice centres and classes, there is little information about the impact of posters and no references to specific recognisable posters in the documents under BT 64.

### **Research on public opinion and campaign impacts**

#### *Home Intelligence and Mass Observation*

The MoI conducted research to monitor the morale of the British public and inform decision-making during the war. This research was managed by the Home Intelligence Division, which employed a variety of methods to collect data. The Division employed Regional Intelligence Officers who reported on the attitudes and morale of people in their areas. The Division also commissioned surveys and reports from social research organisation Mass Observation (MO). Regular Home Intelligence Reports were written based on the information from these sources. The reports were compiled daily between 18 May and 27 September 1940 and then weekly after that (Crang and Addison 2010, xi).

MO was a social research organisation established in 1937 to collect information about daily life in Britain through the use of observation and public surveys. MO reports were commissioned by the MoI on various subjects, including the impact of particular publicity materials.

#### *'Government Posters in War-time' report*

One early detailed report produced by MO offers insights into the impact of specific propaganda posters. The report is titled 'Government Posters in War-time' and dated 18 October 1939. This report assessed the impact of a set of propaganda posters which had been issued earlier in 1939, known as the 'red posters'. The report was based on detailed fieldwork in the Fulham and Bolton areas which included direct and indirect interviewing, reports of part-time observers all over the country and studies of public behaviour (42/1/C, Mass Observation 1939, 2). The two red posters in question had the slogans 'Your courage, your cheerfulness, your resolution will bring us victory' and 'Freedom is in Peril. Defend it with all your Might'.

The report gives evidence on the effectiveness of the posters and direct feedback from members of the public. Observation of pedestrians revealed the lack of notice that most people took to posters and how little they remembered them. The slogans in the posters were also criticised for being vague and the language haughty and irritating. The 'Your Courage' slogan was particularly criticised for its implication that 'your' referred to



ordinary people who would bring victory to ‘us’, the government and social elites. Even the red colour of the posters was questioned in the report, with feedback indicating that many believed blue would be a more suitable colour for a government poster in wartime (42/1/C, Mass Observation 1939).

The report gives detailed insight into contemporary reactions to Second World War propaganda posters. It also contains some discussion of literature in the fields of advertising and psychology, indicating how far the MoI drew on wider commercial knowledge for its campaigns. The report suggests that government posters need to be joined up as part of a consistent campaign with other media, such as leaflets, press and radio, as was the case in all commercial campaigns (42/1/C, Mass Observation 1939, 103–4). A quotation from Dr Y. C. Link, of the Psychological Corporation in New York is included in the report stating that ‘as soon as an individual is shown an advertisement and asked to state certain reactions, his role changes from that of a natural reader to that of a critic of advertising. Consequently, the opinions expressed are very likely to be biased by the pre-conceived notions which the individual entertains towards advertising’ (42/1/C, Mass Observation 1939, 65). The report indicates how the MoI could reflect both on its own publicity material in comparison to commercial publicity, but also on its methods of researching the impacts of its material on the public. The discussion of the psychological effects of surveying people about posters also presents important considerations for the design of this research study.

## **Conclusions**

The review of MoI archival material has given me a sense of the tone of the debates that occurred among staff at the MoI over the way propaganda campaigns were developed and posters and slogans designed. For several of the campaigns, there is clear evidence of how committees decided on campaign priorities, considered different approaches and managed the commissioning of particular poster artwork.

The evidence also makes it clear what kinds of priorities MoI staff had in choosing and designing campaign materials. These include their impact on the morale of the British public, their ability to encourage positive feelings about the war and a generally positive outlook on the MoI and the government, their aesthetic appeal, their ability to promote specific action on the part of British people and their capacity to be easily remembered. These priorities contribute to my understanding of why certain images came to be considered iconic.

The evidence of the archival documents also serves as a reminder to consider each MoI poster as one piece of media among many as part of a joined-up publicity campaign. As with modern advertising campaigns, MoI officials considered it important to use a range of media to promote a campaign and this is important to consider when looking at how people today recognise and remember specific propaganda posters. The MoI's own research on the impact of propaganda, with organisations like MO, offer some inspiration and guidance on how to approach the social research aspects of this research, including the survey and interviews.

This study focuses specifically on the visual images created to promote the MoI campaigns described above. Information about the archival history of some of the visual materials created by the MoI is explored below.

### 2.1.3 MINISTRY OF INFORMATION IMAGES

In this section, the available information on the archival locations and archival history of MoI images is outlined. Images created by the MoI are today found in multiple archives, including the Imperial War Museum (IWM), the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), the National Army Museum (NAM) and the National Archives (TNA). Many exist in the Visual Arts Data Service (VADS), an archive of visual art collections for use in teaching and research run by the University for the Creative Arts (VADS 2018). Many MoI images are part of the *Imperial War Museum Posters of Conflict* collection on VADS, the result of a project by the IWM and the Manchester Institute for Research and Innovation in Art and Design (MIRIAD) at Manchester Metropolitan University (VADS 2005).

In order to help understand better how the MoI images entered the archives and how they might have been used since entering those archives, information was requested from the IWM and the V&A about some of the key images for this study. Information about four images—located on the museum website—was requested from the V&A (see Appendix A): *Let Us Go Forward Together* (E.2145-1946, fig. A10), *Careless Talk Costs Lives* (E.2167-1946, fig. A5), *Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb* (E.997-2004, fig. A6) and *Women of Britain Come into the Factories* (E.135-1973, fig. A9). *Let Us Go Forward Together* and *Careless Talk Costs Lives* entered the collection in 1946 with other posters from the MoI. These were photographed and uploaded to the current collection management system in 2006. Records indicate that *Let Us Go Forward Together* was photographed in colour once in 1994/5 and *Careless Talk Costs Lives* was photographed twice in 1996: once on its own, and once in a group of four. *Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb* was part of

a gift of several hundred posters from Leslie, Judith and Gabri Schreyer in 2004. It was photographed and uploaded to the current collection management system in 2006. *Women of Britain Come into the Factories* came into the collection in 1973 and was also photographed and uploaded in 2006. Records indicate that this was photographed twice in 1975 and once in 1993/4.

Information about seven images was requested from the IWM (see Appendix A). The images were:

- *Dig for Victory* (Art.IWM PST 0059, fig. A1)
- *Grow Your Own Food* (Art.IWM PST 2893, fig. A2)
- *Go Through Your Wardrobe* (Art.IWM PST 4773, fig. A3)
- *Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb* (Art.IWM PST 4095, fig. A6)
- *Be Like Dad Keep Mum* (Art.IWM PST 13946, fig. A7)
- *Women of Britain Come into the Factories* (Art.IWM PST 3645, fig. A9)
- *Let Us Go Forward Together* (Art.IWM PST 0761, fig. A10)

Information on the history of the seven images in the IWM collection was provided in response to a freedom of information request (IWM London 2018). The images likely entered the collection in bulk after the Second World War directly from the MoI, although the precise information on this was not provided. Most of the images were photographed between 2005 and 2008 and were added to the current collection management system in 2010. Details about each image were published online on the IWM's current website in 2012.

*Table 1 Information on the archival history of MoI images in the Imperial War Museum, Source: (IWM London 2018), (see Appendix A)*

<b>Object number</b>	<b>Approx. date image taken</b>	<b>Approx. date image added to current collections management system</b>	<b>Approx. date object information was published online on current web setup</b>
Art.IWM PST 0059	23/09/2008	19/05/2010	November 2012. Not currently online.
Art.IWM PST 2893	30/03/2006	13/05/2010	October 2012
Art.IWM PST 4773	08/07/2007	13/05/2010	October 2012
Art.IWM PST 4095	05/07/2005	13/05/2010	October 2012
Art.IWM PST 13946	05/07/2005	26/07/2010	October 2012
Art.IWM PST 3645	02/03/2005	13/05/2010	October 2012
Art.IWM PST 0761	n/a	n/a	November 2012. No image online currently.

Figures on the licencing of the images is only available from 2011 onwards and is as follows:

*Table 2 Information on the licensing of MoI images in the Imperial War Museum, Source: (IWM London 2018), (see Appendix A)*

<b>Object number</b>	<b>Times licensed</b>
Art.IWM PST 0059	9
Art.IWM PST 2893	4
Art.IWM PST 4773	4
Art.IWM PST 4095	3
Art.IWM PST 13946	1
Art.IWM PST 3645	7
Art.IWM PST 0761	3

The information provided by the two museums demonstrates the difficulty in collecting information about the history of archiving, digitisation and use of these kinds of images. The information is patchy and difficult to access and is often limited by changes in collection management systems and websites, when information from older records is not kept and maintained as part of the current record. Information on licensing is also not easily obtained. The IWM could provide figures on the licensing of images after 2011, but not before. The V&A could not provide figures on this and there were several reasons suggested for this including records not being kept and data protection (see Appendix A).

The review of this information also demonstrates how the nature of the images impact how they are archived and reproduced. Because the images are posters which were produced in multiple copies, they inevitably find their way into multiple different archives and are digitised and used at different times and in different ways. Unlike other more unique images, where usage may be able to be traced from one specific archival location through digitisation and reuse, the MoI images are already too distributed for this kind of simple tracing to be accomplished.

Following this basic outline of the archival status of the MoI images, the theoretical framework for the study of visual images, their meaning and reception is discussed below.

## 2.2 Images

### 2.2.1 MEANING IN IMAGES

For a large proportion of the twentieth century, images were perceived by historians to be the domain of art historians and less useful as sources for the study of history or society. As sources, they were seen as inferior to text, useful only as illustrations, acting as mirrors or windows on the world around us (Sturken and Cartwright 2009; Jordanova 2014; Molyneaux 2013; Allbeson 2015). With this has come a degree of iconophobia in academia, where images are seen as appropriate material for the general public—a *popular* choice of source—whereas written text was the principal domain of the academic scholar (Molyneaux 2013, 24).

In recent years, there has been a shift in this view, as academics begin to accept the importance of images (and indeed all non-text objects) as important sources in their own right. Ludmilla Jordanova argues that ‘traces of culture are present in everything’ and so everything has the potential to provide evidence for cultural study (Jordanova 2014, 9). Sarah Barber and Corinna Peniston-Bird also take this view and argue that non-traditional sources can and should be approached by historians in similar ways as they approach texts, but they ‘must also respond to the unique nature of the source under investigation, specifically its visual, aural, or physical character’ (Barber and Peniston-Bird 2009, 10). As the differences in nature between texts and images are recognised, there has also been an increased focus on the concept of ‘visuality’: the construction of vision and the social/cultural/technological process of seeing objects, as these constructions and processes lie at the core of the production and effect of images. With this in mind, many call for images to be ‘taken seriously’, an act which Gillian Rose defines as essential for any effective methodology for visual analysis (Rose 2013, 15). Images are not to be taken

for granted as representations of other things, but instead must be seen by academics, in the contexts of their production and display, as constructions of meaning.

While there is a huge amount of variety within theoretical approaches to images, many of them are based on the idea that methods designed for the analysis of texts can be repurposed for the analysis of visual images. This reluctance to develop new methods for visual images has been criticised by Jordanova, since the application of text-based methods to visual images results in the neglect of the distinctiveness of visual experience (Jordanova 2014, 9). The general concept underlying many of the theoretical approaches used for the study of images, in particular iconography and semiotics, is that images can be *read* like a written text in order to reveal underlying meanings inherent in them. This presupposes that meaning has somehow been placed within the image by the creator and only the analyst can reveal the hidden code that the audience is receiving. This has been criticised from many different angles. It encourages the idea that the image contains one true meaning so there is one correct interpretation to be drawn, rather than many interpretations in different contexts. Roland Barthes argued against this in his 1967 essay 'The Death of the Author', in relation to written texts, suggesting that to ascribe all meaning-making to the author was to limit the text and meaning is only made by the reader and the specific context of reading (Barthes 1977). Images have complex histories: they are created in specific social and cultural contexts and displayed, reproduced and viewed in a variety of different social and cultural contexts over time. Their potential meanings therefore can be diverse.

### 2.2.2 AUDIENCE AGENCY

The question when interpreting meaning is therefore always: meaning for whom? Interpretations will differ between different audiences at different times and so any attempt to interpret the meaning of an image must address this question and define the audience being referred to. Theories which view the image as a text can often appear reductionist, presenting the image as a static object with static meanings. Jordanova argues that, while images may have been created with messages in mind, these messages work at multiple levels and cannot simply be *read* by one viewer (Jordanova 2012, 10). If 'there is no such thing as an unmediated transmission' (Jordanova 2012, 168), all meanings that the creator attempted to communicate will be received (or not received) by audiences in a wide variety of different ways. For this reason, Jordanova argues that direct evidence of audience response is vital to any analysis of an image (Jordanova 2012, 168). I take the term 'audiences' from Jordanova, to refer to any individual people or groups

that view an image. This viewing does not have to be in the same place or simultaneous; each image or cultural object can have an almost infinite number of audiences, which can overlap, depending on how these groups are defined in each individual case.

The fundamental problem of reading meaning in images, is that this often suggests that meaning exists in the image itself and is not constructed by the audience. Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright argue that images' meanings are negotiated by the viewer (Sturken and Cartwright 2009). Peter Burke also suggests that intended and actual audiences must be taken into account, as evidence for audience response sometimes reveals stark differences between intended meanings and actual audience interpretation (Burke 2001, 181). These relativist positions suggest that there is no definitive meaning, but the interpretation of meaning and the judgment of value of an image is entirely subjective and based on the particular characteristics of the individual and the context of viewing. A core argument of Jordanova's *The Look of the Past* is that audiences are not passive recipients of meaning, but active participants in making meaning (Jordanova 2012, 155). They are also active at the point of production, as a creator conceives of the audience for his creation as he creates it, meaning every image has an 'implied audience' (Jordanova 2012, 157). She asserts that the production of meaning is taking place at every point along the way from creation to display.

Jordanova argues that as well as the context of viewing, the wider context of the viewer's experience also affects the construction of meaning; as viewers live their lives viewing other objects, they are 'building up experiences and 'transferrable skills'' and historians must 'chart that range and what audiences carry from one type of display to another' (Jordanova 2012, 159). Tom Allbeson also stresses the importance of understanding the particular context and experience of viewing images. In his article on Herbert Masons' photograph of St Paul's Cathedral during the Blitz, he argues that when multiple people view the same press photograph printed in their newspapers, they engage in a process of communal spectatorship, defining attitudes and values collectively. Because the way the image is viewed, for example in a national newspaper, has such an important influence on the way it is interpreted by its audience, that this 'visuality', or the viewing experience, must be analysed in depth (Allbeson 2015, 536–39).

### 2.2.3 POWER IN IMAGES

Among the common justifications given for taking audiences seriously are examples of iconoclasm and emotional responses to images. In *The Power of Images*, David Freedberg

explores examples of people believing images could affect them spiritually and physically, asking ‘why do we ignore the evidence for the effectiveness and provocativeness of images?’ (Freedberg 1991, 26). Jordanova agrees that examples of iconoclasm and other emotional responses ‘remind us that viewers are not passive recipients, but agents whose responses are eloquent’ (Jordanova 2012, 155). While strong emotions are sometimes manifested in physical action, most other audience responses are far more subtle and hard to expose. Audiences might feel a sense of nostalgia or calmness when viewing an image; the image may remind them of a past experience which provokes emotion. These kinds of subtleties are very difficult to evidence in audience response and this has led some to suggest that the emotional ‘power’ exerted by an image exists within the image itself, moving the focus away from the audience’s construction of meaning.

Hans Gumbrecht defined the term ‘presence’ as referring to the emotional/spiritual impact that objects can have on us when we view them, arguing against the ‘uncontested centrality of interpretation’ and for a more ‘presence-based relationship to the world’ (Gumbrecht 2003, xv). Freedberg touches on this idea, suggesting that scientific, causal explanations for this ‘power’ often fall short as they dismiss both the emotion felt by people during encounters with objects and the sincerity of their belief in a spiritual connection with those objects (Freedberg 1991, 3). Michael Ann Holly rejects the subject-object conception of viewer and image, arguing that ‘historical works of art position us as their ideal spectators, expect certain responses from us, and confirm in the exchange what they anticipated all along’ (Holly 2018, 9). He argues here that objects contain this power in themselves and exert it on the viewer, rather than the viewer drawing meaning from the object.

Janet Wolff makes a convincing argument against both the idea that images have agency and the idea that there is some form of ‘presence’ in encounters with images that is beyond cultural interpretation. She argues that, while we can call images powerful, this power does not exist within the image; instead all ‘meaning is produced by us, but discovered in objects and paintings’ (Wolff 2012, 7). Here she argues for a return to the site of the audience when analysing meaning construction. She also states that ‘the fact that we cannot easily find words for an experience (including an emotional one) does not mean that it cannot be put into words’, meaning that there is no ethereal power in images that defies analysis, rather we just need to form the right methodological framework to analyse it (Wolff 2012, 14). I agree with Wolff in that audiences do respond to images emotionally and there are subtleties in these responses which are hard to interpret, however the



meaning is still constructed by the viewer when looking at the image and the response can be successfully analysed with social research methods such as surveys and interviews (read more in section 3.3). Nostalgia is a difficult emotional phenomenon to define in general. However, in a particular instance when a person reports experiencing nostalgia when viewing an image, this emotional response can be deconstructed and explored in collaboration with the person and with the most appropriate method.

Brian Massumi introduces the concept of ‘affect’ in discussing the emotional impact of images on audiences. He defines ‘affect’ as a natural unqualified uncommunicated form of emotion or ‘intensity’, as opposed to emotion which is the qualified form, able to be communicated semantically or semiotically and narrativised (Massumi 2002, 28). Eric Shouse extends and clarifies the definition, drawing distinctions between feeling, emotion and affect arguing that ‘an affect is a non-conscious experience of intensity’, a feeling is ‘a sensation that has been checked against previous experiences and labelled’ and an emotion is ‘the projection/display of a feeling’ (Shouse 2005). Discussing the reactions of children to a short film, Massumi argues that the intensity or affect of a set of images is not logically connected to the images’ content and so the reasons for an image’s emotional impact are more complex (Massumi 2002, 24). He also argues that, when language is added to images, this influences the impact of the images on the audience. Factual language dampens the intensity of images, while emotional language can resonate and amplify the intensity (Massumi 2002, 25). Massumi’s theory is useful for this study as a framework for understanding the emotional impact of the MoI images and the relationship between the visual and textual content in the images. Both interpretation of meaning and emotional intensity are processes which take place in the individual viewer and cannot be easily connected directly to the content of images.

#### 2.2.4 ICONIC IMAGES

Images which are often said to have magnified power and emotional impact are those described as ‘iconic’. The term ‘icon’ developed out of Christian art, to refer to a devotional painting of a holy figure. It was used more broadly to refer to the visual symbols present in religious art, from which meaning can be interpreted. The term ‘iconography’ developed to refer to these symbols collectively, and then to refer to the interpretive study of these symbols in religious art. Since ‘icon’ was used to refer to a visual image which symbolised something else, it began to be applied to a much wider range of visual images and in turn to objects and people, which could be described as ‘iconic’ (Shapiro 2008, 815–16). Icon, when referring to a famous person, is sometimes

considered in relation to its original religious definition, as synonymous with ‘idol’, subject to attention and devotion (Shapiro 2008, 815–16). However, its modern usage is more closely related to its association with symbolism and particularly the theories of Charles Sanders Peirce.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Charles Sanders Peirce developed the idea of the icon, in conjunction with concepts of sign and index in his study of semiotics. For Peirce, icons, indexes and symbols are all types of signs in that they denote meaning (Peirce 2014, 101). An icon denotes meaning by having a quality which it shares with the object it represents. For example, an icon might be a painting of a person. An index denotes meaning by direct connection between itself and the object it represents. For example, a photograph can be considered an index in that its creation involves the light reflecting from the actual object it represents. A symbol lacks shared qualities with the object it represents and any direct connection with the object, but is interpreted by viewers as representing that object, such as the word ‘dog’ (Peirce 2014, 101). While these definitions are helpful in specifying the nature of particular signs within an image, it is less helpful for defining ‘iconic images’ in relation to the kinds of images that are referred to as iconic. Images given this definition, and MoI images in particular, may often contain a variety of signs including icons, indexes and symbols working together to construct meaning in the mind of the viewer. For this study a slightly broader definition of iconic images, which relates more closely to the way the term is used in popular culture, is required.

Iconic cultural images are accepted to be those which are frequently reproduced and remembered but the criteria used to define ‘iconic’ vary. Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright define an ‘image icon’ as ‘an image that refers to something outside of its individual components, something (or someone) that has great symbolic meaning for many people’. They also argue that while many icons are perceived as representing ‘universal concepts, emotions and meanings’, in fact these are often proved not to be universal (Sturken and Cartwright 2009, 36–37). Tom Allbeson, referring specifically to photographs, has a more practical definition of iconic, focusing more on the frequency that the image is reproduced in print and digital media. He also describes it as ‘visual shorthand’ for a larger event or concept, echoing Sturken and Cartwright’s definition (Allbeson 2015, 532–34). Sandrine Boudana et al., discussing iconic photographs and internet memes, also highlight the main traits as ‘the recognition of these photos by a large public’, ‘their repetition and recycling across media platforms’ and ‘their broad

social and moral significance, beyond the referential meaning of the originally reported event' (Boudana, Frosh, and Cohen 2017, 1212). They also argue that these features are 'mutually reinforcing' because circulation leads to recognition which in turn encourages recycling. In describing these connections, arguing that 'the assumption that these photos will be recognised encourages their intertextual recycling' (Boudana, Frosh, and Cohen 2017, 1212), they introduce an idea which I believe needs to be highlighted further: that of the assumption of recognition. This relates not just to recognition by one person, but to one person's idea of what others around them would recognise: a perceived shared audience for the image, or an 'imagined community' of people who would share the recognition (Anderson 1991).

In their book, *No Caption Needed*, Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites present a detailed definition of iconic photographs, specifically in the news media context. They describe iconic photographs as 'photographic images appearing in print, electronic or digital media that are widely recognised and remembered, are understood to be representations of historically significant events, activate strong emotional identification or response, and are reproduced across a range of media, genres, or topics' (Hariman and Lucaites 2007, 27). Their definition encompasses both practical elements (extent of circulation and display, audience recognition and recollection) and more conceptual elements (emotional impact, ability to represent larger event or ideology) and they specifically state that a photograph's 'iconicity' cannot be confirmed by one or the other of these aspects.

I agree with Hariman and Lucaites' argument that the key elements of a definition of an 'iconic' image include the extent of its circulation and display and its ability to be recognised and remembered by an audience. However, I would argue that these qualities are the result of the more fundamental characteristic of the image itself: its capacity to represent larger concepts. The degree to which an image can provide this representational power directly influences the number of times it is reproduced and consequently the number of people who recognise and remember it. The broader and more significant the concept which the image is able to represent, the more iconic it is. The most iconic images can be used to illustrate broad concepts far removed from the specific context of the image's creation. So, to refer to examples used by Hariman and Lucaites in their book, the photograph *Migrant Mother* taken in 1936 by Dorothea Lange is often used to symbolise the Great Depression in the United States (Hariman and Lucaites 2007, 49–67), however due to the lack of features in the photograph that link it to its specific

temporal, geographical and personal context it can also easily be employed to symbolise poverty, despair or motherhood. There are other famous photographs from the same period which might be considered iconic, such as the photograph taken by Margaret Bourke-White of flood victims queuing for food in front of a billboard proclaiming, 'World's highest standard of living - there's no way like the American way' (Walker 2009). However, due to its identifiable temporal and geographical features, this image may only be able to represent the Great Depression itself and is less likely than *Migrant Mother* to be chosen and reproduced to illustrate broader concepts.

Much of the literature on the nature of iconic images focuses primarily on photographs. This may be because some of the most famous examples of iconic images are those circulated in news media, relating to current events, and these tend to be photographic. This is particularly the case in the work of Hariman and Lucaites, however they do state that the term 'icon' can be applied to 'a wide range of images ranging from smiley buttons to the crucifix' (Hariman and Lucaites 2007, 27). The focus on photographs may also be due to the strong theoretical connection between photography and memory, as photography is considered a 'memory media' (Hirsch 2012; Hariman and Lucaites 2007; Ruchatz 2008). This is discussed in more detail in section 2.3.4.

Based on the work of these authors on iconic images, I suggest that the core measure for an image's 'iconicity' is its facility for representing significant concepts, which then determines its usefulness to content producers (whether publishers, broadcasters, bloggers or Twitter users), the frequency of its reproduction, its ability to be recognised and remembered and the perception on the part of the viewer that there is a shared audience for the image. The results of the work in this research study will enable me to evaluate, clarify and improve this initial set of measures for 'iconic images'.

## 2.2.5 IMAGES IN ONLINE MEDIA

The media in which images appear can have a profound impact on how they function as communicators of meaning. As online media is a focus for this study, this section outlines literature on online media and role of images within it. When approaching the use of images on the internet, on websites, blogs, social media platforms and search engines, the term 'online media' is most appropriate as it prioritises the network through which these media are accessed and connected. 'digital media' prioritises the technological aspect while 'new media' draws focus to this media's break with past media (Siapera 2011, 3–6); these two commonly used terms are less suitable for the purposes of this study.

Thinkers in digital culture have considered how far the type of media shapes human society. Writers such as Marshall McLuhan and Friedrich Kittler argue that the technology humans use to communicate fundamentally changes what happens to humans and is thus responsible for historical developments (McLuhan 1964; Kittler 1999). While their arguments are useful in their characterisation of the effects of different technology and media on society, their focus on the technology as the starting point neglects the cooperative relationships between people and their technology and the social and psychological human characteristics that endure through different technological developments. Bernard Stiegler takes a more balanced view of the relationship between humans and media, arguing that humans are bound together with their technology and each shapes the other (Stiegler 1998).

Online media are sometimes considered as fundamentally different to other media that came before and somehow separate from the ‘real’ world: hence terms such as ‘virtual’ (Consalvo and Ess 2011). This is perhaps a result of the novelty and fast development of these new media which have encouraged academics to view them as revolutionary. There are of course differences between print and digital representation, in the production, spread and consumption of media (Besser 1997). Digital representations can be accessed and viewed by a wider range of people simultaneously, copying, editing and republishing is far quicker and easier to achieve and the role of authorities in determining authenticity is reduced. However, severe distinctions between online and offline media are not useful for this study. This research aims to understand memory and the communication of memory by people; people create and use online media just as they use offline media to remember and share memory. Online media are evidence for the remembering processes of humans, just as any other media might be, and their digital nature in no way relegates them to a separate virtual sphere parallel to that of the ‘real world’.

### **Digitisation**

The way images are viewed, republished and interpreted on the internet depends on the way they have been made available. Cultural institutions have in the last twenty years increasingly digitised the physical materials in their archives. The processes of digitisation, display and dissemination online have been approached in a variety of different ways by different institutions and the literature on the subject includes many practical case studies of these approaches, often focusing on specific kinds of images only, such as photographs or art. Early studies consider the opportunities and dangers that digitisation and online publication present and the various ways that technology can

facilitate these processes. In a 2015 article, Andrea Sartori argues that narratives about the effect of digitisation on museums and historical research often polarise into the utopian or dystopian interpretations (Sartori 2015).

Howard Besser, in his 1997 article, predicts the ‘democratizing effect’ of circulating digital copies of photographs but also predicts the eventuality that people will forego viewing the original photograph in an archive as it is easier to view a digital copy, thus missing vital contextual information and even confusing the original artefact and the copy (Besser 1997). He also suggests that the proliferation of digital images ‘could lead towards a blurring of distinction between "good" (artistic) images and "bad" ones. Or, the increased exposure could lead to help the general public develop a more cultivated eye and result in increased connoisseurship’ (Besser 1997). Digitisation has challenged museums and archives to rethink their identity as holder and giver of knowledge and the assumption that museum websites are safe controlled walled spaces (Sartori 2015). Viewing digital archives as simply online versions of museums and galleries in 1997, Besser was unable to envisage the complexity and creativity of usage of digital images online that was to develop, beyond simple value judgments and artistic connoisseurship. In recent years, the relationship between the museum, archive or gallery and its users has begun to be interpreted more collaboratively and efforts have been made to facilitate this two-way relationship online using new interactive technologies (Sartori 2015). However, others have argued that this idea of an equal relationship is so far still illusory and museum websites still maintain cultural authority, restrict interaction and interpretation and disproportionately attract and serve highly-educated and privileged users (Stylianou-Lambert and Stylianou 2010).

Digitisation of materials held by institutions is not a neutral activity and stakeholder concerns and value judgments are reflected in it. Materials are actively selected from vast archives to be digitised and it is important to consider the reasons for certain materials being selected. Materials are selected for digitisation due to the difficulty involved in viewing them in person (relating to their size, rarity or fragility), due to known public and/or academic interest in the materials or the topics they relate to, to open up new avenues and methods of research and also in some cases to assist in marketing and publicity activities (Birrell et al. 2009; Deegan and Tanner 2004). This final reason is an important one to consider for this research as it is possible that some individual items from the Imperial War Museum collection were digitised for this purpose in advance of

broader digitisation projects. The choice of which items to digitise and when directly impacts the public awareness of these items and therefore their memory of these items.

As well as the issue of selection, the other influential concerns for digitisation projects include metadata and delivery, these two being particularly influential for memory (Tanner et al. 2016). The way that materials are categorised and tagged during the digitisation process influences the ability of researchers and the public to find the digitised images. The amount and choice of contextual information included in the metadata may also affect how the images are used. If little contextual information is included in the metadata, this may lead to a lack of contextual information included in the descriptive text that accompanies the image in various media. Simon Tanner explores how institutions have traditionally approached archive organisation as a process of managing containers of information, such as posters or boxes of pamphlets (Tanner 2006, 1). To find specific information in archives, researchers need to search for the correct container, using indexes, catalogues and classification schemes to infer the contents and context of the container. Tanner argues that this system can allow researchers to successfully locate materials when these organisational structures achieve a high degree of granularity, however in most cases the metadata and organisational systems are not sufficient to achieve this (Tanner 2006, 1–2; Birrell et al. 2009). The need to search for the container also means that materials that are already known are much easier to find than new materials (Tanner 2006, 2), which can reinforce the dominance of certain materials over others. In the case of the IWM collection, which generally exhibits a container-based approach, the effectiveness of metadata and the granularity of the organisational structure must be assessed in order to understand what effect this has on the public's knowledge and memory of particular digitised images.

The third important issue that can influence usage and memory is delivery, referring to how digitised materials are delivered to researchers and the public. The accessibility of the materials, whether they are downloadable and in what form and how they are publicised all have an influence on how they are used. While an institution's digitised collection might be held on a specific website with a search function, and this collection might be accessed by users, it is the selection of particular objects from the collection by the institution to be publicised that really influences the visibility and memory of certain materials. The final report of the 2008 project titled 'Digitisation of Special Collections: mapping, assessment, prioritisation' highlights institutional uses of digitisation as a 'marketing and publicity tool' (Birrell et al. 2009, 13). Effie Kapsalis also offers examples

of how institutional brand promotion can be improved by making collections open access (Kapsalis 2016). In a 2010 project report titled 'Inspiring Research, Inspiring Scholarship', Simon Tanner and Marilyn Deegan offer evidence for how digitised resources can positively impact learning and research and strengthen communities and collaboration (Tanner and Deegan 2010). An awareness of the range of purposes and impacts of digitising collection images is important to consider in reference to the images considered in this research.

While an awareness of the potential for impact is important, actually measuring the impact of digitised resources is required and this can sometimes pose problems for institutions. Tanner and Deegan raise this issue in discussion of their collection of evidence for impact, explaining that institutional evaluations often focus on the quantity of objects digitised and lack detail on usage (Tanner and Deegan 2010, 40). The problems involved in digitising resources and measuring impact are highlighted by Maria Daniels in her discussion of the Perseus Project and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. She stresses the importance of integrating different resources connected to digital images of artefacts and creating safeguards to ensure photographs were not separated from their descriptive data. She also highlights the difficulties in judging the impact of digitisation projects in terms of usage (Daniels 2000); for many projects and institutional web archives, the analysis of usage relies upon monitoring of website visitors and so an understanding of how images are viewed and used once they are copied elsewhere on the internet is still difficult to achieve. Emily Monks-Leeson presents an analysis of two archives, the First World War Poetry Digital Archive and the Walt Whitman Archive. She argues that users are increasingly sophisticated in their ability to search for items in online archives and the way these archives are designed influences the methods users employ to find materials in them (Monks-Leeson 2011). The categorisation of materials and the design of the search and filter functions need to be considered carefully in a web context. Monks-Leeson focuses her attention on the use of online archives by researchers and doesn't consider the different kinds of users the archive may attract. Again, the archive website is considered to be a closed system and the life of materials once they are copied out of the archive by users is not the focus of attention. There is a great deal of literature on the work of museums and archives to serve their users in designing online repositories of digitised materials and the theoretical implications of related digital developments. However, the actual ways in which the materials are used by those who access the websites or archive has gained less attention. Analysis of usage tends to rely only on the



degree of access, with an increase in access being a positive didactic aim, without much inquiry into the reasons for or outcomes of access.

### **Propagation**

The examples above highlight the importance of widening the view on the digitisation of archival materials beyond selection, metadata and delivery, which are in the hands of the institution, to include the life of digitised materials once they are made available to be downloaded and copied outside of the closed website of the institution. Also requiring consideration are the digitisation activities of non-institutional actors, who create and upload their own digitised versions of materials held by institutions (Terras 2011, 16). Digital images, both those digitised by the institution and those photographed by visitors, are searchable on the internet using search engines such as Google Images. The effect of this is that institutions no longer have control over the uses of their digitised materials, the categorisation systems designed by museums no longer apply and it is more difficult to distinguish between official and non-official digitised versions of the same materials. Returning to the concept of managing containers, users may no longer attempt to locate the correct institution, collection and box (the containers) to find a digital image they want, but will instead turn to Google Images to search by the content or context. The algorithmic ranking of Google search results is now a powerful influence on public awareness of images and the popularity of certain images can be reinforced through the Google search process. This new landscape means it is vital to consider how images are used, shared and changed once they are liberated from museum archives.

### **Internet memes**

The development of internet memes is relevant when considering the propaganda and use of cultural images on the internet. The term ‘meme’ was first used by Richard Dawkins in relation to the transmission of genetics and cultural ideas. He argued that ‘cultural transmission is analogous to genetic transmission in that, although basically conservative, it can give rise to a form of evolution’ and suggested the term meme, as a shortening of the Greek ‘mimeme’, to refer to a replicator of cultural ideas or a ‘unit of imitation’ (Dawkins 1989, 189–92). He argued that memes are parts of culture, such as tunes, ideas, phrases, fashions or techniques, which can be transmitted from person to person. Ideas become memes and persist or ‘survive’ in the culture of a society when they offer psychological appeal to people, such as, for example, the idea of the existence of a god (Dawkins 1989, 193).

Limor Shifman explores how the internet age has made meme transmission processes far more visible and the concept of ‘internet memes’ has thus developed from Dawkins’ idea to refer to ‘content items such as jokes, rumors, videos, or websites from one person to others via the Internet’ (Shifman 2013). She argues that internet memes are transmitted through mimicry or remix: users can imitate the meme to create a new version, or edit and change elements of it to create a new version. Shifman argues that memes are not individual ideas but ‘groups of content items’ ‘created with awareness of each other’ and sharing ‘common characteristics’. She also defines three dimensions that can be imitated or reworked in each version of a meme: content, form and stance (Shifman 2013, 367). While her work on internet memes focuses on videos specifically, there are still theoretical elements that can be applied to iconic images. MoI images are reproduced on the internet in the form of exact copies, but they are also remixed by users in the same processes that Shifman defines for memes; the same dimensions of content, form and stance exist in still images and can be imitated and edited by users in the same way. *Keep Calm and Carry On* is perhaps the most obvious example of this, where the form is imitated, but the content and stance are changed to create an image which serves the purpose of the creator.

The specific case of iconic cultural images becoming internet memes is explored by Sandrine Boudana, Paul Frosh and Akiba Cohen, who argue that repeated circulation of iconic photographs in the form of memes can ‘corrode their intensity and uniqueness’. While certain kinds of appropriation in meme form might increase the iconicity of an image leading to ‘canonization’, other kinds can lead to ‘desacralization, until the images are devoid of the significance that made them iconic in the first place’ (Boudana, Frosh, and Cohen 2017, 1213). This observation, made in relation to iconic photographs, will be useful to apply to MoI images in light of how the term ‘iconic’ should be defined.

Another area of interest for this study is the purpose of internet memes and what exactly they are used for. Lezandra Grundlingh argues that memes function as ‘speech acts’ on the internet and both the production and interpretation of memes should be approached from a multimodal perspective. The use of memes as forms of communication relies on the choice of the resource and the choice of the social context in which the memes is interpreted by others, just like all forms of speech (Grundlingh 2018, 149). Memes are semiotic resources with meaning potential, which relies on the knowledge of those viewing the meme in the context in which it is published (Grundlingh 2018, 150). This

argument is compelling and may be applicable to the use of MoI images in online contexts.

In exploring how audiences interpret meaning from images and how these meanings are transferred from person to person, it is clear that memory is fundamental to these processes and so the concept of memory is explored in detail below.

## 2.3 Memory

In recent years, memory has become an increasingly important theoretical area within a range of disciplines. The recent boom in memory studies has expanded the number of concepts that are now collected under the umbrella of ‘memory’, beyond physiological definitions of mental processes to broad social and cultural activities, narratives and objects (Erll 2016). Efforts have been made to define different types of memory that link to social groups, families, nations and cultures, while also taking into account other elements including media, gender, generation and trauma. The complexity of the area has led to a range of new memory terms and opposing definitions of memory, depending on the discipline, area of research and theoretical approach of the authors. ‘Collective memory’ and ‘cultural memory’ are two frequently used terms to try to encompass this new understanding of memory, however they are often used imprecisely (Erll 2008, 1)

### 2.3.1 COLLECTIVE MEMORY

The concept of ‘collective memory’ was proposed in 1925 by Maurice Halbwachs (Halbwachs 1992). He argues that individual memory depends on social interaction with others. It is through communication with a social group that memory is formed, and this memory cannot be uncoupled from the group. He asserts that ‘no memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections’ (Halbwachs 1992, 43). He uses the example of dreams to substantiate his claim. Dreams, he argues, are the only example of memory exhibited with no social framework; memories appear in an incomplete and haphazard fashion when we dream because during this time we are incapable of ‘reasoning and comparing and of feeling in contact with a human society that can guarantee the integrity of our memory’ (Halbwachs 1992, 41). Halbwachs argues that the collective memory of a social group is formed through communication as it is communally determined what will be remembered and how. The social standing of the group influences the durability and power of its collective memory. As there are many social groups of which one person can be a member, the

range and intensity of a person's memories reflect the multiple collective influences upon them (Misztal 2003, 51; Berger and Niven 2014, 7).

Halbwachs' argument is fundamentally social constructivist; he asserts that individual memory is in no way independent of society, but is simply an 'aspect of group memory' (Halbwachs 1992, 53). The social group has such influence over the individual that even when alone, the individual cannot call up a memory without thinking of the group in which it originated and thus the memory is still collective. The social forces acting upon the individual ensure that when memory is retrieved, it is not perceived as it was originally created, but rather in a way that fits into the present framework; the individual moulds memories to fit the requirements of the social group (Misztal 2003, 53). This has similarities to language, the collective framework of memory created by the group provides a shared medium to articulate individual thoughts and memories (Rothberg 2009, 14–15). Multiple people in a group communicate their individual memories using a shared language and shared references which allow their memories to be understood in the context of historical and cultural norms (Fulbrook 2014, 74; Barber and Peniston-Bird 2009, 108). Historical cultural artefacts, such as the MoI images, and the words and phrases of the MoI's campaigns may act as these shared references, enabling the communication of memory in a group.

Halbwachs has been criticised for ascribing too much power to the social group in his theory of the creation of memory. By insisting that individual memory does not really exist but is subject to the control and influence of the social group, he undermines the importance of the memory itself. Barbara A. Misztal argues that by neglecting the role of individual consciousness and asserting that memory is simply subject to the influence of an existing collective identity, Halbwachs assumes that 'collective identity precedes memory' and thus ignores the role of memory in forming collective identities (Misztal 2003, 55). She argues that his assertion 'prevents us from accounting for changes in a group's perception of the past, which could arise due to new conditions, but also presumes a vision of frozen social identity' (Misztal 2003, 55). I agree with her criticism, since if memories function only as buttresses supporting an existing social identity, how was this social identity formed in the first place? If memory is fundamental to the formation of an individual's idea of who they are, then collective memory must have some influence on the identity of the social group it supports. Memories formed by individuals have more influence over collective memory than Halbwachs suggests; the relationship between the two kinds of memory is to some extent collaborative.

The primacy of the social group in understandings of Halbwachs' concept of collective memory has led to further criticism and re-evaluation. Michael Rothberg has criticised the application of the concept of collective memory which characterises memory as a 'scarce resource' over which social groups compete in the public sphere in a 'zero-sum struggle for preeminence' (Rothberg 2009, 3). He proposes the term 'multi-directional memory' which refers to memory as 'subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing; as productive and not privative' (Rothberg 2009, 3). In his concept he defines the collective memory and identities of social groups as malleable and changing and the result of interaction between different kinds of memory from multiple social groups. This more flexible and porous concept of memory is also found in definitions of 'cultural memory' discussed in section 2.3.3.

Halbwachs has also been criticised for a lack of clarity in his definition of 'collective memory' and for insufficiently describing the processes involved and the links between individual and collective memory (Misztal 2003; Marc Bloch in Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy 2011; Connerton 2014; Green 2004). Halbwachs accepts the memory itself occurs in the individual but he goes no further in his exploration of the psychological processes of individual memory, but simply argues that the individual remembers in the context of his social group. Marc Bloch among others accused Halbwachs of simply applying an individual psychological theory of memory to social groups (Bloch 2011; Connerton 2014). While it is clear to me that Halbwachs did separate the two concepts and defined the link between them, it is true that later cultural theorists drawing on Halbwachs' work do often conflate individual and collective memory and do not clearly explain the link between the two. Anna Green criticises this simplistic conception of collective memory, arguing that the work of contemporary theorists 'either conflates collective and individual memory or places the latter beyond reach' (Green 2004, 38). The lack of clarity in Halbwachs' original definition has led to simplistic statements which assert that societies or nations 'remember', when in fact they this psychological faculty.

Theorists have worked to clarify and extend the basic theory proposed by Halbwachs. Philosopher Avishai Margalit clarifies the concept of collective memory by defining a distinction between common memory, which is an aggregation of individual memories of the same event experienced individually, and shared memory, which requires the communication of memories between different people so that the different perspectives are formed into one version of the memory (Margalit 2004, 51–52). This is important as

it encourages clearer thinking about what is meant by collective memory and whether it requires active communication to exist or whether it simply refers to similar memories held by different individuals. Anna Green, writing from the perspective of oral history, explores the problems posed by imprecision in the use of the term ‘memory’. As individual memory is frequently subsumed within ‘collective memory’ and the term ‘memory’ is used to describe ‘all forms of historical understanding’, whether experienced or not, the term loses its specific psychological meaning—its connection to physical mental processes in the brain—and is increasingly hollow (Green 2004, 37). Alon Confino mirrors this concern, arguing that ‘the term "memory" is depreciated by surplus use, while memory studies lack a clear focus and have become somewhat predictable’ in repeating arguments about a mythic past being constructed by elites (Confino 1997, 1387).

The following section explores theories which focus more on the role of the individual in remembering.

### 2.3.2 INDIVIDUAL MEMORY

Green outlines the theoretical framework of oral history which splits the memory concept into three strands: cultural, social and psychological (Green 2004, 38). This categorisation attempts to ensure that individual memory is given prominence. Cultural analysis focuses on how individuals draw on archetypal myths and genres (Green 2004, 38) and social and psychological analyses focus on the contexts in which individual memories are constructed (Green 2004, 39). Despite fruitful research based on these theoretical approaches, all three strands are still underpinned by the assumption that individual memory is entirely under the influence of an external society and/or culture. Green argues that ‘each reinforces the notion that individual’s memories conform to dominant cultural scripts or unconscious psychic templates and are recalled within the constraints of ‘particular publics’’ (Green 2004, 40). This further encourages the existing tendency for theorists to subsume individual memory under the concept of collective memory (Green 2004, 40). I agree with Anna Green’s argument that academics, and particularly oral historians (for whom the individual is the primary focus), must not allow individual memory to be overlooked in discussing the richness of collective memory. If collective memory shapes and is shaped by individual memory, then neither can be considered in isolation.

Study of the processes of individual memory is found less in the humanities, where the social and cultural aspects of memory are of interest, and more in psychology. In the field of experimental psychology, efforts have been made to separate memory into defined categories (Tulving 1986, 382–83). Endel Tulving draws a clear distinction between ‘episodic memory’ and ‘semantic memory’. Episodic memory ‘receives and stores information about temporally dated episodes or events, and temporal-spatial relations among these events’ and is autobiographical in nature, and semantic memory is ‘organized knowledge a person possesses about words and other verbal symbols, their meaning and referents, about relations among them, and about rules, formulas, and algorithms for the manipulation of these symbols, concepts, and relations’ (Tulving 1986, 385–86). He argues that semantic memories manifest themselves in the form of ‘knowledge’, however they can be considered memory because they rely on information having been entered into the memory through experience, even if this experience is not stored in episodic memory (Tulving 1986, 387). Tulving does focus closely on language as being at the heart of semantic memory, however it seems to me that his definition can easily be applied to visual symbols, their meaning and relations, as well as verbal symbols. These concepts relate closely to ideas of declarative or explicit memory, which is conscious episodic memory of an event which can be communicated, and non-declarative or implicit memory, which refers to unconscious knowledge or skills which might be manifested in action rather than communicated words and is not connected to any conscious memory (Schacter 1987; Squire 1992). These definitions are useful for considering how individuals communicate their memories and their interpretations of the meaning of visual symbols, since both activities rely on a combination of episodic and semantic memory. For an individual to interpret meaning from an image and communicate this meaning, they employ their semantic memory comprising their ‘knowledge’ or understanding of the meaning of symbols, words and concepts which may or may not also relate to episodic memories of specific personal experiences.

### 2.3.3 CULTURAL MEMORY

Theorists have identified a need for another concept that takes into account the relationship between memory (individual or collective) and culture. A theory of ‘popular memory’ was developed in the 1980s by the Popular Memory Group at the University of Birmingham. This theory drew a division between public and private memory (Popular Memory Group 1982). Graham Dawson outlines how the concept emphasised the ‘cultural politics whereby collective and personal meanings of the past in its relation to

the present have been produced and contested' (Dawson 2015, 206). The interaction between public representations of the past and private memory was conceived as one of opposition, dominance and resistance, as some memories dominate while others are silenced in relation to present ideas and concerns (Dawson 2015, 206-7). The concept of popular memory integrates individual and collective memory with culture and has been adopted and extended by others. Alistair Thomson argued that the relationship between public and private memory was not necessarily oppositional but one of 'entanglement'. Writing about the Anzac legend, he suggests that the private memory of veterans is in process, influencing and influenced by both the public legend and the development of individual identities (Dawson 2015, 208-9, Thomson 1994). The idea of popular memory encourages consideration of both the oppositional and cooperative relationships between different kinds of memory and present-day influences.

Jan Assmann proposes a categorisation of memory which has parallels with Anna Green's and, like popular memory, integrates the individual, collective and cultural forms of memory. He suggests three strands: individual memory (inner and neuro-mental), communicative memory (social) and cultural memory (J. Assmann 2008, 109). He breaks Halbwachs' conception of 'collective memory' into the two latter types: communicative and cultural memory. Each of these three levels of memory link to a level of identity. Assmann argues that cultural memory 'is a form of collective memory, in the sense that it is shared by a number of people and that it conveys to those people a collective, that is cultural identity' (J. Assmann 2008, 110).

Assmann asserts that there is a stark difference between communicative memory and cultural memory. For him, cultural memory is externalised semantic memory, separated from any individual and stored in symbols, objects and institutions which are 'stable and situation-transcendent' and can be transferred between generations (J. Assmann 2008, 111). Cultural memory also has 'specialists' or 'guardians' who curate and control it (J. Assmann 2008, 114). Communicative memory has none of these attributes; it is informal, changeable and exists in everyday interactions. It must be capable of being communicated and is therefore by definition episodic in nature. Although Assmann accepts that there are transitions and overlap between these two types of memory, I do find his conception of cultural memory to be overly rigid and the distinction between the two not entirely helpful. He does not explain how cultural and communicative memory interact with one another and how communicative memory is expressed between individuals when they encounter the institutions and objects of cultural memory. His conception of cultural



institutions and specialists also does not really address examples of popular consumer culture. The three levels of memory form a useful starting point for a more nuanced definition of cultural memory.

Penny Summerfield and Corinna Peniston-Bird use the term ‘popular memory’ to refer to a ‘collective consciousness of the past’ held within a social group (Summerfield and Peniston-Bird 2007, 12–13). They draw on Halbwachs, but balance the individual with the collective, arguing that the individual has the capacity for remembering but this memory functions within and is influenced by the social group reciprocal relationship with private or personal memory and is shaped by different kinds of representations of the past (Summerfield and Peniston-Bird 2007, 13). Their concept is helpful for this study because, although it is used primarily collectively, it stresses the reciprocal relationship between individual memory and collective memory and accepts the inherently individual nature of remembering itself. Crucially, Summerfield and Peniston-Bird argue that this kind of memory is a product of a variety of cultural representations that influence remembering (Summerfield and Peniston-Bird 2007, 13).

In their 2014 book *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*, Lucy Noakes and Juliette Pattinson taken the view that cultural memory is a product of collaboration between the different types of memory. Cultural memory of the Second World War ‘includes both personal memories and narratives of war as well as publicly produced war memories’ (Noakes and Pattinson 2013, 3). Their conception of ‘publicly-produced war memories’ appears to be closer to the Popular Memory Group’s public constructions of memory and Assmann’s definition of cultural memory, in that these memories are controlled by institutions and specialists. However, Noakes and Pattinson argue that these ‘public’ memories are closely intertwined with communicative or social memory (for example family stories) and with individual memory. Public memories shape and are shaped by individual memories and this process or ‘cultural circuit’ produces ‘cultural memory’ (Noakes and Pattinson 2013, 5). I find their conception of cultural memory compelling as it addresses some of the difficulties in Halbwachs’ and Assmann’s definitions. Noakes and Pattinson restore power to individual memory and assert that the relationship between individual memory and publicly-produced memory is reciprocal. Thus, neither memory nor identity is static or pre-existing but each feeds off the other. Their concept of ‘cultural memory’ refers to a mixture of individual memory and publicly-produced information; this means that the concept is incredibly broad and thus not always useful in trying to pin down specific examples.

In his chapter in the *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, Barry Schwartz offers some further clarifications which are helpful in conceiving of the processes of communicative and cultural memory. He does not specifically use the term ‘cultural memory’ but instead presents a more inclusive interpretation of Halbwachs’ conception of ‘collective memory’ which incorporates the level of culture. He criticises theorists for their cynicism and constant attempts to reveal the deficiencies of memory at the expense of really studying the ways in which people remember (Schwartz 2015, 9). He asserts that when speaking of collective memory, ‘the adjective “collective” is not synonymous with “consensual”’ (Schwartz 2015, 11), and so collective memory ‘refers to the distribution throughout society of what individuals know, believe, and feel about the past, how they judge the past morally, how closely they identify with it, and how much they are inspired by it as a model for their conduct and identity’ (Schwartz 2015, 10). In this, Schwartz rejects the common and often-criticised idea that collective memory is somehow ‘agreed-upon’ by the social group or culture, an idea held by Halbwachs which attributes too much power to the social group at the expense of the individual. Schwartz uses the analogy of public opinion to explain his conception of how individual memories function in a group or society: memories like opinions are held by individuals but ‘when aggregated they assume new significance’ and an individual’s awareness of collective opinion or collective memory affects how the individual thinks (Schwartz 2015, 11). His ideas can be related to the distinction between common and shared memory made by Avishai Margalit mentioned in section 2.3.2. A common memory is made from aggregated individual memories, just as public opinion is made from aggregated individual opinions; a shared memory is created through communication of individual memories, just as communication of the state of public opinion back to the individual alters their opinion (Margalit 2004). Although Schwartz does not use the separate term of ‘cultural memory’, he addresses the problems of collective memory in a similar way to Noakes and Pattinson in that he describes the two-way relationship between individual memory and collective memory with more clarity.

Alon Confino also retains the use of the term ‘collective memory’ instead of ‘cultural memory’ but applies it in a broader sense than Halbwachs. He argues that a history of memory can be conceived of as a history of mentality; this mentality refers to the ‘commingled beliefs, practices, and symbolic representations that make people’s perceptions of the past’ (Confino 1997, 1389). Thus, memory can include a wider range

of knowledge and experience than just individual memories of personal experiences and the combination of these form a mentality (individual or collective) that determines the perception of the past. I would argue that this more inclusive concept of memory building up to a larger whole corresponds more closely with my concept of cultural memory. His argument also highlights the relationship between cultural memory and identity.

Ann Rigney defines ‘cultural memory’ with a similar focus on a wide range of knowledge, experience, shared and individual memory. She argues that cultural memory is the product of mediation, textualization and acts of communication and ‘is collectively constructed and reconstructed in the present’, drawing together Halbwachs’ focus on social communication with definitions that emphasise the importance of cultural artefacts and media (Rigney 2005, 13–14). She also argues that this kind of cultural memory, which relies on a wider range of influences than just individual memory, is a requirement for memory to be transferred across multiple generations. Her conception of cultural memory is compelling because it includes a wide range of cultural influences and successfully defines the constructive relationships between individual memories, social communication and cultural objects.

#### 2.3.4 MEDIA AND MEMORY

Objects, texts and media are increasingly being included at the heart of definitions of cultural memory. The relationship between media and memory is itself a focus for scholars in memory studies, leading to the development of the concept of ‘mediated memory’. Ann Rigney argues that mediated memory is memory that is performed and communicated through representations: objects, text, images and other media. The recollection is therefore vicarious to some degree, rather than direct, however she argues that it ‘makes more sense to take mediated, vicarious recollection as our model for collective memory rather than stick to some ideal form of face-to-face communication in which participants are deemed to share experience in some direct, unmediated way’ (Rigney 2005, 15). This point is echoed by Halbwachs in his suggestion that people express their memories with references and language understandable by others, thus mediating the memory in some way and relying on existing cultural texts or objects to communicate (Rigney 2005, 15; Halbwachs 1992).

Laura Basu and Paulus Bijl share this perspective, arguing that cultural memory is based on media and media function as ‘instruments for sense-making’, mediating ‘between the individual and the world’ and ‘agents of networking’, mediating ‘between individuals and

groups' (Basu and Bijl 2009, 1). Like Rigney, they also argue that remembering is an active productive process which is conducted by individuals in the social and public sphere, and so both medial and social processes need to be studied together in order to fully understand cultural memory (Basu and Bijl 2009, 5). Joanne Garde-Hansen explores these ideas in relation to the rise in mass media, which she argues has coincided with the rise in interest in memory and remembrance. She highlights the range of memories of an individual and of others, from the micro-level (family and local memories and histories) to the macro-level (histories of nation, politics, gender, race, culture and society) that contribute to a person's cultural memory and identity (Garde-Hansen 2011, 15). Broadcasting is a form of mass media, which, in her view, mediates events experienced by the viewer and influences their memory of the events. Individual remembering can be 'structured by the ideologies of the broadcaster and the broadcast and the consumption of the broadcast in the private sphere, not by the reality of the event as staged in the unmediated world' (Garde-Hansen 2011, 32). In this way, mediation is another form of communication in a social group, which influences and structures remembering. Peniston-Bird explores how media, using the example of the sitcom *Dad's Army*, act as socially shared cultural constructions which structure and limit the memories that even Home Guard veterans themselves feel able to communicate (Barber and Peniston-Bird 2009, 117–18; Peniston-Bird 2007). In thinking about and communicating their memory, individuals are influenced by media which are shared with a social group and thus form part of the repertoire of cultural references of that social group. Garde-Hansen also emphasises that not only are memories changed by media, but media are created and developed in order to facilitate remembering, in order to 'project the multiple and multiplying layers of complex connections between people, places, pasts and possibilities' (Garde-Hansen 2011, 42–43).

Mark Connelly discusses a concept of 'visual memory' in reference to certain events of the Second World War that which are communicated through powerful visual media. He argues that the visual medium is an important part of the memory and myth of the war (Connelly 2004, 7–8). He argues for example that the film, *Reach for the Sky* (1956), 'made the Battle of Britain an event we all witness', an event with 'visual resonance' due to the repetition of powerful images (Connelly 2004, 100). Similarly, the memory of the Blitz is a distinctly visual memory, built up through memories of photographs and film, one key example being Herbert Masons' photograph of St Paul's Cathedral, discussed in more depth by Allbeson (Connelly 2004, 131–32; Allbeson 2015) (see section 2.2.2). Connelly also discusses *Dad's Army* as a key piece of visual media which 'reinforces the

very visual nature of the memory of the Second World War' both by taking inspiration from the visual archive of the war and by visualising material communicated verbally through radio broadcasts (Connelly 2004, 84). Connelly supports the conception that these media influence the way people remember the Second World War, and visual media make memories more visual.

### **Anchors of memory**

The artefacts, texts and other media that mediate memory are often considered in relation to the concept of 'lieux de mémoire' or 'sites of memory' proposed by Pierre Nora. He proposes a distinction between memory and history in that 'memory attaches itself to sites, whereas history attaches itself to events' (Nora 1989, 22). Here he highlights the vital importance of considering memory in the way that individuals consider it; while a person may agree that they remember the Second World War when asked, in fact what they actually remember is not the 'historical' event, but specific instances connected to places they visited, objects and people they saw and interacted with. His argument is also bound closely to national identity, as he discusses examples of sites of memory (which include places, objects and concepts) that relate to French identity. Nora holds a negative view of memory, arguing that the popularity of these sites of memory are a symptom of society's neglect of the past; as Misztal puts it, 'as society has lost its anchoring in the past and as the state has lost its control over national memory, history can only study yesterday's places of memory as the remaining points of intersection between memory and history' (Misztal 2003, 106). Nora is criticised for his separation of memory and history and his focus on purely 'official' national memory. While his view on these concepts is very conservative and does not take into account the co-dependence of history and cultural memory, his concept of sites of memory is still compelling as it highlights those objects, images and concepts around which memory congregates. The concept has been used to refer to a variety of different things; for example, Lucy Noakes defines websites such as the BBC's 'People's War' as new sites of memory (Noakes 2013, 48). I would agree with Pim den Boer in his discussion of the translation of Pierre Nora's work, that lieux de mémoire may be better translated as 'anchors of memory' than 'sites of memory' (den Boer 2008, 22), since it gives a better reflection of the range of things which can be described with this concept and highlights that it is not the type or location of the thing that marks it out as a site or anchor of memory, but rather the thing's *influence* in cultural memory.

If memory is carried by, anchored by, or congregated around, objects in some way, it is vital to establish how this happens. There has been a great deal of discussion of photography and memory, since the photograph is considered a particularly distinctive memory media (Hirsch 2012; Hariman and Lucaites 2007; Ruchatz 2008). Jens Ruchatz highlights the natural link between photography and memory demonstrated by the development of terms such as ‘photographic memory’. He suggests two key ways of conceiving of media and memory: externalisation and trace. He characterises externalisation as the consideration of ‘media as memory’, where the contents of human memory are stored in the media (Ruchatz 2008, 367). The concept of ‘trace’ suggests that a photograph (for him this concept applies to photography) ‘refers to the past not as its representation but as its product’ and ‘it functions more as a reminder that triggers or guides remembering than as a memory in itself’ (Ruchatz 2008, 370). He also argues that objects can be considered memory traces when a person’s memory is triggered by the object and ‘it takes cultural knowledge to mark objects...as meaningful traces’ (Ruchatz 2008, 370). I agree with this, but would extend it by arguing that any personal, collective or cultural knowledge or memory can be consciously or unconsciously employed by an individual when encountering an object to trigger remembering.

Marianne Hirsch has explored the role of photography in relation to Nora’s ‘sites of memory’ and in particular how photographs are used by the generations following a trauma to conduct ‘postmemory’ work. She argues that memories become encapsulated in family photographs, especially when family members die, and later generations begin to rely on photographs and documents from past events. Hirsch argues that the emotional force of photographs used in this affiliative postmemory ‘can overshadow their informative potential’ (Hirsch 2012, 109). As photographs are passed down within families, shared and used in this postmemorial work, it becomes harder to distinguish between private and public images and the stories attached to them. The original contexts and stories of photographs that were meaningful in the private familial sphere fade as the photographs are used in the cultural remembering processes of a wider group beyond the family (Hirsch 2012, 34–35). The process by which an individual employs existing cultural knowledge to interpret an image and trigger remembering is demonstrated by Hirsch in her discussion of how family photographs are encountered by successive generations; when viewed by people with different knowledge and memory, some aspects of the image trigger memory and others are ignored. When a family photograph is viewed by a member of a later generation, the personal elements of the photograph (identities and context) are not noticed, while the wider cultural knowledge of the viewer allows the

same image to trigger cultural remembering of broader and more recent historical events and narratives.

Ann Rigney also extends Nora's definition of sites of memory to include texts and artefacts, as well as places, around which memories 'converge' and 'coalesce' (Rigney 2005, 18). These media, like sites of memory, become the focus for remembering and historical meaning and are imbued and re-imbued with this meaning by individuals and groups. When this process occurs, the text or object becomes 'a self-perpetuating vortex of symbolic investment' (Rigney 2005, 18). She also argues that the number of sites or objects tends to be limited as multiple memories are connected to them; as they are revisited, re-imbued with memory and reproduced, they help to 'reduce the proliferation of disparate memories' and provide 'common frameworks for appropriating the past' (Rigney 2005, 18). Texts and images can be even more effective at becoming sites of memory, because they are able to be easily reproduced and are not tied down to a particular geographical or temporal context. Drawing on the work of Benedict Anderson, Rigney suggests that these mobile sites of memory can 'connect up people who, although themselves never meet face-to-face, may nevertheless, thanks to stories and the media that carry them, come to share memories as members of 'imagined communities'' (Rigney 2005, 20; Anderson 1991).

Astrid Erll agrees with Rigney's argument but seeks to bring it back to the remembering process of the individual. She argues that individual texts or objects cannot in themselves evoke all the many associations of memory, but they only act as 'cues' triggering 'different memories in each observer, different images and narratives of the past that are already part of his or her semantic memory' (Erll 2009, 111). A person needs to have already accumulated the references and knowledge—semantic memory—into their cultural memory, in order to make sense of the object and for the object to function as a site of memory (Erll 2009, 111). This argument relates closely to the discussion of meaning in images in section 2.2.1 and highlights that remembering takes place and meaning is made only in the mind of the individual. An object or text may have the potential to be a site of memory, because of the memories already imbued by multiple people in a particular social group; however, when viewed by somebody outside of the social group, lacking the cultural memory to interpret it, the object cannot function as a site of memory for that person. Mary Fulbrook supports this argument, suggesting that scholars analysing historical representations often miss out the 'subjective aspect' and disregard the individual and social aspects of memory (Fulbrook 2014, 72). She asserts

that ‘only rarely are attempts made to look at mutual interactions and influences between ‘private’ or familial representations and those in the public sphere’ (Fulbrook 2014, 72).

Barry Schwartz presents a useful argument for how people use media actively to construct and communicate cultural memory for the purpose of making sense of present events and concerns. He proposes the concept of ‘frame images’, which are visual representations of the past are created and shared in order to ‘confer meaning on present experience’ (Schwartz 2009, 2). Discussing representations of Abraham Lincoln published during the Second World War, he argues that ‘collective memory articulates collective values and provides cognitive and affective orientation for realizing collective goals’ (Schwartz 2009, 2). His argument supports that idea that, for a viewer to interpret the intended meaning in a frame image, they must already have an existing cultural memory shared with others in the social group—in this case the American nation.

Many scholars discussing images as sites or anchors of memory focus specifically on photographs, rather than other forms of representation. This is likely due to several reasons. As stated before, photographs are considered to be unique media for memory; they are direct traces, or indexes, of the past as well as representations of the past in that they are created directly from the light and objects which existed in the past. When considering memory, writers often have an interest in events within living memory that can be connected to the direct episodic memories of individuals. They are also interested in traumatic memories such as those relating to war. As the dominant media of the twentieth century, photography is an important area of interest for these scholars. Photography is an accessible media for ordinary people, and photographs are commonly taken within families. This means that photographs are the most likely form of representation to be passed down within families, and thus able to act as anchors of memory. Finally, they are commonly reproduced in print media such as newspapers and so have developed an important role as anchors of memory in the twentieth century. This also accounts for why discussion of iconic images primarily focuses on photography (see section 2.2.4). Despite the deserved focus on photography, Barry Schwartz has demonstrated how non-photographic forms, which involve more considered artistic design, can be considered in this way. An image does not have to be photographic to be remembered and have meaning attached to it, and so MoI images can certainly be analysed as potential anchors of memory.

The impact of online media on anchors of memory is an area that should be considered in this study. Photographs have been spoken of as sites or anchors of memory, in that they



are passed down within families and meanings are interpreted and memories shared on a small scale. Press photographs can also be considered in the same way as similar acts of remembering can take place when images are viewed in newspapers by a much larger number of less-connected people. The role of press photographs as anchors of memory can be considered in relation to Benedict Anderson's concept of 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991), in that people who are not directly connected can view the same images and imbue their own personal and cultural memory into that image. The vast repetition of the same images in online media may add a new dimension to this concept of sites of memory, as it may be that when an image is reproduced and edited so many times, this dulls its capacity to function as a site or anchor of memory.

### **Globalisation and digitisation**

Interest in mediated memory has extended to consider the issues of globalisation and digitisation. If memory is mediated, then it is important to understand the nature of the media in question. Anna Reading and Andrew Hoskins have examined how digital media has changed the nature of memory and mediated memory. Digital technologies have enabled media to be transferred across traditional national borders at great speed and easily manipulated, copied and shared (Garde-Hansen, Hoskins, and Reading 2009; Reading 2011). Reading explores the concept of the 'global memory field' and its relations to previous concepts of 'global memory' and 'transnational memory'. While there were always examples of memory being shared across national borders, she argues that digital media have introduced new elements that have led to new ways of mediating memory. Drawing on research on how the event of the death of Neda Agha-Soltan was reported, mediated and remembered, she argues that 'the digital witnessing of Neda is no longer to be understood in terms of an analysis of the discrete camera phone images themselves but in terms of how these involved the coextensive intersection of her images with other images, of her images prior to her death, of other distinct images' (Reading 2011, 246). The speed and variety of mediation in the digital world has the capacity to alter the way events are remembered internationally, how cultural memory is formed and developed and how sites of memory are created.

### **2.3.5 MEMORY OF EVENTS NOT EXPERIENCED**

If we define cultural memory as the result of a process of synthesis of individual memory, the memory of other individuals and broader narratives and cultural objects, then in this conception of memory, there must inevitably exist stories about events that the individual

did not experience. If an individual remembers culturally, they include and combine aspects of their culture or society's past beyond their own experience. This therefore raises the question of whether knowledge of a past not experienced can actually be considered 'memory' at all. Anna Green highlights this problem, arguing that theorists too easily apply the term memory to 'what are really different ways of knowing about the past', devaluing the term and removing its link to specific individual psychological processes. This kind of knowledge, she argues, should really be defined as simple 'historical understanding' (Green 2004, 37). This could however be considered a form of semantic memory, since historical understanding consists of knowledge about the past: facts, symbols and meanings. It also consists of stories about the past told originally by a person who did possess that direct experience and episodic memory. Whether a story about the past should be considered semantic or episodic memory when remembered by a person without that specific direct temporal experience, depends on whether the person remembers the experience of being told the story episodically, or whether knowledge of the story has entered semantic memory implicitly.

### **Postmemory**

Marianne Hirsch, writing about Holocaust trauma in particular, accepts that the term 'memory' can be used to refer to knowledge of the past outside of lived experience, but proposes the term 'postmemory' to indicate this kind of memory. She explains a process of change from 'familial' to 'affiliative' memory, as memories are passed down in families, lose their specificity and acquire more general cultural and societal associations (Hirsch 2012, 36). She argues that the creation of postmemory is a process through which people without direct personal memory of an event actively revisit evidence and representations of events and imbue them with their own meanings and emotions. Postmemorial work, such as viewing, sharing and reworking photographs, helps to 'reactivate and re-embody more distant political and cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of mediation and aesthetic expression', allowing future generations to become invested in past events they did not experience (Hirsch 2012, 33). Alexander Etkind also discusses these processes in relation to mourning the dead, arguing that responses to loss often involve representation, repetition and 'symbolic re-enactment of that loss' (Etkind 2013, 1). Etkind agrees with Hirsch in believing that mourning can take place several generations after the loss itself, with people mourning the loss of people and things that they never knew (Etkind 2013,

14), and he suggests that it requires two cultural generations to ‘make the work of mourning culturally productive’ (Etkind 2013, 3).

### **Identity**

Jan Assmann has an interesting way of approaching this problem. Instead of defining memory as something which needs to relate to the individual mental process of remembering an experience, he instead defines it as being bound closely to personal or cultural identity. We think of our knowledge as memory when we believe it to make up our own identity, whether a personal identity or a collective cultural identity: ‘cultural memory reaches back into the past only so far as the past can be reclaimed as “ours”’ (J. Assmann 2008, 113). Alon Confino also argues along similar lines, asserting that memory corresponds to mentality, which in turn determines our view of the past and therefore our identity (Confino 1997, 1390). This is echoed by Barry Schwartz in his discussion of the concept of frame images when he suggests that ‘we cannot, in truth, be oriented by a past in which we fail to see ourselves’ (Schwartz 2009, 2). I agree with these authors in that the process of identity-formation is key to differentiating between knowledge and memory.

It is over-simplistic to attempt to clearly distinguish between direct personal psychological memories and detached knowledge of past events and narratives. These two have been variously described as memory and history, personal memory and appropriated memory or memory and postmemory (Nora 1989; Erll 2016; Hirsch 2012). An individual who was alive between 1939 and 1945 may claim to have a memory of the Second World War; however, it is impossible to fully separate this person’s direct personal memories of things they saw and what happened to them during that time from their ‘knowledge’ of other people’s experiences and memories, wider cultural narratives and publicly-produced histories. If we accept that individual memory is in constant dialogue with these other cultural and social influences, then it seems futile to attempt to extricate their specific ‘direct’ memories from the cultural context in which they are remembered. If we accept that the term ‘cultural memory’ can refer to elements of knowledge not directly created through lived experience, then even somebody who was born after 1945 can have a cultural memory of the Second World War.

Alison Landsberg introduces the term ‘prosthetic memory’ to refer to a similar concept. She argues that prosthetic memory is a new form of memory that has become powerful with the advent of a new mass experiential culture of film, television and heritage. She asserts that ‘in this moment of contact, an experience occurs through which the person

sutures himself or herself into a larger history' and 'the person does not simply apprehend a historical narrative but takes on a more personal, deeply felt memory of the past event through which he or she did not live' (Landsberg 2004, 2). I agree that this process does exist; the experience of encountering a representation of or artefacts from the past can be so immersive that the resultant memory of that experience can have a powerful effect on the development of a person's identity and can occupy an important place in a person's cultural memory. However, I would argue that a separate term is not really required for this purpose, as when a person remembers the content of the film or television programme, for example, it is still an individual or collective memory of an experience, but it is the fact that it is 'personal' and 'deeply felt' that marks it out as a 'memory' rather than just information. Following Assmann's argument, any knowledge or vision of the past that has an effect on a person or group's feelings of identity, can be categorised as a memory. One can know a fact or piece of information gained through an experience—the semantic memory, however it is when this experience is imbued with feelings of emotion and identity that it is considered episodic memory. Memories of cultural objects such as films, memories of the experiences of oneself and others, and wider cultural narratives, can all have an influence on one's identity and when combined form one's cultural memory of the past.

### **Authenticity**

Discussing the Second World War in particular, Patrick Finney highlights the importance of perceived 'authenticity' for the communication of cultural memory. He argues that the dwindling number of veterans of the Second World War and people who had a direct memory of the period has led to public concern that the connection to the real past is being lost and the representations and media that are being created and consumed and that contribute to the development of cultural memory are in some way inauthentic (Finney 2017, 155). He suggests that this anxiety can lead to the resurgence of the idea that only direct oral testimony from participants constitutes 'genuine' memory, when in fact 'viscerally-raw memories can over time congeal into reiterated scripts' and there exist 'entanglements between Holocaust fiction and memoir' (Finney 2017, 159). This idea relies on the identity of the person describing their memories as a 'participant' in the events discussed, so that specific factual details may be incorrectly remembered, however the account is still considered to be 'authentic' because it derives from a lived experience. The importance of perceived authenticity in mediated memory is interesting to consider

when examining how and why certain representations of the past succeed in entering cultural memory and others do not.

### 2.3.6 GENERATIONS AND MEMORY

If we accept that cultural memory includes cultural influences beyond one person's lived experience, then events can have long legacies that continue after the death of all those involved and can span many generations. It is important to understand the effect of generational differences on the way events are remembered. Karl Mannheim argues that individuals share the same generation if they are born into the same cultural context and have similar experiences during adolescence and young adulthood (Mannheim 1970). In sharing these characteristics, individuals also share a unique cultural memory and therefore a unique generational identity distinct from that of their parents and grandparents. Samuel Hynes forefronts the importance of self-identification, arguing that 'a generation exists when it thinks it does: that is, when it identifies itself as distinct from other generations' and generations are more distinct when experiences differ between them (Hynes 2011, 383). Discussing the First World War, Hynes identifies different generational groups including those with direct experience of the events and the generations after them. He argues that members of each generation display a distinct set of attitudes towards the war which are formed by their shared experiences and familial connections to the generations before them. These attitudes are observable in the cultural media they create, including books and films (Hynes 2011). In their study on generational knowledge of national and world events, Howard Schuman and Jacqueline Scott demonstrate that individuals ascribe more importance to events that occurred during their lifetime and more importance still on events that occurred during their formative adult years (Schuman and Scott 1989, 377).

Studies of traumatic memory and the relationships between different generations has revealed more nuance in this process of generational imprinting. Jürgen Reulecke argues that traumatic war experiences demonstrate that 'not only...are the experiences from adolescence able to create a long-term generationality, but also that grave experiences in other phases of life, even in very young years, can lead to we-feeling of special generational unity' (Reulecke 2008, 122). The identity of one generation can also be profoundly influenced by the traumatic memory of the previous generation. This is demonstrated vividly by Marianne Hirsch, who explores how for children of Holocaust survivors, their own formative memories are bound up with narratives and objects from their parents. Through familial 'acts of transfer' they 'inherit a horrific, unknown, and

unknowable past’ which is incorporated with their own individual childhood and adolescent memories (Hirsch 2012, 34). Her work demonstrates not only the significance of specific familial influences on generational identity, but also the necessity of including memory of events not personally experienced in any concept of cultural memory.

### 2.3.7 NOSTALGIA

One area that is integral to the idea of memory of events not experienced and links closely to media is that of nostalgia. Svetlana Boym is responsible for some of the most detailed analysis of the concept. In her book, *The Future of Nostalgia*, Boym charts the history of the concept, from a time when it was considered a physical ailment connected to personal experience, to a far more detached phenomenon, ‘a mourning for the impossibility of mythical return, for the loss of an enchanted world with clear borders and values’ (Boym 2001, 8). She argues that nostalgia is no longer restricted to a ‘homeland’ that is properly remembered and in fact it is only when this homeland is distanced in time that nostalgia really emerges (Boym 2001, xiii). This is why it is so important not to dismiss memory that people hold of events that they never lived through, since it is the particular combination of experience and invention that builds up the myths about which people feel nostalgic.

Boym notes how nostalgia is often dismissed by historians as a damaging ‘abdication of personal responsibility, a guilt-free homecoming’ in the sense that it is a view of the past that is distorted (Boym 2007, 9). This criticism is closely connected to that of memory, since it is perceived to be flawed human memory that causes the distortion. However, these concepts are vital to study as it is in the process of remembering—selecting, inventing and perhaps distorting—the past that creates myth and invites nostalgia. Boym highlights how nostalgia is more common in times of change and upheaval as a ‘defence mechanism’ and argues that nostalgia is closely intertwined with the concerns of the present and conception of the future (Boym 2001, xvi). Katharina Niemeyer supports this view arguing that nostalgia is not a fad, but deals with ‘positive or negative relations to time and space’, a symptom of progress or crisis (Niemeyer 2014, 2). Boym conceives of two kinds of nostalgia: restorative, which is concerned with reconstructing the lost home, and reflective, which is concerned with dwelling on the mixed emotions of the longing itself. She suggests that ‘restorative nostalgia protects the absolute truth, while reflective nostalgia calls it into doubt’ (Boym 2001, xviii).

Raphael Samuel also approaches the concept of nostalgia as an integral part of memory which is 'historically conditioned, changing colour and shape according to the emergencies of the moment' (Samuel 1996, xxiii), rather than a negative phenomenon. He focuses on the 'nostalgia industry' and heritage or what he terms 'retrochic', which rapidly gained popularity in the second half of the twentieth century and also attracts similar criticism. Samuel agrees with Boym that whether the past or home is actually remembered or not, the processes of nostalgia are the same and equally emotionally powerful. He argues that 'nostalgia, or homesickness, is famously not about the past but about felt absences or 'lack' in the present' (Samuel 1996, 356). It is perhaps regret at what cannot be remembered that is as important a part of nostalgia as what can be remembered. So, it is important to realise, when considering a person's cultural memory of a period they did not experience, that their knowledge of their own lack of memory may be as emotionally influential as another person's precise personal memory of that period. Those lacking direct experience have even more need to turn to cultural stimuli to fill that void and this is perhaps where the 'nostalgia industry' finds its role.

Katharina Niemeyer discusses the intersection between media, memory and history as crucial to our understanding of nostalgia. She suggests that 'media are platforms on which events are experienced as historical ones' and 'media can activate, frame and render memory sharable', touching on many of the points made previously in section 2.3.4. Michael Pickering and Emily Keightley discuss nostalgic advertising, introducing the term 'retrotyping' which refers to the process of selective remembering which celebrates certain elements of the past while discarding others, in order to create a 'bespoke past' (Pickering and Keightley 2014, 88). They argue that, through retrotyping, advertisers aim to create a 'uniform impression of a past time or scenario' by 'simplifying, screening out what is undesirable in promoting a product, amplifying what will render it more alluring in one way or another'. This kind of nostalgic memory work has the effect of leaving viewers with a 'generalised sense of pastness rather than a sense of particular pasts' (Pickering and Keightley 2014, 90).

To turn to an example connected with the Second World War, Jean Pickering's chapter in *Narratives of Nostalgia, Gender and Nationalism* relates her own personal experience of nostalgia around D-Day. Pickering was a child during the war and explains how nostalgia developed afterwards as she discovered problematic facts about the war, or 'betrayals', such as failings and deceptions of government. She suggests that nostalgia in this case was the regret of losing 'the frame of mind that made belief possible, that made

choices simple and responsibilities clear' (Kehde and Pickering 1997, 189). Pickering's experience raises a concept of nostalgia that could be characterised as a yearning for the simplicity of direct personal memory as opposed to the troublesome complexity of informed knowledge gained after the fact. The combination or collision of these different kinds of memory and knowledge, which together I define as cultural memory, can cause feelings of conflicted nostalgia whether comforting or distressing.

To summarise, I employ the concept of 'cultural memory' defined with the following key characteristics.

- Cultural memory is formed in the mind of an individual through the acquisition and combination of different kinds of memory.
- All kinds of memory can contribute to the formation of cultural memory
  - Direct episodic memories of personal experiences
  - Memories of stories communicated by other people, both in-person or mediated
  - Semantic memory or information learned, even when the experience of learning is not remembered
  - Memories of encountering and/or engaging with objects, artefacts, images, sounds or any sensory input
- An individual can have a cultural memory of an event or period which they did not themselves experience.
- Remembering occurs in the mind of the individual, but elements of an individual's cultural memory may be similar to elements of another individual's cultural memory. Thus, cultural memory may be considered collectively among people with similar cultures and life experiences.
- Cultural memory contributes to the development of personal identity.

Considering these concepts of memory in light of the Second World War raises the concept of 'myth' which is discussed frequently by authors considering cultural memory. The key literature relating to Second World War myth and its relation to memory is discussed below.



## 2.4 Myth, memory and the Second World War

Ian McLaine argues that the concept of British civilian morale is a myth that now forms part of British cultural memory of the Second World War. He conceptualises ‘myth’ as ‘a story which encapsulates for its believers all the qualities they see themselves as possessing in circumstances of extreme adversity’ (McLaine 1979, 1). In this definition he closely links myth to identity formation. He highlights the example of the Dunkirk Spirit as the dominant myth of Second World War public morale, which is commonly reused for political ends. He argues that the myth has endured partly due to writers’ fear that ‘too close an inquiry might erode the foundations of the myth’, and also due to the difficulty of assessing the accuracy of the myth when the term ‘morale’ is so imprecise and the sources so varied (McLaine 1979, 1).

### 2.4.1 DEBUNKING MYTHS

In the first decades after the end of the Second World War, the myth was strong and generally uncontested. It was not until the late 1960s, perhaps beginning with the publication of Angus Calder’s *The People’s War*, that historians began to identify aspects of the existing Second World War narrative as myths and in many cases aggressively debunk them. Calder offers many examples of events on the British home front that did not fit with the egalitarian myth of ‘the people’s war’ (Calder 1992). These efforts to dissect war myths have continued, but in recent years historians have attempted to present a more nuanced picture; instead of attacking myth as incorrect and destructive and attempting to separate ‘myth’ from ‘reality’, historians have worked to show how myth is a constructive and necessary part of remembering the past. There has been an increased interest in studying how myths are formed and perpetuated and how they interact with memory and media.

### 2.4.2 MYTH FORMATION

In his book, *We Can Take It! Britain and the Memory of the Second World War*, Mark Connelly offers a comprehensive account of how a range of myths were formed and then reshaped and applied in modern contexts to serve particular ends. He does this by looking at a variety of cultural artefacts including films, radio programmes, books, newspapers, posters and public events. He argues that the state of public memory of the war can be ascertained, not by analysing individual artefacts from a society, but only by looking at the ‘sheer homogeneity of its popular culture artefacts’ (Connelly 2004, 3). His method

is to analyse a range of artefacts and identify the broad narratives and memories of the war that are exhibited by them.

Connelly uses the term 'public memory' to indicate how people collectively look at the past and draw conclusions from it. He argues that this public memory is formed by myths, such as that of Dunkirk or the Blitz, that help to bind the group together. He argues against historians who seek to debunk myths in favour of a narrative of the 'real' war, suggesting that myths exist alongside academic narratives, each feeds the other and both are part of the public memory of the war. He argues that these efforts to debunk indicate a 'failure to understand the robustness of myths, the way in which they swallow criticisms and simply reshape them' (Connelly 2004, 10). He attacks the false distinction made between the 'real' war and the 'imagined' war, arguing instead that the war was being mythologised as it was happening, the relationships between people and official communications were more nuanced and it was in these relationships that public memory was formed (Connelly 2004).

In his chapter on Dunkirk, Connelly suggests that many of the ideas of Britishness that have come to be associated with the Dunkirk myth, 'standing alone, fighting weird, wonderful and incomprehensible foreigners of all sorts against great odds', were already in existence in the nineteenth century, with reference to past military endeavours such as the Spanish Armada and the Napoleonic Wars (Connelly 2004, 56–60). Dunkirk then, is simply the most recent myth to take on these national concepts, which have been around for some time. It could be argued then that there is nothing particularly special about the Second World War as an event which helped to form cultural memory and national identity; this process has happened throughout history, and people simply apply existing national mythic concepts to the most recent traumatic events in the nation's past.

The development of the idea of the Second World War as a 'good war' is explored by Matthew Grant, who argues that the cultural memory of the war was 'refashioned through popular culture to eliminate or reduce perceptions of the potentially negative consequences of the war, and instead to accentuate its positive aspects' (Matthew Grant 2018, 1157) and defines this 'dominant ideology' of the war as one which encompassed ideas of unity, self-sacrifice and togetherness (Matthew Grant 2018, 1162). He criticises studies of the cultural memory of the war that rely only on cultural media relating directly to the war and media produced later in the twentieth century, arguing that the development of cultural memory and myths of the Second World War was already taking place in the immediate post-war period in 1945 and 1946 (Matthew Grant 2018, 1155–56).

### 2.4.3 PROPAGANDA

In his book, *Half the Battle*, Robert Mackay echoes many of the fundamental arguments of Connelly but instead of looking directly at myths and tracing their history, he focuses on wartime communications and how they influenced myth formation and public morale. Mackay draws upon a variety of examples of communications with the public, from the MoI, other government bodies, the BBC and commercial organisations, to demonstrate the range of methods employed and in some cases their effects. He identifies the themes that began to emerge within these communications, for example that of the ‘people’s war’, Arcadian England and colonial support, in response to particular concerns and developments in the war (Mackay 2003, 151–65). He stresses caution when trying to assess the impact of any of these communications on public morale due to the range of influences that could affect personal responses and the difficulty of identifying reactions to specific propaganda efforts (Mackay 2003, 176–77).

Another element which Mackay raises as a key focus of much British war propaganda, but which may not be an obvious part of cultural memory now, is the support of the colonies. Following the fall of France, the MoI worked hard to counter suggestions that Britain was ‘alone’—an idea which has, itself, developed into a myth—by emphasising the contribution of colonial armies (Mackay 2003, 151). These communications may have been effective during the war, but no doubt the fall of the British Empire following the war has weakened their influence in British popular culture and today ‘alone’ is a more resonant cultural myth of Britain’s war experience.

Mackay draws attention to the use of the idealised English countryside as a method to stimulate patriotism, in posters such as ‘Your Britain, Fight for it now’ and documentaries like ‘This England’. Mackay argues that the images of locations used were ‘idealized and Anglo-centric’ and ‘were thought to represent the essence of Britain in the imaginations of ordinary people’ (Mackay 2003, 164–65). It could also be that these images did not only chime with ordinary people’s imaginations but also guided their imaginations towards a certain ‘essence of Britain’ which has remained in popular memory of the period.

### 2.4.4 MODERN APPLICATIONS

Myths of the past can be appropriated to make sense of modern events, and thus influence how modern events are remembered. The final chapter of Connelly’s book focuses on how public memory of the war has been reassessed and utilised to fit with modern

developments. He argues that the Second World War forms current public understanding of war as people no longer have any direct connection with the armed forces. The war is now a 'security blanket in a changing world' (Connelly 2004, 267); the clarity of the battle lines—allies and enemies, good and evil—and the concept of the war as a fundamentally good cause means it is now looked on with nostalgia, in a world where conflict is morally ambiguous. The way the Second World War has become a guide for people to make sense of modern events resonates with Schwartz's concept of 'frame images' referred to in section 2.3.4. As well as helping people to make sense of modern events, when myths are associated with modern political discussions, they can influence opinion and the development of identities. Connelly shows how the reapplication of myths of the Second World War in modern times has influenced British national identity. He argues that Britain's obsession with the war has led to a general mistrust of foreigners and self-delusion which have a negative social and political effect. His two main examples of this are Britain's reluctance towards European integration and the racism displayed in English football hooliganism. Connelly argues that 'it is deeply problematic for it implies an inability to discriminate between the myth of the war and the present reality' (Connelly 2004, 290). While he points to examples of the press making references to the Second World War when referring to these two examples, Connelly fails to take into account the longer-term aspects of the myth (which he does explore in regard to Dunkirk). Negative and delusional aspects of British national identity no doubt have roots further back in history than the Second World War and the war simply presents an appealing way to communicate these nationalistic feelings.

In his article, *Finding the People's War*, Geoff Eley explores how national mythic narratives are formed and employed for a variety of different ends. Eley argues that the public memory of the victorious and morally good Second World War suited both the political left and right; it could be implemented to promote a patriotic view of military and political strength (Churchill's War) or implemented to support the idea of popular solidarity and resistance and as the foundation of the welfare state (the People's War) (Eley 2001). For new political claims to be presented effectively, the memory of the Second World War had to be repositioned to fit. This was attempted in the 1960s and 70s when the Second World War consensus was attacked and destabilised, but a strong counter narrative failed to be erected in its place (Eley 2001, 821). Eley argues that this iconoclasm left the memory of the Second World War open for those on the right to reclaim it for their own ends in the 1980s: 'by 1983, Thatcherism was evoking the other Churchill of late imperial militarism and racialized cultural superiority, exchanging ideals

of social justice for a patriotism straight and pure' (Eley 2001, 822). The Popular Memory Group also explored how this dominant memory of Britain's role in the Second World War, that of a united, self-sacrificing and patriotic 'island race' led by Churchill, was re-evoked by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for political ends in the early 1980s (Dawson 2015, 207).

Eley's article demonstrates a certain fear about the uses of cultural myths of the Second World War, a fear that is also found in the work of Mark Connelly and Owen Hatherley. In his 2015 book, *The Ministry of Nostalgia*, Hatherley gives a broad range of examples to support his argument that myths of the Second World War are being employed to justify the austerity programme of the Conservative government. In particular he analyses the explosion in popularity of the *Keep Calm and Carry On* poster, arguing that its message is tied up with the myths of the Blitz Spirit and Britain's Finest Hour (Hatherley 2015, 15–16). He argues that *Keep Calm* has been used to foreground the importance of economy and hard work to 'legitimate regimes which constantly argued that, despite appearances to the contrary, resources were scarce and there wasn't enough to go around; the most persuasive way of explaining why someone (else) was inevitably going to suffer' (Hatherley 2015, 17). He argues that the myths of the Second World War have also been employed in order to encourage people to remember this history and forget about more negative histories such as that of the British empire. This imaginary Britain rejects internationalism and multiculturalism, he argues, since it is 'a Britain without 1948 and the Empire Windrush' (Hatherley 2015, 112–13). Paul Gilroy also writes about the myths of the Second World War from a postcolonial perspective, arguing that these positive conceptions of Britain during the Second World War are employed to cover up Britain's uncomfortable imperial past and present problems and allow people to wallow in a mythical version of British history (Gilroy 2010). He argues that the process is driven by a need to get back to the place or moment before the 'country lost its moral and cultural bearings' (Gilroy 2010). Like Hatherley, Gilroy also expresses fear at the way this reorientation towards a particular past encourages xenophobia.

While Lucy Noakes and Juliette Pattinson use 'cultural memory' as an overarching term in their book, they also identify the common 'myths' of the Second World War that form this memory. Like others, they explore how cultural memory of the war has been moulded and used to fit particular political and social ends in the later twentieth century (Noakes and Pattinson 2013), however their assessment is less fearful than other writers. They see the reinterpretation and reuse of myths and memories to fit contemporary concerns as an

inevitable and continuous process. For example, they argue that the focus of British cultural memory shifted from a celebration of white British veterans in the 1980s to the British home front in the 1990s. Both of these narratives marginalised the contribution of empire forces and tried to remove the existence of foreign allies from the memory (Noakes and Pattinson 2013, 11). The memory of the war has also been employed in rhetoric for and against 'austerity' (Noakes and Pattinson 2013, 11–12). With these examples, Noakes and Pattinson argue, in a similar way to Hatherley and Gilroy, that 'one of the key functions of the cultural memory of the Second World War in post-war Britain is to mask the decline of Empire and the economic and political decline of Britain as a world power' (Noakes and Pattinson 2013, 14).

Increasingly, historians have investigated Second World War myths more closely—not to establish whether or not they reflect 'reality', but rather to understand how pervasive they are in people's minds. Myths may be observable in cultural media, but the degree to which they are received, accepted and incorporated into cultural memory by real people may vary. To rely only on cherry-picked examples of the repetition of a myth in culture and media and ignore the reception of these examples could lead to the kind of fear of myth exhibited by Hatherley. While Noakes and Pattinson share some of the same pessimistic interpretations of the uses of Second World War myths as Hatherley, they also highlight the importance of anchoring these interpretations to evidence of public reception and interpretation. Their book contains many examples of the study of reception and memory, including an analysis of the BBC's 'People's War' website (Noakes 2013).

Penny Summerfield addresses the myth of Dunkirk in one 2010 article. The conflicting representations of the Dunkirk evacuation centre on the question of emphasis: whether to focus people's attention on popular heroic action (i.e. the small boats) or the triumph of the royal navy and military (Summerfield 2010b). She looks at a variety of cultural objects to explore the different presentations of the event, including films and books and this enables her to explore public reactions to some of them. For example, she uses MO reports to gauge reactions to newsreels and films and she also looks at letters, newspaper reminiscences and film reviews (Summerfield 2010b, 795–96). In particular, she analyses responses to the 1958 film *Dunkirk*; the range of conflicting reactions received by this film demonstrates the variety of memories which can be constructed from one event and the difficulty of assessing the impact of one cultural artefact on British cultural memory. The diverse attitudes and interpretations of individuals in many cases may reveal that

established myths of the Second World War are more mutable and disputed than a study of cultural artefacts alone would lead one to believe.

Writers discussing cultural media, such as propaganda images, as part of wider studies of broad subjects can fall into the trap of reviewing materials superficially and making assumptions about how these materials *reflect* British culture, without actually investigating the use and reception of these materials. This is where there is a danger of casually reinforcing or debunking perceived myths without sufficient examination of the development of these myths. In order to draw any conclusions about myth and cultural memory, one cannot only investigate examples of cultural artefacts such as propaganda images; one must also investigate reception and memory. In her book, *Whistling in the Dark: Memory and culture in wartime London*, Jean R Freedman argues that academics have often devoted too little attention to memory when considering myth. She accuses Angus Calder of reifying the myth he describes by assuming its ‘homogenous interpretation’ (Freedman 2015, 178). Freedman argues that ‘popular ideas are often assumed to be equivalent to the representations created by popular culture, governmental directives, and wartime propaganda’ (Freedman 2015, 177), however, in reality interpretation is always mixed and therefore memory must be analysed in detail alongside any consideration of the representations remembered (Freedman 2015, 179).

## 2.5 Summary of theoretical framing

The review of literature in this section has established areas of interest for the study of MoI materials and myths of the Second World War, and clear theoretical foundations for the approach to images, memory and digital media. The review of archival material relating to the MoI has indicated certain aspects that were considered by MoI officials when designing and using visual materials, specifically their interest in adapting to the needs of the public and ensuring aesthetic interest and appeal in propaganda images.

The theoretical approach to images adopted by this study draws on Burke (2001), Sturken and Cartwright (2009), Jordanova (2012), Peniston-Bird (2009) and Wolff (2012) and asserts that meaning is not inherent in an image but instead is constructed in the mind of the individual based on their existing cultural knowledge and influences and the influence of the context of viewing. Study of images and meaning therefore relies on studying the creation, context of display and reception of images. In this study, drawing primarily on the work of Hariman and Lucaites (2007), Sturken and Cartwright (2009) and Boudana, Frosh and Cohen (2017), ‘iconic images’ are understood to be those images which are

able to represent significant concepts in the minds of observers, are frequently reproduced, easily recognised and remembered. An iconic image must also fit into the cultural memory of an individual in such a way that the viewer believes there exists an audience which shares the individual's recognition and interpretation of the image. Review of literature on the impact of digital media on the use of images, has raised important areas for consideration for this study, particularly regarding the impact of digitisation, easy propagation of images online and the function of internet memes.

In this study, the concept of 'cultural memory' will be used, drawing on the work of Noakes and Pattinson (2013), Summerfield and Peniston-Bird (2007) and Rigney (2005). Cultural memory is formed from different kinds of memory in the mind of the individual. These kinds of memory can include direct episodic memories of personal experiences, memories of stories communicated by other people, both in-person or mediated, semantic memory or information learned, even when the experience of learning is not remembered and memories of encountering and/or engaging with objects, artefacts, images, sounds or any sensory input. A person can have cultural memory of an event or period which they did not themselves experience. While remembering occurs in the mind of the individual, parts of an individual's cultural memory may also be found in the cultural memory of others, particularly when those individuals share common experiences and cultural background. When cultural memory is similar in a social group, it may be considered to be a form of common or collective memory.



## Chapter 3: Methodology

### 3.1 Theoretical framework

In the previous chapter, the theoretical literature relating to the study of meaning in images, cultural memory, myth, and digital media was explored. This discussion has enabled decisions to be made regarding the most relevant theoretical approaches for this research to adopt in order to effectively address the study's overarching aim of understanding how Ministry of Information (MoI) images fit into the cultural memory of people in Britain. The discussions in the literature review have allowed this overarching aim to be divided into more specific objectives. These objectives are all concerned with understanding what happens in the minds of individuals when they view MoI images. This understanding encompasses remembering processes, the reasons for images being recognised and considered to be 'iconic', and interpretations of images.

This section explores how these objectives can be addressed using different methodological approaches. It begins by outlining the key theories that underpin the selection of methodological approaches for this study. It demonstrates how each theory contributes to the decision to select the four methods of content analysis, survey, oral history and reverse image search. Details concerning the decisions made regarding the implementation of each method are also included in this section.

#### 3.1.1 SEMIOTICS

Meaning communicated through visual images is fundamentally based on semiotics. With semiotics, the image is approached as a system of signs that convey meaning. The approach was developed as a means of analysing written texts (Penn 2000, 227–28). The semiotic approach asserts that it is possible to analyse the subject matter of an image by decoding objects in several levels of analysis. Ferdinand de Saussure defined the signifier (the word or object) and the signified (the concept or thing it represents), which together comprise the sign (Saussure 2011). Sets of these signs comprise wider systems of meaning, called 'codes'. These codes are conventions for arranging signs together in order to construct meaning and guide the interpretation of the audience (Bignell and Hirst 2002, 10).

The theory of semiotics purports that texts and images can be *read* and that some degree of truth or definitive meaning can be decoded. This assumption has been criticised as a simplification of the way meaning is formed (Jordanova 2012; Chandler 2017; Hall 2009,

163–73). Whilst taking semiotics as a core theory for my understanding of how meaning is constructed in images, I attempt to avoid this simplification by also drawing on other theorists who believe that the process of meaning construction occurs in the mind of the individual. Meaning does not travel in a linear line from the signs in an image to the mind of the viewer; it is instead always mediated in multiple ways and interpretation is influenced by many individual factors (Jordanova 2012, 168; Sturken and Cartwright 2009; Burke 2001). In the study's use of the semiotic approach, it is made clear that any signs, codes and meaning identified using the methods are only ever *potential* in their nature and require corroboration through the study of reception. Stephen Spencer argues that the simplification of meaning-making through the use of semiotics can also be avoided by anchoring the semiotic approach to social realities and combining it with other methods (Spencer 2010), so this study is designed with a multi-method approach partly for this purpose.

Based on this theoretical framework, semiotic content analysis was considered as a suitable method to analyse the MoI images. In using a semiotic approach to analyse each MoI image, the signs and the relationships between the signs can be identified, providing some insight into the possible interpretations that can be drawn. This process is undertaken by identifying all possible denotations (the literal object represented) and connotations (associative meanings) of the visual elements of each image (Hall 2009, 168). The semiotic content analysis approach is also used as a way of analysing the data obtained from the survey and interview phases of the study. This enables the meanings interpreted by individual survey and interview participants to be mapped across to the signs already identified in the images.

### 3.1.2 RECEPTION STUDIES

Based on the fundamental presumption that meaning is formed in the mind of the audience through their interpretation of the signs in an image, rather than being inherent to those signs, the theoretical approach of reception studies is valuable for this study. The field of reception studies focuses on how a text creates meaning in the mind of an audience and the methods by which different meanings can be generated for different people. It rests on the idea that the intentions of the creator in creating a text or image are less important than the audience viewing it. This argument was famously proposed by Roland Barthes in his 1967 essay, 'The Death of the Author'. Barthes argued that the meaning of a text should not be interpreted through study of the background and identity of the author, because this meaning is constructed from layers of cultural experiences beyond the single

author (Barthes 1977). Reception studies have expanded on Barthes' ideas by examining how meaning is formed in the minds of audiences when they view cultural objects, separately from the intentions of the creator. It also highlights the importance of the potential cognitive, emotional, social and political effects of the meaning-making (Staiger 2005). The approach clearly resonates with the interests and research objectives of this study.

The approach was initially proposed by Hans Robert Jauss in the field of literary theory, arguing that literary works did not have objective meaning but the reception of readers must be studied in order to understand their meaning and status (Jauss and Benzinger 1970). Stuart Hall has extended the approach to studying the reception of televisual media, outlining a process of meaning-making which includes 'moments' of 'encoding' and 'decoding' and spans production, circulation and reception of the media (Hall 2009, 163–65). Any kind of media can be considered according to this approach. In employing this approach for the study of MoI images, I embrace the notion that all elements of the meaning-making process, including production, circulation and reception must be reflected on.

With the theory of reception studies underpinning and informing this study, it was important to select multiple methodological approaches that would enable me to explore the different moments of production, circulation and reception of the MoI images. This informed the development of the four-phase methodological structure of the study. It was also crucial to select methods that would allow direct interrogation of the reception of individuals in the process of viewing the MoI images; this informed the decision to draw on the social research techniques of survey and interview to allow for a comprehensive examination of reception.

### 3.1.3 CULTURAL MEMORY

To briefly summarise my theoretical approach to memory, I draw on theories of cultural memory which expound that remembering is a process which occurs in the individual but draws on a wide range of influences including personal memories and the memories communicated by others, historical knowledge and beliefs, and cultural artefacts, texts, images and other media (Noakes and Pattinson 2013; Rigney 2005; Confino 1997; Basu and Bijl 2009; Garde-Hansen 2011). Cultural memory can also be a collective phenomenon, both in the sense of an aggregation of similar memories and by active communication of memory which leads to an individual's cultural memory being

influenced by the memory of others (Margalit 2004; Schwartz 2015). Although cultural memory may be very similar between people with shared culture, an individual's cultural memory is always unique because it is formed from a unique set of influences. Cultural memory is also directly associated with identity as one's sense of self and sense of membership to social groups is built upon one's memory and conception of one's culture (A. Assmann and Conrad 2010; Garde-Hansen 2011; Confino 1997).

This conception of cultural memory emphasises the role of the individual in the remembering process. It was, therefore, important to select methods that enabled the study of individuals in the process of remembering. This theoretical underpinning advocated the selection of social research methods including survey and interview. These methods enable direct engagement with individuals and interviewing in particular offers the possibility of more open and unrestricted engagement. As cultural memory is considered to be a product of a variety of cultural influences that are unique to the individual, an open-ended approach to interviewing was preferred, so as to avoid influencing the natural remembering processes as much as possible and to allow the maximum range of cultural memory influences to be revealed. The chosen method of interviewing needed to include open-ended questions, minimal intervention from the interviewer and an unrestricted time limit in order to achieve these aims and comply with this theoretical framework of cultural memory. The precise design of the interview method is discussed in more detail in section 3.3.3.

### 3.1.4 MEDIA

The approach to studying MoI images as media objects is based upon the theory of mediated memory. This refers to memory that is communicated through representations of the past in different media (Rigney 2005; Basu and Bijl 2009; Garde-Hansen 2011). It highlights that the construction and communication of this memory is structured by the frameworks and ideologies of the media through which it is communicated (Garde-Hansen 2011). These theories also draw on the work of Pierre Nora, to argue that places, artefacts, texts and images can all be 'sites of memory' around which cultural memories converge (Nora 1989; Rigney 2005; Erll in Basu and Bijl 2009; den Boer 2008). The relationship between media and memory is collaborative: not only do the frameworks of media influence memory, but memory also influences the construction and development of media in the process of its communication (Fulbrook 2014).

This relationship between media and memory underpins my methodological approach. As media is fundamental to the processes of cultural memory, coupled with the fact that media both influences and is influenced by memory, it is important that MoI images are not only considered in isolation and separate from any context but also within media contexts. Theories on mediated memory have recently extended to consider the particular context of online media, to understand how the nature and frameworks of digital technologies influence how memories are constructed and communicated. Scholars highlight the easy way in which online media can be edited and adapted, the speed of change and the accessibility for a broader range of users to participate in the development of the media (Garde-Hansen, Hoskins, and Reading 2009; Reading 2011). These features make the internet an interesting context in which to study the role of the MoI images, and this informs the decision to select digital methods for the final phase of the research.

### 3.2 Research structure

Discussion of the theoretical frameworks that underpin this study has encouraged more detailed consideration of how the aims of this research can best be addressed. The project aims to investigate the role of MoI images in British cultural memory through direct engagement with the memory of individuals to understand the remembering processes, the reasons for the recognition of MoI images and the interpretations of MoI images. Through discussion of the key theoretical approaches relating to semiotics, reception studies, cultural memory and media influencing this study, these overarching aims can be refined to design four distinct research questions which can be addressed using specific methods:

1. What remembering processes are revealed when individuals encounter MoI images?
2. How and why are MoI images recognised and remembered?
3. How are MoI images interpreted?
4. What causes some MoI images to be defined as iconic?

A combination of complementary research methods was required to effectively address these questions. These were content analysis, survey, oral history interviews and digital methods encompassing reverse image lookup and web histories. The selection of these methods was informed by the theoretical approaches explored above.

The study was structured into four phases of research designed so that the results of one phase of research informed the design of the following phase. Content analysis of archival material was employed to reveal some initial information that was used in order to start addressing questions 1, 2 and 3 and to inform the design of a survey. A survey with volunteers was employed to address the first three questions in greater depth and to provide initial data in relation to the fourth. The survey informed the design of oral history interviews which revealed much more detailed information to fully address all four questions. Digital methods were then employed in the final phase to extend the findings from the other methods and test some of the key conclusions already drawn, supplementing the findings relating to research questions 2, 3 and 4. The data from the survey, interviews and digital research was analysed using the content analysis method. The structure of each phase, with its associated methods, is outlined in more detail below.

### 3.2.1 EXPLORATORY PHASE

In the first phase, I reviewed archival material related to the MoI (discussed in section 2.1.2). This led to the discovery of the archive of the Mass Observation (MO) social research project which existed during the Second World War and was also revived in 1981. The bulk of the research in this phase consisted of a content analysis of documents in the MO archive relating to a specific MO Directive issued in the spring of 2009 which contained a section titled 'The Second World War'. The documents included in the content analysis were written documents submitted by members of the public (MO writers) in response to questions regarding their cultural memory of the Second World War. The content analysis was conducted using a semiotic approach, so that signs within the text and their potential meanings could be identified.

This content analysis revealed some initial insights into the remembering process that occurred as MO writers communicated their cultural memory and it also helped to reveal artefacts, texts and media that were significant in the development of the writers' cultural memory. References to MoI images were amongst the media incorporated in this process. The research in this phase provided initial insights into remembering processes, thus helping to address the first research question. The references to MoI images in the data also gave some preliminary information concerning which MoI images were remembered and how they were discussed and interpreted by MO writers. Such details presented useful information to address the second and third research questions. The results of this phase of research also informed the design of the following three phases, and specifically the

particular MoI images selected for inclusion in the research process and the way in which the survey questions should be designed to encourage useful responses.

### 3.2.2 SURVEY PHASE

The survey phase involved a survey of 301 participants. The phase was designed to begin the direct investigation into the way people in Britain respond to and interpret MoI images, as well as indicating how they construct and communicate their cultural memory. The survey method was selected as it allowed the immediate reception of images to be studied directly and gave participants the freedom to explore and communicate their cultural memory through open-ended questioning. The design of the phase was based on findings from the exploratory phase regarding how participants respond to written survey questions. The selection of images to include was based on the results of the content analysis in the exploratory phase. The analysis of the data obtained during the survey phase was undertaken using a similar semiotic content analysis approach as used in the exploratory phase, allowing signs and potential meanings to be identified.

The survey was designed to provide insight into the remembering processes revealed by participants as they viewed MoI images, thus addressing the first research question directly. The survey responses would also offer more information about which of the MoI images were recognised and the kinds of memories, associations and interpretations that were connected to them by participants, addressing the second and third research questions. The survey was also designed to explore the participants' views as to why they believed the images to be well-known and memorable, giving some initial insight into the definition of certain images as 'iconic' and addressing the fourth research question. The survey phase also served as a method for the recruitment of participants for the following interview phase.

### 3.2.3 INTERVIEW PHASE

The interview phase was designed to follow on from and expand the survey phase, by including more MoI images and more open-ended questions. The phase was informed by the experience of research during the survey phase, which suggested that deeper questioning could encourage more useful responses from participants. The interview method was chosen as it enabled an even more direct study of the reception of MoI images, as participants could view the images, respond verbally, and answer follow-up questions. The design of the interview method was also informed by oral history methodology, enabling an open and reflective approach to the interview process. The data

from the interview phase provided a large set of source material which was then analysed with a semiotic content analysis approach. The results offered insights into the remembering processes that occurred as they viewed the MoI images, the nature of the cultural memory of participants and the place of the MoI images in this cultural memory, participants' interpretations of the MoI images and attitudes to the concept of 'iconic' in relation to the MoI images; these responses addressed all four research questions directly and in considerable depth. The results from this phase formed the basis for the investigation of the uses of MoI images in online contexts.

### 3.2.4 DIGITAL PHASE

The digital phase was designed to investigate how the MoI images are and have been used in online contexts. This was to test some of the conclusions drawn from the survey and interview phases, relating to the role of the MoI images in cultural memory and definitions of 'iconic', in a more neutral context without the active influence of the researcher. The design of the phase drew on theories of mediated memory which suggest that media influences and is influenced by cultural memory (discussed in section 2.3.4). Based on these considerations, it was decided that the research in this study needed to be extended to investigate the uses of MoI images in media as well as the responses of research participants, in order to draw well-rounded conclusions about the role of MoI images in cultural memory and definitions of iconic images. Studying the online media in which MoI images appear would enable further inquiry into cultural memory and the relationship between memory and media in the case of MoI images.

This phase employed a combination of digital methods, specifically reverse image lookup and web histories using the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine. The data from the use of these methods was analysed using a similar form of content analysis as used in the first three phases. The same images used in the interview phase were studied in the digital phase to ensure continuity. The use of the methods enabled me to locate the online contexts in which each MoI image appeared, analyse the contexts and media, and investigate the history of the use of each image in each context. The digital phase augmented the findings of the survey and interview phases, addressing the third research question by revealing how web users interpreted the meaning of MoI images and used them accordingly. The digital phase also presented information concerning how the images are used online in different ways, which consequently offered insights into the reasons why they were memorable and popular images and why they might be considered



to be ‘iconic’. These findings helped to test and expand on the conclusions made in relation to the second, third and fourth research questions.

### 3.3 Methodological approaches

The research structure and chosen methods are outlined above in relation to the general theoretical frameworks influencing this research. In this section, each specific method is now addressed in turn to discuss the methodological approach adopted and the implementation decisions made for each one.

#### 3.3.1 CONTENT ANALYSIS

##### **Quantitative content analysis**

Content analysis is a method for analysing texts, both language-based and visual, in a systematic way. The method was originally designed as a quantitative method, enabling features in a text to be converted to numeric data and presented statistically. The features of a text are ‘coded’, or assigned categories of analysis, either by human coders or computers (Neuendorf 2016, 1). Through the use of a coding scheme created by the researcher, the devised codes or categories can be applied to the entire text or set of texts in a systematic way. The fundamental purpose of the approach is to ensure replicable valid findings and avoid arbitrary and subjective conclusions made by a particular researcher (Slater 1998, 233). Content analysis is a method commonly used in the fields of communication, journalism, sociology, psychology and business; its popularity and range of use across different disciplines is increasing (Neuendorf 2016, 3). One criticism of this method is that reducing the complexity of human communication to distinct and limited categories may result in some of the interpretive richness being lost (Watson and Lacy 2017). However, the method is beneficial in enabling systematic recording and labelling of observations in a text, making them easier to retrieve, analyse and compare across different kinds of source text. Hence, it was decided that content analysis should be employed as the basis for analysis in this study, but should be adapted from its traditional quantitative design in order to suit the source material and more effectively address the research questions.

##### **Qualitative content analysis**

Efforts have been made to introduce a qualitative form of content analysis which can take into account more nuanced interpretive potential of a text. This approach, sometimes defined separately from traditional content analysis as ‘textual analysis’, relies on the

interpretation of the researcher in order to form coding schemes, as opposed to quantitative content analysis which relies solely on the objectively observed content of the text (Neuendorf 2016, 9). The results of qualitative content analyses are also often less related to numerical counting. Scholars who apply the term content analysis to qualitative readings of texts are sometimes criticised for overlooking the scientific standards developed as part of the method and applying the term incorrectly (Neuendorf 2016, 7–10). However, it is accepted that the line between quantitative and qualitative is narrow in this case; additionally, most qualitative content analysis studies also include traditional aspects of quantitative content analysis that involve unitisation of distinct codes and numerical counting of features in a text (Neuendorf 2016, 9–10; Krippendorff and Bock 2009, 43).

There are benefits to combining content analysis with other qualitative methods (Neuendorf 2016, 22–23). David L. Altheide discusses ‘ethnographic content analysis’, which applies an ethnographic approach to a traditional content analysis method to ‘document and understand the communication of meaning, as well as to verify theoretical relationships’ (Altheide 1996, 16). The process is still systematic like quantitative content analysis but less rigid; new categories and variables are allowed to emerge through close reading of the text in question. Crucially, this approach ‘draws on and collects numerical and narrative data, rather than forcing the latter into predefined categories of the former as is done in QCA [quantitative content analysis]’ (Altheide 1996, 16–17). This distinction is common to many qualitative approaches to content analysis and is suitable for the analysis of data in this study.

### **Semiotic content analysis**

The theoretical approach of semiotics, as explored in section 3.1.1, can be applied to methods of content analysis. Semiotics views texts as a construction of signs that have the potential to communicate meaning, if the particular audience has the required linguistic and cultural frameworks to interpret meaning from those signs. Through the identification of denotations and connotations, it allows deeper potential meanings to be uncovered. As a semiotic analysis relies on the identification of discrete aspects of a text that constitute a sign, it lends itself to content analysis as a way of understanding the communication of meaning in a systematic way across multiple texts. Semiotic analysis has been combined with content analysis in other studies, particularly in relation to the analysis of advertisements. For example, Phillip Curry and Marita O’Brien used the combined approach to study advertisements in Irish medical publications. They argue that

while content analysis is useful for ‘cataloguing and assessing media output’, it can only measure ‘manifest content or surface meaning’, while semiotics can help to ‘decode the deeper messages and connotative meanings’ which is required for any analysis of the multi-layered contractions of meaning which form advertisements (Curry and O’Brien 2006, 1972).

My approach to analysing images and text-based data from surveys and interviews draws on methods of content analysis and semiotic analysis. The structure is derived from a traditional content analysis, with features in the text manually coded according to a coding scheme which is developed through close reading of the texts. The coding scheme is, however, considered to be flexible, enabling new categories to be introduced through the course of the analysis, as is common in qualitative content analyses. The process of developing the codes and identifying and categorising the features in the texts will draw on the theory of semiotics to identify layers of potential meaning from discrete signs within the text. While the data from the analysis will include numerical counting of certain key features and provide some statistical information on these elements, the majority of the data from the analyses will be employed for qualitative interpretive purposes.

### **Interpretative phenomenological analysis**

Due to the nature of the interview transcript data to be analysed, one additional methodological approach was drawn upon. Techniques of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) were utilised to structure the close reading and the coding of the transcript text for the content analysis.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis is an approach that originated in psychology but is increasingly used in other fields. It is employed to examine how people make sense of life experiences. It is a useful approach for this study due to its focus on the moments when people find significance in certain aspects of their lived experience (J. A. Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009, 1–2). The interviews in this phase contain a great deal of discussion relating to mundane memories of everyday life, but they also reveal those elements of life experience that interviewees consider to be significant and so remember more vividly. IPA is also concerned with drawing connections between different moments of experience and exposing their common meaning (J. A. Smith, Flowers, and Larkin 2009, 1–2). This is again pertinent to understanding how memories of images and other life events link together to form broader cultural memories and influence identity formation.

The use of the IPA approach is an attempt to suspend the preconceptions of the researcher; instead of pre-establishing categories of analysis and imposing these on the material, it strives to develop these categories through a close reading of the material.

### **Implementation of method**

Content analysis is implemented at each phase of this research as the main method of analysing the data collected. In the exploratory phase, the MO responses from the 2009 Directive are analysed according to a content analysis approach. This analysis is undertaken manually using Microsoft Excel to collect the data. Each MO response document is read and specific criteria then recorded in the spreadsheet. For more detail regarding the implementation of content analysis in the exploratory phase, see section 4.2.

Content analysis is implemented as the method of analysis for the survey responses collected in the survey phase. This is again a manual process using Microsoft Excel to record data relating to each response based on defined criteria. For further information regarding the implementation in the survey phase, see section 5.2.4.

The content analysis method is implemented using NVivo as the primary tool for analysis of the transcripts created through the interview phase of the research. Based on a close reading of each transcript, nodes were defined and set in NVivo. The transcript text was then highlighted and annotated according to these nodes, so that further analysis could be conducted using the features of NVivo. For more detail regarding the implementation of content analysis in the interview phase, see section 6.2.4.

Finally, a form of content analysis was used to analyse the web pages collected during the digital phase. This analysis was conducted manually using Microsoft Excel. Pre-defined criteria were considered during a close reading of each web page collected in the dataset and in the sample. For more information regarding the implementation of content analysis in the digital phase, see section 7.2.6.

### **Limitations**

Content analysis can be said to simplify the data collected from the sources in question. This is one of the main purposes of using content analysis but is also a limitation. This is due to the fact that the sources which form the basis of the content analyses contain complex and subtle information that cannot easily be recorded in a content analysis. This limitation was addressed by ensuring that in every recorded category in the analysis, the full context of the text was easily accessible, either in the analysis spreadsheet or in

NVivo. This would enable the subtler contextual information within the original texts to be quickly consulted when needed.

The implementation of the method in each phase of the research relied heavily upon the interpretive decisions of the researcher. Decisions needed to be made regarding what elements of the texts should be recorded in the content analysis and how this process should occur. A close reading of the text by the researcher was also required in order to locate and record those elements to be recorded in the analysis. There was, therefore, a high potential for human error because parts of the text could easily be missed or incorrectly recorded during the analysis. This could only be mitigated by carefully reviewing the completed analysis to check for errors in the categories recorded.

There is also the issue of consistency. Content analysis was a method applied across four different phases of research, with different types of research data forming the basis of the analysis in each phase. This made it difficult to ensure some degree of consistency between the content analyses across the different phases. It was possible for some categories to remain consistent when this made sense for the particular sources being analysed. Others developed between the phases based on the requirements of the sources and were therefore not directly comparable.

### 3.3.2 SURVEY

#### **Quantitative and qualitative surveys**

The social survey developed in the early nineteenth century as a way of collecting information about the population. However, it initially lacked consistency and precision as a method (Tonkiss in Seale 2004, 58–60). Statistical societies worked to improve social survey methods, but the emphasis was placed on numerical facts being entirely conclusive and accurate and these facts were thought to justify the use of the social survey method (Tonkiss in Seale 2004, 61). Social surveys developed further in the twentieth century and particularly during the Second World War where researchers in the United States and the United Kingdom developed the infrastructure to monitor public morale, production capacity, propaganda and anything that might impact the war effort (Neuman 2006, 274). The British MoI pioneered social research techniques with the establishment of the Home Intelligence department which produced regular reports based on information gleaned from MO and the Wartime Social Survey (Crang and Addison 2010, xi–xiii) (see section 2.1).

In the post-war period, social surveys expanded into market research, opinion polling, government surveys and academic social science. Academic approaches to social surveys are very diverse but researchers in the social sciences and humanities tend to avoid reliance on entirely quantitative data that assumes the conclusiveness of statistical ‘facts’. Fran Tonkiss defines two key approaches to social surveys: descriptive and explanatory. Descriptive surveys aim to collect descriptive accounts of specific topics and present quantitative statistics together with qualitative information such as quotations. Explanatory surveys aim to identify causal relationships, linking a phenomenon with its social structure (Tonkiss in Seale 2004, 68).

The social survey method has been criticised for its overwhelming focus on numbers and for imposing categories on social experience (Tonkiss in Seale 2004, 69). Surveys are also often designed with insufficient attention to the psychological effect of the survey on the participant and the thought processes that contribute to their answers. Whilst surveys can provide quantitative statistical data, the qualitative element still needs to be considered; the research process itself should be taken into account in the same way that it is for qualitative interviewing as the two methods exhibit clear similarities.

### **Cognitive processes**

Research conducted by social scientists into the cognitive aspects of the survey is particularly pertinent to my use of the method. I want to use the survey method to understand people’s memories and self-reported interpretations and associations that are prompted by viewing images printed in the survey. It is, therefore, vital to understand the thought processes that occur during the completion of the survey that will influence the answers given. The thought processes observed in the survey phase can be assessed in relation to those observed in the interview phase.

It is the spontaneity of the thought processes involved in the survey response that make the method so appropriate for the research aims, even though it is less suitable for other kinds of research. I wish to understand how people feel about an image at the moment that they look at it and identify the memories that come to mind at that moment. I want to build a method of research that achieves this. Norbert Schwarz argues that respondents to surveys experience two processes: interpretation, where they interpret the question (what does the researcher want and what should be included or excluded in the answer) and then cognition, where they consider what their answer will be (remembering and or/forming an opinion) (Schwarz 2007, 278). When asked a question which requires them to provide information relating to their opinion on a topic, ‘they may either retrieve a

previously formed attitude judgment from memory, or they may form a judgment on the spot, based on whatever relevant information is accessible at that point in time. While survey researchers have typically hoped for the former, the latter is far more likely, consistent with current research into attitude construction in social psychology' (Schwarz 2007, 278). It is this potential weakness to the survey method that makes it useful for the research objectives of this project. Use of the survey method will enable the collection of the results of these cognitive processes recorded at the moment the image is viewed. The more detailed reasoning behind these opinions and consideration of the memories can be examined in a follow-up in-depth oral history interview.

The factual accuracy of survey responses is also of less importance than revealing the cognitive processes and interpretations of participants in this research. The method is designed to expose processes of inference, as people compensate for incomplete memory by drawing on other areas of knowledge, of other people, of the past, of normative practices or of cultural examples. Bradburn and others argue that 'in many cases, a respondent remembers a few facts pertinent to a survey question and then produces an answer using some kind of inductive inference' (Bradburn, Rips, and Shevell 1987, 213). Again, while this affects the accuracy of the responses, this study is less concerned with accurate information regarding precise events in a person's life; rather, I wish to reveal exactly this process of inference in order to understand how they conceive of their own memories and opinions of the MoI images presented. The use of both the survey and interview methods will allow me to probe the survey answers to better understand the cognitive processes and inferences made at the time the survey was completed.

The act of including images in a survey is something that has been carefully considered by social researchers, but this has mainly consisted of consideration of the act of including images as supplementary illustrations or prompts, rather than as core elements of the survey. Since it is already difficult to write a survey question that is uniformly interpreted by all participants, some researchers are wary of including images due to their ambiguous nature, since they may alter the interpretation of the question (Couper, Tourangeau, and Kenyon 2004). However, in this survey, the image itself is the main stimulus and it is the precise image itself that should guide the interpretation of the question. This use of images in survey questions closely relates to the use of image-elicitation in oral interviews which I will discuss later.

### **Implementation of method**

A survey was designed which included questions about demographic details of participants, five MoI images and the same set of questions for each of the five images. This survey was designed in two versions: one online and one printed. The surveys were circulated to members of the public through online promotion and physical information stands. Completed surveys were collected and the responses were entered into a spreadsheet for analysis. For more information on the implementation of the survey method, see section 5.2.

### **Limitations**

The survey method presented limitations for this research, which were mitigated by the use of other methods in the subsequent phases of the study. In order to ensure maximum participation in the survey phase, the survey needed to be short enough to make it possible for volunteers to complete it in ten minutes or less. This was to avoid deterring potential volunteers. However, the effect of the limited extent of the survey meant that the questions asked, and the images included, had to be restricted, and thus the data collected was also limited.

The survey method also made it difficult and, in most cases, impossible to verbally clarify the questions included in the survey, so that if there was any kind of misunderstanding on the part of the participant, this could not be rectified, and the responses may therefore be affected. Both of these limitations were mitigated by the inclusion of explanatory text with the survey questions and the use of the interview method in the following phase to enable more in-depth questioning than could be achieved in the survey alone.

The use of two methods of participant recruitment, online and offline, meant that this difference in the way participants completed the survey could impact the responses received. To some extent, this was a necessary limitation of the research design, since using both methods of recruitment allowed a larger number of surveys to be collected and ensured both web users and those less comfortable using the internet were included. These factors were important for the research study.

### **3.3.3 ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS**

Following the Second World War, the importance of oral testimony began to be acknowledged in academic research in Britain and the practice of oral history began to be developed (G. Smith 2008; Thomson and Perks 2006, 1–2). The development of oral history as a discipline was encouraged by improved sound recording techniques and



increasing interest in folk history, labour history and the oral traditions of other countries (G. Smith 2008). Paul Thompson pioneered the approach in the 1970s, helping to establish the British Oral History Society and publishing his book *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. He argued that oral history was a force for change in academic history. It allowed historians to shift their focus and uncover ‘important new areas of inquiry’, since in interviewing members of society that did not usually leave written sources, they could study the different sides of complex stories (P. Thompson 2000, 7).

### **Thought processes**

My use of the method is a product of the arguments of Alistair Thomson, Michael Frisch and Corinna Peniston-Bird among others, that oral history exposes the workings of memory and the interpretations of the interviewee (Thomson, Frisch, and Hamilton 1994, 33–34; Peniston-Bird 2009, 105–21). I wish to understand the thought processes that occur when an individual views a certain MoI campaign image, how they fit that image into their vision of the past and how they conceive of the way the image entered their memory. I am less interested in an accurate account of the events of a person’s life. Criticisms of oral history have centred on the unreliability of human memory, which causes omissions and factual inaccuracies. However, Peniston-Bird argues that these problems are not unique to oral history, the success of oral history relies on the questions asked by the researcher and ‘many of the criticisms levelled against oral histories assume contexts in which they are being interrogated for material better found elsewhere’ (Peniston-Bird 2009, 107). Thomson, Frisch, Hamilton and Portelli argue that unreliable human memory is not a weakness of oral history, but in fact the object of study for oral history (Thomson, Frisch, and Hamilton 1994, 33; Portelli 2015, 52–53). Peniston-Bird agrees, suggesting that the reliability of an oral history account is less related to what is remembered and more related to how the memory is interpreted; it is ‘the truth of the narration for the individual’ (Barber and Peniston-Bird 2009, 110). The method of oral history is, therefore, highly suitable to address this study’s research objectives.

There are two key elements of the methodology that distinguish it from more typical oral history projects. Oral history is still frequently employed to give a voice to marginalised groups and/or to explore unique or traumatic experiences. Hence, interviewees are often people with particular experience of having been involved in a particular event or having lived through a particular period in a particular place. The aims of this research are different. I wish to interview a range of people who do not share any particular unusual experiences and instead uncover memories of images from across the course of their lives.

This interest in seemingly mundane memories may present problems for interviewees who will not be able to prepare themselves in the same way as if they knew they were to be interviewed about a particular personal experience in their lives. However, it may be the broad nature of the questioning and the mundanity of the remembering that produces the most valuable results for the research objectives. This is because the broad questioning may allow participants' minds to wander more widely than they would if they were being asked about specific events (which might in fact lead to pre-prepared narrative responses), and so responses may reveal more about the thought processes and remembering processes that exist as a person encounters an image.

### **Image elicitation**

The second unusual element in the methodology is the use of images in the oral history interviews. I intend to produce copies of the MoI images during the interviews; this is firstly to stimulate the memories of the interviewees and also to encourage them to comment on the elements of the images that they find most memorable and the way in which they interpret them. Oral historians and social scientists have written about the use of photographs in interviews (Harper 2002; Hurworth 2004; Vila 2013), and the majority of image-elicitation studies have been concerned with photographs. Pablo Vila describes how 'photographs can sharpen the memory and give the interview an immediate character of realistic reconstruction' (Vila 2013, 53); as the aim of this study is to uncover how the visual image is remembered, it is vital to show the interviewee the image not just to sharpen the memory but to get the focus it on the visual nature of the source to be remembered. In their review of photo-interviewing, Rosalind Hurworth highlights how using photographs in interviews can be 'a way to get people to talk about more difficult, abstract concepts' (Hurworth 2004, 54). In the case of this research, it is not that the concepts will be uncomfortable to discuss but rather they may be diverse, abstract, and difficult to pinpoint and define. In this respect, it is hoped that presenting the images to the interviewee should structure the interview and provide more useful results.

While I refer to my method as oral history, the inclusion of the elements noted above distinguishes it from more traditional oral histories. The method is, therefore, a mixed method, which includes traditional oral history techniques in the interview process, together with other techniques more usually found in social surveys, such as image elicitation.

### **Implementation of method**

The oral history method was implemented in the interview phase to reveal cognitive processes in more depth than could be achieved in the survey phase, and to use a wider range of MoI images as prompts for remembering. A topic plan was devised for the interview which opened with initial questioning concerning the participant's personal and family history, as well as their knowledge of and links to the Second World War. These initial questions were designed to gather information about participants' general memories of their past and to make them feel more at ease with communicating memories and contemplating the past. This was followed by the same set of questions on each of the ten MoI images presented to the participant. Further information about the implementation of the oral history method can be found in section 6.2.

### **Limitations**

Using oral history interviews as a core method for this research presented some limitations. By definition, oral histories rely heavily on the influence of the interviewer, who can influence the remembering of the participants. Even with specifically designed questions, the interviewer can influence the participant through their follow-up questions, tone and body language. This was an inevitable limitation of the method and was mitigated by careful practice and attempts to provide neutral settings and contexts for the interviews.

The selection of volunteers for the interviews also posed similar problems as did the selection of volunteers for the survey. Those interested in sitting down for what could potentially be an hour-long interview were likely to include only those with an interest in the project and the related topics such as the Second World War. They were also more likely to be those with sufficient time to offer the project and those who were comfortable meeting and talking with strangers. The voluntary nature of the study meant that these limitations were also inevitable to some extent.

### **3.3.4 DIGITAL METHODS**

There are several reasons why the internet is a useful context in which to study the use of MoI images. Images are published, copied and republished on the internet at a greater speed and with more freedom than with print or broadcast media. A wide range of different people may also be directly involved in the process of image proliferation. It is, therefore, useful to understand the range of ways the MoI images are used online and explore why they might be used in these ways. Digital tools offer excellent opportunities

to study how the images proliferate in online contexts. By employing reverse image lookup, I can track where the MoI images appear on the internet and construct a dataset of web pages to analyse. The Internet Archive's Wayback Machine tool also enables investigation into the history of web pages on which MoI images appear or have appeared. This could offer insight into how the uses of MoI images on the internet have changed over time.

Using these tools to study the delimited internet-based dataset enables a certain precision of analysis that would not be feasible in a systematic study of *offline* uses of MoI images within the scope of this research. Therefore, it is necessary to focus on online uses of the images to produce more meaningful results.

In the last decade, there has been increasing interest in the use of digital tools such as reverse image lookup to investigate the final use of images from online libraries and archives (Reilly and Thompson 2017; Kelly 2015; Kousha, Thelwall, and Rezaie 2010; Kirton and Terras 2013). The Wayback Machine has also been receiving more attention for its capacity to enable histories of website development (Arora et al. 2016; Rogers 2017b). In outlining the methodology for this phase of the research, I will refer in more detail to the definitions and case studies produced by academics using these tools and approaches. The limitations of these tools and approaches will also be explored and assessed in reference to this research study.

### **Search engines**

The use of search engines as research tools is becoming increasingly common; as such, the discussion of what they really are, what they can and cannot achieve, and how they should be used by researchers is also expanding. There are two ways of approaching search engines in reference to research: the search engine as an object of study itself and the search engine as a tool to use in the research process. Weltevrede distinguishes between the digital device as an 'object' and as a 'method' (Weltevrede 2016, 6–10), while Rogers refers to a search engine as being useful for both 'medium and social research' (Rogers in Schäfer and Es 2017, 77). In another paper, Taibi, Rogers and others reference the shift from 'search research', the study of the search engine itself, to 'search as research', the use of search engines to assist in the research process (Taibi et al. 2016, 367). In this study, the search engine is used as a research tool. However, in order to employ search as research, some degree of understanding of the search engine itself is necessary.

### *Studying algorithms*

Studying the workings of search engines and why they operate as they do (the engine as an object of study, medium research or search research) is often concerned with the workings of the algorithms that exist at the core of those search engines. Much study of algorithms stems from the idea that there are concealed decisions built into the design of algorithms by designers, and since these algorithms have such a powerful impact on the information seen in the modern world, it is vital to uncover the secrets hidden within the algorithms. Concerns that algorithms are being hidden from public scrutiny have led to calls for algorithmic transparency (Ananny and Crawford 2018, 2). There have also been efforts by journalists to study algorithms to report on algorithmic accountability; this is done by reverse engineering algorithms to reveal the decision-making processes that underpin them (Rieder 2017, 101). However, it is increasingly accepted by authors in this area that there are limits to studying algorithms and to more effectively understand the workings of search engines, they must be approached from a different perspective.

Ananny and Crawford provide several interesting reasons why making algorithms transparent does not necessarily improve understanding and can sometimes be harmful. They argue that making a complex system transparent can occlude the most important information, it encourages the idea that seeing is more important than actually understanding and it does not necessarily build trust between the creators of the system and the public (Ananny and Crawford 2018, 7–9). There are also technical limitations in making an algorithm fully transparent, because its scale is so large, and it develops at such a speed, that it can be impenetrable even to those involved in the initial creation (Ananny and Crawford 2018, 9). Even when the source code of an algorithm is available, there are limitations in what can be learned from it. Weltevrede explores the problem of revering source code as though it contains the ‘truth’ of the software. In fact, algorithms are so dynamic that every time they are used, different influences feed into the source code and different outcomes are reached, making it impossible to fully understand the workings of the algorithm from the source code alone. She argues that source code should be considered as just another resource to assist in understanding the algorithm (Weltevrede 2016, 105–6). Scholars in this area increasingly argue that search engines cannot be studied in a vacuum as static pieces of software, but instead must be studied using a wider range of resources that can shed light on how they work in the real world.

Bernhard Rieder proposes an approach to studying search engines that falls ‘between broad theorizing and the empirical investigation’. Its focus is an analysis of what he calls

‘algorithmic techniques’, which are the approaches used to filter and classify information to solve real-world problems. These basic approaches sit at the core of software design and form the link between non-computational problems and ideas and computational techniques and solutions. Rieder’s main examples of algorithmic techniques are Bayes classifiers. These are information ordering techniques which attempt to solve the non-computational problem of how to sort information, such as spam emails. They use statistical inference to sort information into categories based on previous categorisation decisions (Rieder 2017, 101–2). By studying the real-world approaches that underpin the design of algorithms, as Rieder suggests, one can understand how and why the algorithm functions as it does, without attempting to analyse the source code and without being obstructed by the multiplicity of outcomes that can come from the algorithm.

Ananny and Crawford also promote a study of algorithms that focuses on ‘human scenes where algorithms, code, and platforms intersect’ and considers an algorithm as a ‘relational achievement among networked human and non-human agents’ (Ananny and Crawford 2018, 11). Thus, the study of a search engine or other software must attempt to understand the objectives of the human actors involved in creating it and what techniques they had available to them to design an algorithm that could fulfil those objectives. Weltevrede uses this general approach in her discussion of Google’s search engine, drawing on a variety of sources including whitepapers, patents, trade press, and help documentation as well as changes to the algorithm code itself to form a coherent understanding of the way the search engine functions (Weltevrede 2016, 104). An algorithm can be studied; in doing so, however, it must not be viewed as an isolated digital object but rather as a dynamic system created by people for particular purposes, and a broad range of resources, including the source code, can be called upon to achieve a clearer understanding.

### *Search as research*

While search engines are studied in themselves, a key emerging area of research is that which uses search engines as tools in the research process. This is particularly important for this research which is designed to use two kinds of search engine in the process: Google Reverse Image Search and the Wayback Machine search engine. The unique characteristics of search engines offer opportunities for researching social phenomena, which would be hard to access without the use of a search engine. For example, search engines have been used to study linguistic and cultural differences between search results (Taibi et al. 2016) and track social and political issues relating to ageing in Europe

(Rogers, Sánchez-Querubín, and Kil 2015). In all cases where a search engine is used to enable research, the key factor is the unique characteristic of the search engine that made its use possible and appropriate. The research question can in many cases derive from what the search engine is able to achieve. This is why it is vital to combine the two strands of search research and search as research, because a researcher needs a clear understanding of the workings of the search engine itself in order to know how it can be used and what it can achieve.

Weltevrede exhibits this combined approach by using the term ‘device’ to refer to software such as search engines. These devices are ‘not mere tools; they are also complex and unstable arrangements’ and so they should be considered as both objects and methods at the same time (Weltevrede 2016, 6). The device-driven approach which she proposes is based on the acceptance that devices such as search engines ‘embed something into the very thing they seek to analyse’ and so their design, effects and uses in research must be considered as a whole. She discusses the ‘affordances’ of a device, which are the particular characteristics of that device which offer opportunities for the device to be used to conduct a particular type of research (Weltevrede 2016, 7–10). Therefore, a particular search engine, when configured appropriately, has affordances that make research into linguistic differences possible.

Google presents multiple affordances which can be useful or problematic depending on the aims of the research project for which the search engine is being used. Rogers refers to ‘media effects’; these are the features of the search engine that have an impact on the findings made (Rogers 2017a, 80). For example, in the case of Google, there are artefacts that appear in search results due to the design of the search engine itself. These include properties such as YouTube videos, user aids, featured products and personalisation and geolocation settings. These are all media effects and may be removed if possible or deliberately kept in, depending on whether they help or hinder the specific research question (Rogers 2017a, 79–80). It is important, therefore, to consider the affordances of the search engine as neutral in the first instance; they exist for particular reasons to improve the design of the engine, but they may or may not be useful for a research process. Consequently, the research must be designed with these affordances or media effects in mind. For example, the existence of geolocation settings may obstruct one research process while making another, such as research into cultural and linguistic differences, possible.

There are affordances of Google that make it a suitable device for this research study. Its use of content-based filtering for images, discussed by Bernhard Rieder in relation to text (Rieder 2017, 106–8), makes it possible to retrieve search results containing visually similar images. This feature would be useless for other kinds of research objectives but is the exact feature around which this research process is built.

### **Reverse image lookup**

Reverse image lookup (RIL) is a query that allows a researcher to use a specific image to search the internet to find exact copies and visually similar images. RIL is a type of content-based image retrieval (CBIR), which can search for images based on their visual attributes, such as shape, colour and texture, rather than text-based attributes such as title or metadata (Wan and Liu 2008, 41). RIL, therefore, enables a researcher to find copies of a specific image on the internet, without relying on the uploader's provision of accurate metadata.

Gary (Gang) Wan and Zao Liu, writing in 2008, were the first to raise the possibility of using CBIR as an alternative search technique for online libraries. The technique has subsequently been explored in more detail and, most relevant to this study, in relation to the end use of library images. Library and archive professionals have an interest in how their images are reused by members of the public on the internet as this has the potential to contribute to an assessment of the impact and effectiveness of a library or archive. Kousha, Thelwall, and Rezaie conducted an investigation using RIL technology to 'monitor the value of academic images' by identifying reuses of images and the motivations for reuse (Kousha, Thelwall, and Rezaie 2010, 1736). They focused on a sample of images from the NASA astronomy digital collection and used the TinEye search engine to locate instances of reuse before classifying the instances by the motivations for their reuse (Kousha, Thelwall, and Rezaie 2010, 1736). From the results, they were able to quantify the different uses and reasons for use of the images in the collection and, they argue, begin to draw some conclusions about the collection's value for popularisation and education (Kousha, Thelwall, and Rezaie 2010, 1741).

A study of the reuse of online images from the UK's National Gallery was conducted in 2013 by Isabella Kirton and Melissa Terras using both TinEye and Google Image Search. They used a sample of 32 paintings from the collection and conducted a content analysis on the resultant URLs, similar to that of Kousha, Thelwall and Rezaie, to categorise the types of use to which each image was put (Kirton and Terras 2013). They offer a useful discussion of the comparison between the two RIL tools, TinEye and Google Image



Search, concluding that while TinEye offers more transparency and control for the researcher, Google Image Search has a far larger and more up-to-date database of images (Kirton and Terras 2013). As well as providing evidence for the value and impact of online image collections, Kirton and Terras suggest that studying the reuse of digitised content can also ‘tell us about user needs and behavior’ (Kirton and Terras 2013). This is a particularly relevant consideration for this research, since I aim for the results of this RIL study to contribute to an understanding of the public reception and interpretation of the MoI images.

In 2015, Elizabeth Kelly also investigated the usefulness of RIL technology to analyse the reuse of digitised photograph collections, again as a method of evaluating the impact of these collections. She builds on the work of previous authors and attempts to uncover whether RIL studies are as effective for lesser-known collections as they are for famous ones such as the National Gallery (Kelly 2015, 84). 63 images from the University Photographs collection at Loyola University New Orleans were used in searches on TinEye and Google Image Search and the results were minimal, potentially suggesting that the technique is less useful for a small and lesser-known collection: ‘Because of the small results set for this study, measuring the number of reused images is not as useful as measuring image views’ (Kelly 2015, 89–90). The study did reveal some surprising results that demonstrate the limitations of the tools. All the results of image reuse were returned by Google with TinEye unable to return any. Additionally, some known instances of reuse of the images were not returned by Google (Kelly 2015, 88–89). These problems firstly demonstrate that Google’s larger database makes it more useful for the purposes of this research and secondly that results can never be considered entirely complete in any case and should be approached as a guide to the characteristics of reuse rather than a complete record of all instances of reuse.

In 2017, Michele Reilly and Santi Thompson conducted a study into the reuse of materials on the Library of Congress’ Teaching with Primary Resources (LCTPR) website. Forty-four images were selected and entered into Google Image Search; the results were then classified by type of use in a similar way to previously-referenced studies (Reilly and Thompson 2017, 60). They found that images are not reused for the same purposes as their owners expect and instead users are ‘repurposing digital content in ways that are meaningful to them, and they are acknowledging and fulfilling personal interests’ and knowing this allows archivists and librarians to identify new audiences and target content more effectively (Reilly and Thompson 2017, 65–66). In another 2017 article, Reilly and

Thompson celebrate the potential of RIL technology for studying reuse, while acknowledging its limitations; they argue that ‘RIL’s reliance on image attributes enables it to search broadly across the web, promoting a greater understanding of whom and for what purposes digital images are being reused’ (S. Thompson and Reilly 2017, 2266).

### *Google and TinEye*

Previous studies have highlighted several useful learning points that can be applied to my research design. Firstly, regarding the selection of the search engine to use for the process, it appears that Google Image Search is the most effective option. Kirton and Terras raise the issue that Google readjusts and omits search results as the researcher scrolls through, which reduces the control of the researcher (Kirton and Terras 2013). Although this is a concern, the alternative TinEye presents larger problems as it has a smaller database of images and also only finds direct reuse of an image and not similar images as Google does. This could mean that TinEye results will be less comprehensive and less useful, as found in Kelly’s study (Kelly 2015, 88–89). It is important for my study that visually similar images are located, since the images I am studying are not unique to one archive website and so may have been uploaded in various versions and formats. To acquire an accurate picture of the reuse of the image itself, I need to be able to locate visually similar images and search as large a database as possible, both of which Google Image Search offers.

### *Limitations*

The aforementioned researchers all discuss the limitations of the RIL technique, which must be considered in this study. Search results may include inaccessible images due to broken links and also duplicate URLs which need to be removed from the dataset before continuing analysis (Reilly and Thompson 2017; Kirton and Terras 2013; Kelly 2015; Kousha, Thelwall, and Rezaie 2010). Image quality is also an issue, as Kousha discovered that images under 300 pixels do not return very consistent results (Kousha, Thelwall, and Rezaie 2010, 1741), so high resolution images are a requirement for this study.

Conducting reverse image searches on Google can also be a time-consuming process, due to limits on the number of results Google will display on one page. To mitigate this problem, the searches can be automated using a tool designed by the Digital Methods Initiative called the Google Reverse Image Scraper. This automatically retrieves the Google results from a set of images and outputs them in the form of a CSV file with accompanying metadata (Digital Methods Initiative 2015).

As mentioned previously, it is also clear from these case studies that RIL studies can never yield entirely comprehensive results on image use; therefore, results should not be considered as a definitive calculation of all instances of reuse. The results should instead be seen as indicative of the general trend of image reuse. Despite limitations, all authors conclude that the RIL approach can be effective in researching the use of specific cultural images on the internet, and therefore it is a suitable approach for this study.

### **Wayback Machine search**

The Wayback Machine was created by the Internet Archive in cooperation with Alexa Internet as a method of accessing the archived web pages it was collecting. The Internet Archive was started in 1996 with the aim of building ‘a digital library of Internet sites and other cultural artifacts in digital form’ and to ‘provide Universal Access to All Knowledge’ (The Internet Archive 2017). Researchers can conduct searches on the Wayback Machine by entering URLs and viewing the archived pages that are available. This makes it useful for investigating changes in the content and design of a web page over time.

Richard Rogers has discussed how the Wayback Machine can be easily used to produce single website histories by creating ‘screencast documentaries’ using screenshots of the web page over time in the style of time-lapse photography (Rogers 2017b, 161). The Wayback Machine is particularly useful for this purpose as it was originally designed to be searched using a single URL. For the purposes of this study, all that is required is to chart the development of individual web pages, for which the Wayback Machine is ideally designed.

As well as single website histories, the Wayback Machine has been used in a variety of fields for different reasons. It has been used as a tool to locate past documents, determine the age of certain web pages or content, and conduct quantitative social science research. For example, Liwen Vaughan and Mike Thelwall investigate how and why links are created to journal websites and use the Internet Archive’s Wayback Machine to determine the earliest known creation date for web pages (Vaughan and Thelwall 2003). Sanjay K. Arora et al. attempt to use the Wayback Machine for large-scale social science research, investigating the websites of 300 firms in green goods industries (Arora et al. 2016, 1904–5). They present an effective process for using the Wayback Machine for this purpose and identify some key limitations and challenges of the tool. In particular, they conclude that the data collection process using the tool on a large scale is problematic, due to the unstructured nature of the data, missing metadata and duplicate content on different

websites, issues that require some degree of manual organisation which slows down the process (Arora et al. 2016, 1912–13). It may be that the use of the Wayback Machine is more effective when the dataset is of a size that makes detailed manual organisation and analysis feasible, even if the Wayback Machine query is automated.

### *Limitations*

There are some important limitations to the Wayback Machine's function which are recognised on the Internet Archive website. The Wayback Machine crawls websites at varying intervals depending on the attributes of the website, so while some are crawled every day, others might only be crawled once a year. Additionally, only publicly accessible web pages will be archived, and some pages may not be archived at all due to their being protected by passwords or blocked by robots.txt. The problem of broken image links on archived web pages possibly poses the most serious problem for this research study because the image and its context is the object of study. Images appearing on web pages are often hosted in a separate location to the web pages themselves and so are not captured by the Internet Archive. The Internet Archive's website explains that one can check whether the image in question does exist in the Wayback Machine by entering the exact image URL (The Internet Archive 2018).

The Wayback Machine is designed in such a way as to give the browser a frictionless experience, so that when one clicks a link in an archived page, they are taken to the linked page closest in time. Rogers argues that the tool 'sacrifices temporal matching for smooth navigation, and as such embeds a period in Web history, in an experience that could be described as more living museum of a surfer's space than historian's meticulous archive' (Rogers 2017b, 162). This design can mean that it is easy for analysis to become confused when time periods are not sufficiently clear. This is why it is helpful to use a tool to automate the Wayback Machine search process. The Digital Methods Initiative's Internet Archive Wayback Machine Link Ripper allows a researcher to enter URLs and the tool will retrieve the links to the archived versions held in the Internet Archive (Digital Methods Initiative 2013). This ensures all the data is collected with less potential for error.

### **Implementation of method**

The methods outlined here were implemented in the digital phase in two stages. First, RIL on Google was used to locate instances of the ten MoI images that had been republished on the internet. Those web pages which contained the MoI images were collected in a spreadsheet through use of the Google Reverse Image Scraper mentioned above. These web pages were then analysed and categorised according to their function

and topic. A sample was then created from this dataset for more in-depth analysis. Each web page in the sample was then analysed and searched using the Wayback Machine link ripper to view any previously captured versions of the page, in order to assess whether any changes had occurred in the way the MoI images had been used on the page over time. For more detail regarding the implementation of digital methods, see section 7.2.

### 3.3.5 TEMPORAL CONTEXT

This research was conducted during unusual period in the United Kingdom, significant for multiple terrorist attacks and political turmoil. The research also coincided with events celebrating the centenary of the First World War and the release of several successful films set during the Second World War. These events are important to consider particularly for their potential impact on the minds of the volunteers who took part in the survey and interviews. The survey was conducted between March and May 2017 and the interviews between July and September 2017. Significant events which occurred before and during these periods are outlined below

#### **Media and culture**

The centenary of the First World War was observed between 2014 and 2018, impacting the media landscape of 2017 with increased interest in the war. Events included the commemoration of the Battle of the Somme on 1 July 2016 and the commemoration of the Battle of Passchendaele at Tyne Cot Cemetery in Belgium on 31 July 2017, which was attended by Prime Minister Theresa May, The Prince of Wales and The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge (The Prince of Wales and the Duchess of Cornwall Website 2017).

Two major films set during the Second World War were released in 2017. On 16 June, a British historical drama, *Churchill*, was released in the UK, focusing on the struggles of Winston Churchill in the hours before D-Day. It was directed by Jonathan Teplitzky and starred Brian Cox as Winston Churchill. The film received mixed reviews from critics, receiving an approval rating of 49% on Rotten Tomatoes (Internet Movie Database (IMDb, Rotten Tomatoes).

On 21 July, *Dunkirk*, written and directed by Christopher Nolan, was released in the UK. The film depicts the evacuation of allied soldiers from the beaches of Dunkirk between 26 May and 4 June 1940. The film was highly praised by critics, receiving an approval rating of 92% on Rotten Tomatoes. It was nominated for five Academy Awards and won awards for Best Sound Editing, Best Sound Mixing and Best Film Editing (IMDb, Rotten Tomatoes).

Although not released in the UK until after the interviews were conducted, *Darkest Hour* was another film which could have had some impact on the British cultural landscape, since it was screened at the Telluride Film Festival on 1 September 2017. The film was directed by Joe Wright and starred Gary Oldman as Winston Churchill. It depicted the early days of Winston Churchill's term as Prime Minister during the May 1940 War Cabinet Crisis. The film received a rating of 84% on Rotten Tomatoes and Gary Oldman received the Academy Award for Best Actor for his role in the film (IMDb, Rotten Tomatoes).

### **Politics**

The period of this research was a turbulent time in British politics due to the consequences of the 2016 referendum vote to leave the European Union. The process of implementing the referendum vote dominated politics and current affairs in Britain, having a potentially significant impact on the thought processes of the research volunteers. Following the UK Supreme Court's ruling that Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union could only be triggered following a vote in Parliament (BBC News 2017), on 1 February MPs backed the European Union (Notification of Withdrawal) Bill (Simson Caird 2019). The Government then invoked Article 50 on 29 March, formally beginning the process of Britain's withdrawal from the European Union (GOV.UK 2017). The formal negotiations with the European Union were then commenced in Brussels on 19 June with Brexit Secretary David Davis leading the UK delegation (Roberts, Boffey and Rankin 2017).

Another significant event in British politics during this period was the snap general election, which was announced by Prime Minister Theresa May on 18 April and took place on 8 June 2017. The election resulted in a hung parliament, with the Conservative Party remaining the largest party but losing its majority. Theresa May formed a coalition with the Democratic Unionist Party to achieve a majority. The Prime Minister was widely criticised by members of her own party for her performance in the election campaign and the election resulted in continuing turbulence in government for the following months (Beauchamp 2017, Kentish 2019).

### **Terrorism**

Between March and September 2017, there were five terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom, resulting in the deaths of 37 people. On 22 March, a car was driven into pedestrians on Westminster Bridge, before crashing into the fence of the Palace of Westminster. The driver, a British man named Khalid Masood, then ran into New Palace

Yard and stabbed a police officer, before being shot dead by armed police. Six people were killed in the attack, including the perpetrator (Hanna 2017).

On 22 May, Manchester Arena was the target of a suicide bombing which injured 139 people and killed twenty-three, including the attacker. The attacker detonated a homemade bomb as people were exiting the building following a concert. The bomber was Salman Abedi, a British radical Islamist extremist. The concert was by Ariana Grande, which meant that many of the victims were children (Hanna 2017).

On 3 June, a van was driven into pedestrians on London Bridge by three Islamist extremists inspired by Islamic State. The terrorists travelling in the van then ran into Borough Market and stabbed people before being shot dead by police. The attack resulted in the deaths of eight people (Hanna 2017).

On 19 June, a van was driven into pedestrians outside Finsbury Park Mosque in London, killing one man. The attacker was British man Darren Osborne, who was later found guilty of terrorism-related murder and attempted murder and sentenced to life imprisonment (Hanna 2017, BBC News 2018a).

On 15 September, a bomb detonated on a District Line train at Parsons Green Underground Station in London, injuring thirty people. The bomber, Iraqi refugee Ahmed Hassan, was arrested as he tried to flee the country the following day (Hanna 2017, BBC News 2018c).

The potential impacts of these events on the research are explored where relevant in sections 5.3.3 and 6.3.1.

### 3.3.6 NEXT STEPS

The methods outlined in the previous section were implemented in four phases of research in order to address four research questions:

1. What remembering processes are revealed when individuals encounter MoI images?
2. How and why are MoI images recognised and remembered?
3. How are MoI images interpreted?
4. What causes some MoI images to be defined as iconic?

In the exploratory phase, content analysis was implemented to study a dataset of survey responses created by MO. This analysis was designed to reveal initial information to

begin to address the first three research questions and provide valuable insight to inform the design of the research in the following phases. Details on the MO source are provided in section 4.1.2 and the implementation of the methods is explained in section 4.2.

In the survey phase, the survey method was implemented in the manner explained in section 3.3.2 (the process is outlined in more detail in section 5.2). Surveys were conducted with volunteers and the data was analysed using the content analysis method. The survey and content analysis were designed to reveal insights to help address all four research questions. The oral history interview method was implemented in the interview phase, with analysis of the interview transcripts conducted with a content analysis approach. The implementation of these methods is discussed in detail in section 6.2. This provided a large quantity of data to address all four research questions.

Finally, the digital phase was designed using two key digital methods: reverse image lookup and web histories. Using a combination of the reverse image scraper tool and the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine, the different uses of MoI images on the internet could be investigated. The implementation of these methods is explained in section 7.2. The data produced by this phase was also analysed using a content analysis approach. The phase was designed to produce data to address the second, third and fourth research questions.



## Chapter 4: Exploratory phase

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the source, objectives and method for the content analysis of the Mass Observation (MO) archive material and explain the main findings from that process. Finally, I outline how the findings from these two activities inform the survey and interview phases of the research.

#### 4.1.1 OBJECTIVES

While reviewing the documents of MO, discussed in section 2.1.2, I discovered the existence of a modern version of the project which has compiled an archive which is particularly pertinent to this study. A new version of the MO project was started in 1981 with the aim of re-creating a national writing panel of observers to document attitudes in Britain. As of 2019, the project is still ongoing and there are currently around 450 volunteer writers on the panel, recruited to reflect as far as possible the demographic composition of the United Kingdom as far as possible. Three times a year, the writers respond anonymously to sets of open-ended survey questions, or ‘Directives’, on different topics (Mass Observation 2015b).

In the spring of 2009, a Directive was issued which contained a part entitled ‘The Second World War’ (Mass Observation Directive 85, Mass Observation 2009a). This part is of specific relevance as its questions asked writers to reflect on what the Second World War meant to them and what familial and cultural experiences have influenced their interpretation. This part was created in a collaboration between the MO project and Professor Penny Summerfield who has used the responses in her work on generation and gender in memories of the Second World War (Summerfield 2010a; Summerfield in Noakes and Pattinson 2013).

The responses to this Directive offer a direct insight into the kinds of thoughts and memories that emerge when a person is asked to write about the Second World War. They could also potentially reveal whether Ministry of Information (MoI) propaganda posters and slogans appear in these memories. I therefore decided to conduct a content analysis of the responses to this 2009 Directive. The objectives of this content analysis were to explore the remembering processes that occur when people are prompted to consider the Second World War, providing initial information to help address the first research question ‘what remembering processes are revealed when individuals encounter MoI

images?’ The analysis was also designed to discover whether and how MoI publicity campaigns feature in people’s memories and to understand which campaigns and slogans feature most prominently. This helps in addressing question two ‘how and why are MoI images recognised and remembered?’ and three ‘how are MoI images interpreted?’ The information gathered also helped to inform the design of the subsequent phases of this research.

#### 4.1.2 MASS OBSERVATION SOURCE

The questions in the 2009 Directive are broadly structured in eight sections, which are labelled A–G for the purposes of this analysis. These are:

*Table 3 Structure of Spring 2009 Mass Observation Directive (MO Directive 85, Mass Observation 2009a) with added alphabetical code and descriptions*

Code	Title	Description
A	What does it mean to you?	List ten words or phrases that ‘conjure up the Second World War for you’
B	Remembering	Family memories and family dynamics when discussing the Second World War Attitude to Remembrance Day
C	The traces of the Second World War	Awareness of physical traces in the landscape and objects related to the Second World War (including examples)
D	Films and TV programmes	Knowledge of films and TV programmes related to the Second World War (including examples)
E	Books	Knowledge of books related to the Second World War (including examples)
F	Information about the Second World War, events and activities	Detail of the ways knowledge of the Second World War has been gained, through school and elsewhere and experience of Second World War related events or activities (including examples)
G	Last but not least... A Special Task	Record of all the references to the Second World War noticed in the media or elsewhere in one week

This Directive received 235 responses. Responses are both handwritten and typed, and they range from between one and thirty sides of A4. The MO Project attempts to recruit writers from a wide range of backgrounds, ages and locations in Britain. There are,

however, clear biases in the demographics of the panel of writers. Those MO writers who submitted responses to the 2009 Directive fell in to the following gender, region and age brackets. More detail on the demographics of the MO writers can be found in Appendix B. This data comes from the MO Project database (Mass Observation 2015a).

*Table 4 Gender of MO writers*

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Number of MO writers</b>
Female	141
Male	86
not answered	7
Total	234

*Table 5 Region of MO writers*

<b>Region</b>	<b>Number of MO writers</b>
East Midlands	15
East of England	26
London	21
North East	11
North West	27
Northern Ireland	1
not answered	10
Scotland	7
South East	40
South West	15
Wales	14
West Midlands	24
Yorkshire and The Humber	23
Total	234

*Table 6 Birth cohort of MO writers*

<b>Birth cohort</b>	<b>Number of MO writers</b>
1910s	4
1920s	27
1930s	45
1940s	45
1950s	29
1960s	38

1970s	28
1980s	10
1990s	1
Not answered	7
Total	234

In the MO Directive, questions are open-ended, and writers are encouraged to write freely and openly in response, revealing anything that comes to mind. The Directive does not only invite responses from those with direct experience of the Second World War, but explicitly asks younger writers to respond:

*Please note that this Directive is NOT aimed only at those Mass Observers who lived through the Second World War in Britain but at all of you, whenever you were born and wherever you were living. (Mass Observation 2009a, 1)*

For these two key reasons, this MO source offers suitable data for this analysis. Writers from a range of generations are encouraged to write in a spontaneous fashion about their understanding of the Second World War, recounting the memories that come to mind first and exploring their own memories as they write.

The choice of topics to write about is influenced by the questions included in the Directive and the order in which they are printed. In the ‘Remembering’ section (B), the questions are broad and do not mention specific cultural artefacts. Therefore, when a writer mentions a particular visual image in this section, it has come to their mind naturally and so can be studied as an example of that person’s independent remembering process. In contrast, in prompting people to write about films, television and books (D), the Directive includes specific examples, so people tend to mention those examples. This makes this section less useful for revealing spontaneous remembering processes.

Of particular interest to this analysis is the first section which asks writers to list ten words or phrases that ‘conjure up the Second World War’ (A). As the words written in response to this question are usually the first words people begin to write, the question gives people the best opportunity to share the first ideas that come to their mind when contemplating the Second World War.

The MO source has some limitations for this analysis. By its design, the MO project attracts particular kinds of volunteers and each Directive may attract particular kinds of volunteers to respond. It is likely that volunteers are disproportionately people who enjoy writing, feel they have something to share, and have a wide range of interests and

sufficient free time. Many writers explain that they were prompted to volunteer by reading MO diaries from the Second World War, such as *Nella Last's War* published in 2006. Thus, it is clear that some have an established interest in the war and the British home front. However, there are still many shorter responses in this collection in which the writer states that they have little interest in or knowledge of the Second World War.

## 4.2 Method

Having established the potential of the MO material for this analysis, the method of content analysis was selected, because it allowed key features in a large dataset to be identified in a systematic way. The choice of this method is discussed in more detail in section 3.3.1. References to three types of source were recorded: visual images, web/digital resources and MoI sources. To track other elements of the remembering processes, references to concepts and emotions were also recorded. Additionally, the biographical and contextual details which were available within the source were also recorded to allow for analysis: age, gender, marital status, occupation, location and order of questions answered. This data was recorded in Microsoft Excel.

### 4.2.1 MINISTRY OF INFORMATION REFERENCES

The collection of references to the MoI provides the core data for this analysis. In recording references, any reference to the MoI itself, any image or publication produced by the MoI and any phrase coined by it were included. I recorded the format (for example, organisation, poster, book or campaign), the description (the title), the location in text (indicated by a letter code detailed on page 3) and then the context (the surrounding sentence/s). For example:

*Table 7 Example of record of MoI reference (source: B3252, Male, 63, Stafford)*

Format	Poster
Description	Keep Calm and Carry On
Location in text	G
Context	Reference made in a paper (can't remember which) about a poster printed during the war "Keep Calm and Carry On"

### 4.2.2 IMAGE REFERENCES

The main objective of this research is to uncover how images created by the MoI are remembered. For this reason, I widened the focus to images in general, in order to understand the processes by which people remember and record memories of images.

References to images were recorded in a similar way to MoI sources, the criteria being any reference to a visual representation either printed in a physical form or viewed digitally. References were logged in the same way as above:

*Table 8 Example of record of image reference (source: A4127, Male, 46, Nantwich)*

Format	Photograph
Description	Photograph of father
Location in text	B
Context	He began as a driver of Matilda Tanks, and for an unknown reason I have a photo of him in dispatch gear in Italy so he was probably transferred after he was wounded.

#### 4.2.3 WEB RESOURCE REFERENCES

To acquire some sense of the influence of web resources and digital media on the memories of the MO writers, I also recorded references to digital and web resources in this source material. References were logged in the same way as images, with ‘format’ denoting the type of resource (website, mobile app, email):

*Table 9 Example of web resource reference (Source: G2640, Female, 57, Hounslow)*

Format	Website
Description	Commonwealth War Graves Commission
Location in text	B
Context	I am very impressed by the work of the CWGC, both the memorials and the website.

#### 4.2.4 CONCEPTS AND EMOTIONS

As examined in section 2.3, remembering culturally relies upon a person applying meanings or associations to an object or experience. For these reasons, references were recorded for concepts and emotions made by writers as they recounted their memories connected to the Second World War. This data helps to uncover common ways of remembering among MO writers in order to address the first research question for this study. It also provides an insight into how MO writers interpret the cultural media they refer to, addressing the third research question.

#### **Concepts**

Concepts were identified in the MO sources and categorised in the content analysis. These are separate from how writers felt emotionally about elements of the Second World War (which would be recorded as emotions), but rather what ideas or values they attributed to

elements of the war. I have selected the most appropriate label to represent the concept the writers describe. Writers do not necessarily use the same term, for example:

*Table 10 Example of concept reference (Source: G4296, Male, 32, Cardiff)*

Association	Solidarity
What with	Diarists
Location in text	E
Context	Many of the diarists were burdened with the thoughts of doom and gloom but because of the community spirit which came out of the time—sticking together through adversity, they were encouraged to be optimistic and through the extreme shortages increasingly inventive.

In this example, references to ‘community spirit’ and ‘sticking together’ are coded together as the concept of solidarity. Many categories were developed and edited as the analysis progressed. I created new category terms to ensure all concepts had been recorded accurately and consistently. For example, writers would often refer to a family member or themselves as having had a ‘good’ war. Since the term ‘suffering’ had already been selected to reflect people’s negative association with war experience, I needed a term to reflect this positive association; ‘pleasure’ seemed to be the most accurate and helpful term.

### **Emotion**

In order to accurately log references to emotions felt by writers, I required a system of categorising emotional terms that does not allow for overlap or confusion. One method is to select a few dimensions that capture the main similarities and differences between emotions (Parrott 2001, 9). The simplest system for this would be the use of pleasantness and intensity; anger is unpleasant and intense, whereas serenity is pleasant but less intense (Parrott 2001, 9). This does not meet my requirements as intensity is of less importance to me than the subtleties of emotions beyond merely pleasantness and unpleasantness. Other systems create clusters of emotions according to similarity, with the number of clusters varying depending on how specific these categories must be (Shaver et al. 1987). Researchers can ask people to rate emotional terms by similarity in order to create these clusters. However, W. Gerrod Parrott suggests that this method can be unhelpful as it forces people to provide one rating, where in fact the level of similarity between terms depends on the aspect of the emotion that is in question (Parrott 2001, 10). For example, fear and anger share the characteristics of being negative, active and intense; however,

when these two emotions are considered based on their characteristics of attraction and repulsion, they are complete opposites.

Prototype theory is useful for my purposes, advocated by Eleanor Rosch for physical objects (Rosch and Lloyd 1978) and extended to apply to emotion by Beverley Fehr and James A. Russell among others, as it allows for the use of one prototypical term as a label for a ‘fuzzy set’ of emotions. There is usually one term which is most typical of a set of concepts (for example, ‘chair’ as the prototype for ‘furniture’) and for emotion, Russell argues that people reliably choose the most prototypical term from a list, which can then be used as the label (Fehr and Russell 1984). The set is ‘fuzzy’ because it is not defined by entirely solid universal criteria, but rather by how people think of the concepts.

Informed by Russell, Fehr and Parrott, I developed a list of emotion labels that are prototypical of the set of emotions being described:

*Table 11 Emotion categories in Mass Observation content analysis*

<b>Emotion category</b>	<b>Terms and ideas covered by label</b>
Admiration	Love, approval, affection
Surprise	Shock, astonishment
Hope	Optimism, faith
Gratitude	Thankfulness
Joy	Happiness, contentment
Relief	Release, reassurance
Pride	Feeling proud of someone or something, appreciation
Sympathy	Compassion, empathy
Aversion	Repulsion, distaste, disgust, dislike, hatred
Apathy	Lack of feeling, numbness
Fear	Dread, anxiety, terror, worry
Anger	Rage, antagonism, irritation, annoyance
Sorrow	Sadness, grief
Shame	Embarrassment, guilt
Excitement	Anticipation, exhilaration, enthusiasm

I have selected these based on their being the most inclusive and passive examples of that emotion. For example, the term ‘aversion’ is used to encompass other emotions of more or lesser intensity such as dislike and hatred. Similarly, ‘shame’ is selected as prototypical



of embarrassment and guilt; whilst there are subtle differences in intensity and usage, they demonstrate what I feel is a similar enough reaction to the stimuli for this study.

*Table 12 Example of emotion reference (Source: C108, Female, 74)*

Emotion	Sorrow
What with	General traces of the war
Location in text	C
Context	These sort of things mainly sadden me for the life we had to live and the people we lost forever.

To briefly address some of the complexities involved in the categorisation, ‘apathy’ is difficult to interpret when it is not specifically mentioned, and I was concerned that many instances of apathy would have been missed in attempts to record it. Similarly, I have opted not to include ‘interest’ as an emotion, as it is commonly mentioned simply as a description rather than an emotion. ‘Excitement’ is often mentioned, and I felt it was important to distinguish this from the emotions of happiness and contentment represented by the label ‘joy’. I have also decided not to include non-specific emotional references. When writers describe things as being ‘emotional’, ‘moving’, ‘thought-provoking’ or as having a ‘profound effect’, these references are not recorded unless they explicitly demonstrate an emotion that fits into one of the existing categories.

## 4.3 Findings and discussion

### 4.3.1 REMEMBERING PROCESSES

The analysis of the responses demonstrates some of the elements of the memory processes detailed in section 2.3. Despite the questions in the Directive asking for MO writers to write about predominantly individual memories, these memories become triggers for other kinds of memory as writers simultaneously engage in processes of cultural remembering, incorporating references to family stories and cultural objects. When asked about films, writers might remember a certain instance of seeing a film, but also draw in a relative’s opinion of the film and their understanding of wider cultural trends in film-making.

Extrapolation is a key remembering process revealed in the analysis; writers detail the memories shared by their family members and then extrapolate this to wider society or use this to come to a broad conclusion regarding the nature of the Second World War and the home front, enhancing and justifying their own cultural memory. In this process of cultural remembering, they are using the collective memory of a family member as a

trigger and then consciously or unconsciously drawing in other sources (e.g. school lessons, books, films and television) that comprise their particular cultural memory. Some examples are provided below (quotations are reproduced with the response code, gender, year of birth and location).

“Her stories stemmed from how few girls there were to how many servicemen and the dances they used to have! Also tinged with sadness though for the friends she made who did not return... The dance music of the time—big bands of Glenn Miller and the like, seem to sum up the feeling of almost desperation to relax and enjoy life whilst they could.”

*M3412, Female, 1959, Yorkshire and The Humber*

“Mum talks a lot about her time in the WRAF and liked the whole 'service life' scene. I don't think Mum ever settled back into 'civvy street'. I think that was the only time she was truly happy... The people then were more of a community and tended to look after each other and care for their neighbours... The whole country is splintered and diluted but during war time, everybody was pulling together.”

*O3932, Female, 1967, North West*

This form of extrapolation links closely to the concept of inference, identified by Bradburn, Rips and Shevell, as the process by which research participants draw on other kinds of memory to fill in the gaps in their own personal memories when answering questions (Bradburn, Rips, and Shevell 1987, 213). Participants draw on family stories and broader historical knowledge to make up their cultural memory. This concept is discussed in section 2.3.

The latter example also provides some insight into another element of the remembering process; the way that different memories build on and influence one another. MO writer O3932 states that ‘the whole country is splintered and diluted but during war time, everybody was pulling together’. In this statement, she is drawing on memories that inform her cultural understanding of the state of modern society and comparing this with her cultural memory of society during the Second World War. Her negative perception of modern society influences her positive cultural memory of wartime society and vice versa, so each magnifies the characteristics of the other by comparison. These kinds of comparisons in the remembering process are common:

“Now I probably feel an added sadness that with so many awful attacks against the elderly, the smashing of military graves and the lack of care and respect for the generation who survived all they did to ensure we inherited a better world and have lived to see what a mess we have made of the legacy they entrusted us with.”

*M3408, Female, 1946, West Midlands*

“All that real horror is right here on our streets now, and the papers are full of it and the crooked ways of politicians and councillors, amongst others, whilst during the war you could leave your door unlocked, no one other than your own would enter, and the milkman could leave the milk outside your door quite safely, and you were quite safe outside even at night, no one tried to rob you. Those really were the good days.”

*R1468, Female, 1923, East Midlands*

“The world seems smaller, more crowded, more intrusive, more fearful and less well-mannered than I care for...I do sincerely believe that the options available to my grandchildren are not nearly so varied and exciting as those I found in my early twenties when the world was my oyster and everyone in it potentially my friend.”

*R2143, Male, 1922, South East*

This process is also found in examples of when a writer compares their memory, opinion or emotion to what they imagine others' memories to be like.

“I always feel a sense of pride when I watch them, but remember I was born during the war, I doubt younger generations would feel the same.”

*D2585, Female, 1943, South West*

Another aspect of the remembering process that is particularly important is how memories of the same object are built up in a mind over time. I conceive of this process as one of merging or fusion; the new memory does not replace the old one, but the combination of the two memories creates a more stable continuous long-term memory of encounters with that object.

“When I was young I was struck by the excitement; now I appreciate the human costs which are depicted, too. I have grown up.”

*V3767, Male, 1938, North West*

“When I first watched the films as a young boy I remember the excitement and the sense of danger... Over time, when watching the films they make me feel very proud to be British and reinforce my belief that we owe a lot to the men who gave their lives in this conflict.”

*C4442, Male, 1987, Yorkshire and the Humber*

MO writers are aware of how their own emotions and opinions have changed over the course of time. They are sometimes able to identify reasons for the changes. It is this awareness of continuity and change in a person’s memory that contributes to their identity.

“How I wished, as a child, that I could have taken part in the war... But as an adult - how grateful I am that the timing of my birth excluded me from the horror of fighting.”

*C3604, Male, 1944, East of England*

“One year, when I was at Polytechnic, a group of us 'boycotted' Remembrance Day. In the idealism of youth, we considered it to be a glorification of war... Far from glorifying war, Remembrance Day has become a symbol of the futility of war and also its inevitability, given human nature, which we must always try to mitigate.”

*F4395, Male, 1963, North West*

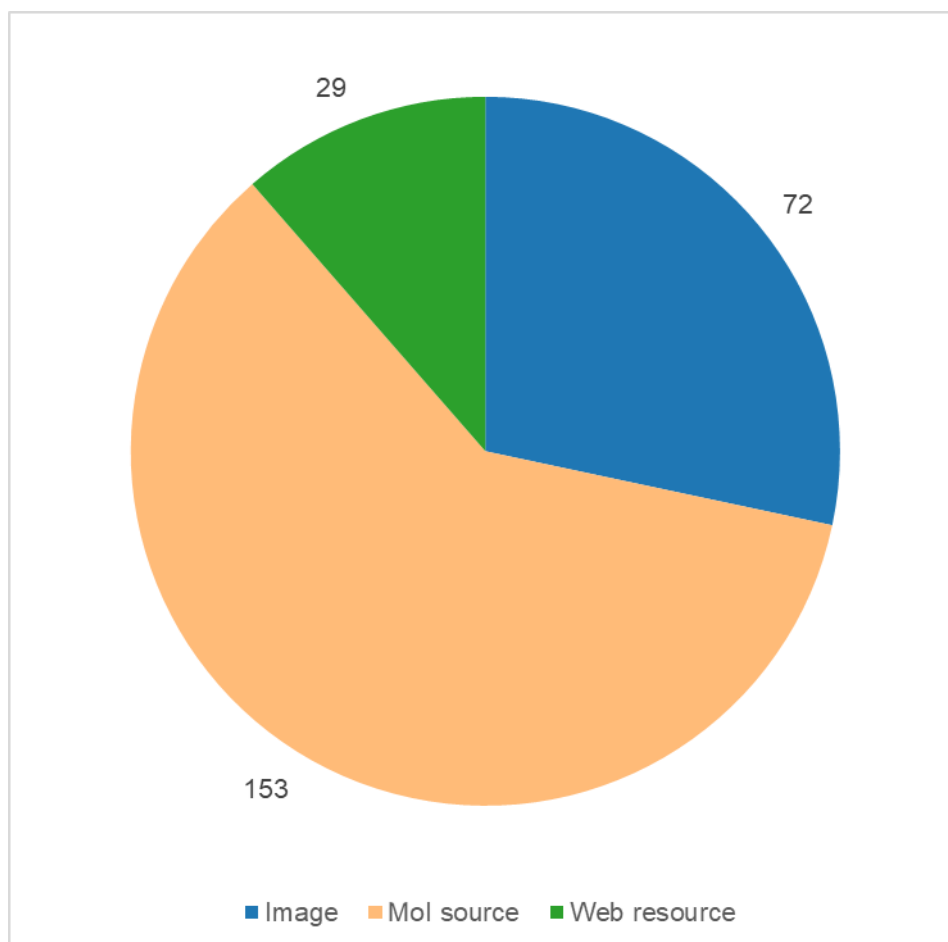
The analysis of the MO Directive responses reveals two remembering processes that have the capacity to influence and shape historical consciousness and identity. Consideration of these processes contributes to our understanding of the functioning of cultural memory.

- The first is the process by which participants infer or extrapolate from personal or family memories to come to broad conclusions about their own history, nation and cultural identity.
- The second is the process by which participants build up memories and knowledge from different sources over the course of time, with an awareness of changes in their own opinion and memory, to form a coherent conception of their own personal past and identity.

#### 4.3.2 MINISTRY OF INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS

Figure 1 shows the distribution of mentions of each of the three types of source recorded.

Figure 1 References to each source type in Mass Observation responses



References to materials created by the MoI are more frequent than mentions of the other two types of reference recorded. This is likely due to the way participants record their memories of MoI campaigns. For most of these references, it is not clear what format is being referred to, if indeed any format (for example poster or booklet). Writers mention ‘Dig for Victory’ and ‘Make-do and Mend’ as conceptual phrases in their own right, with no reference to a poster or booklet that may have originally carried these words. They are even used as adjectives and verbs in themselves, replacing verb phrases such as ‘grow vegetables’ or ‘make clothes’. The vast majority of references to the MoI are made in this way; in these cases, the format for this reference is consequently recorded as ‘campaign’.

“He never discussed his job with me or my mother. ‘Loose Talk Costs Lives!’”

*B2605, Female, 1932, South East*

“My mother's “make do and mend” has rubbed off on me...After all “credit crunch” is only another way of saying “make do and mend”.”

*F3641, Female, 1941, East Midlands*

“Mum and I did Dig for Victory whilst father was away.”

*P2034, Male, 1928, East Midlands*

“[we] had grown shabby despite our efforts to make do and mend.”

*B1654, Male, 1931, West Midlands*

The lack of specificity in references to campaigns indicates that writers remember the idea of the campaign, the ideological or practical philosophy behind it, encapsulated in the core slogan. For many writers, these words have lost their original context; the media that was the source of the original memory is forgotten. Nonetheless, the words are remembered and used as a part of language, to refer to broader cultural concepts such as economy or citizenship. The slogans may have entered the memory through specific experiences, but these episodic memories no longer exist, and only the semantic memory—knowledge of the meaning of the words—remains. These slogans function as anchors of cultural memory as writers use them to give meaning to their individual and collective memory and they assume that these phrases are widely recognised by others. They then use them to situate their own memories in a wider cultural context that the reader will understand. In doing this they are not only reinforcing the place of the campaign slogans in their cultural lexicon, they are also defining their own generational and national identity as a person who understands and uses this particular language.

Figure 2 References to Ministry of Information sources and campaigns

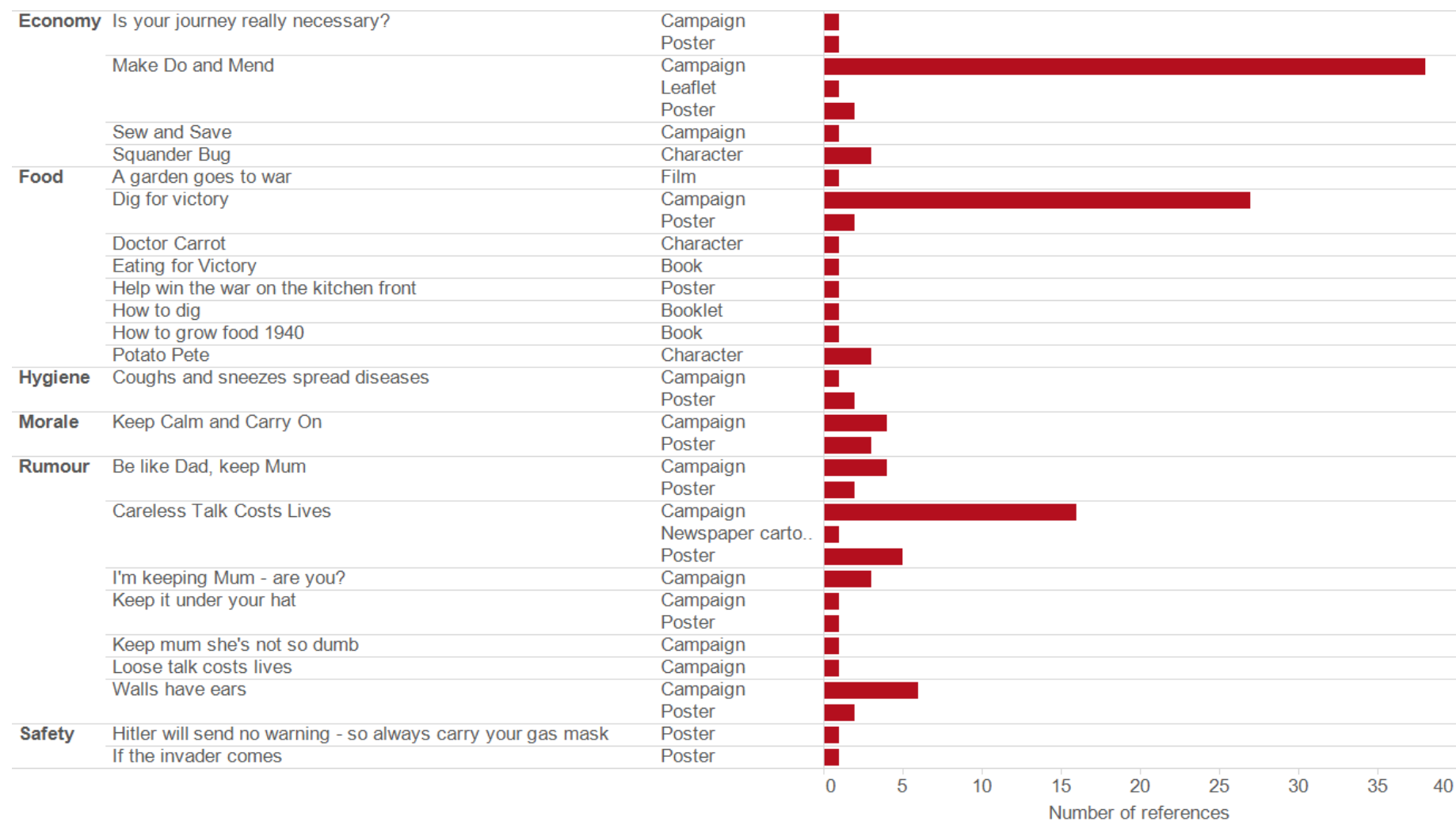
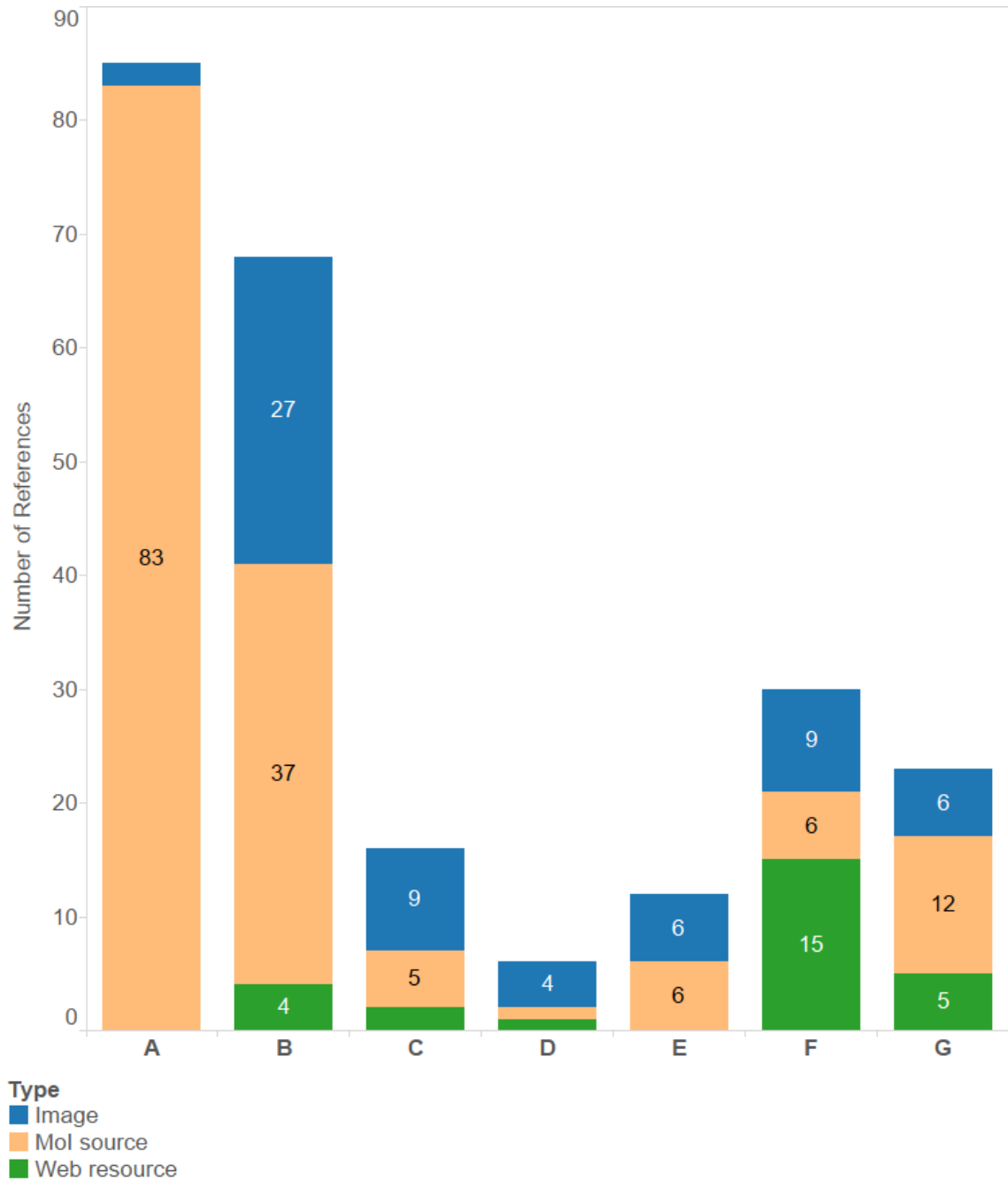


Figure 2 shows the number of times MoI campaign phrases are mentioned in responses. Of the most frequently mentioned campaigns and topics of campaigns, three clearly stand out: Make-do and Mend, Dig for Victory and Careless Talk Costs Lives. References within the topics of hygiene and safety were infrequent, while economy, food and rumour were the most frequently discussed. The topic of rumour included other phrases such as ‘Walls have ears’ and ‘Keep Mum’, but ‘Careless Talk Costs Lives’ was by far the most commonly mentioned. It seems that multiple slogans within one topic become consolidated in one particular phrase in MO writers’ memories; ‘Dig for Victory’ and ‘Make-do and Mend’ are the most powerful examples of this trend. Notably, *Keep Calm and Carry On* is only mentioned seven times, indicating that its rise in popularity was just beginning when this Directive was issued in 2009, the poster having begun to be heavily reproduced around 2008 (Lewis 2017, 65).

Another important element of the data to focus on is what is mentioned in response to the first point in the Directive (text location code A): ‘List ten words or phrases that conjure up the Second World War for you’. This is a useful section for this study, since it includes the fewest prompts to influence the memory of the writers. Figure 3 shows the number of references to the three sources in response to each Directive section.



Figure 3 References to each source type made in each text location



References to MoI sources are overwhelmingly found in MO writers' responses to the question in section A and quite frequently in section B. This means that the aforementioned campaign slogans are often included in the ten words and phrases listed at the beginning of the Directive response. For example, one MO Writer (C108, Female, 1934, London) records the following ten words or phrases, mentioning three MoI slogans:

- Careless Talk Costs Lives
- Keep Calm and Carry On
- Do your best for the war effort

- Make-do and Mend
- Shut that light out
- Waste not want not
- Support our boys in blue
- All the nice girls love a sailor
- Doodlebugs
- Blast victims

The slogans are also frequently mentioned when the writer is recording their memories, their relatives' memories and their attitude to Remembrance Day (B). This supports my position that MoI phrases are used as shorthand for larger concepts associated with the Second World War, and they are easily called to mind.

### Age

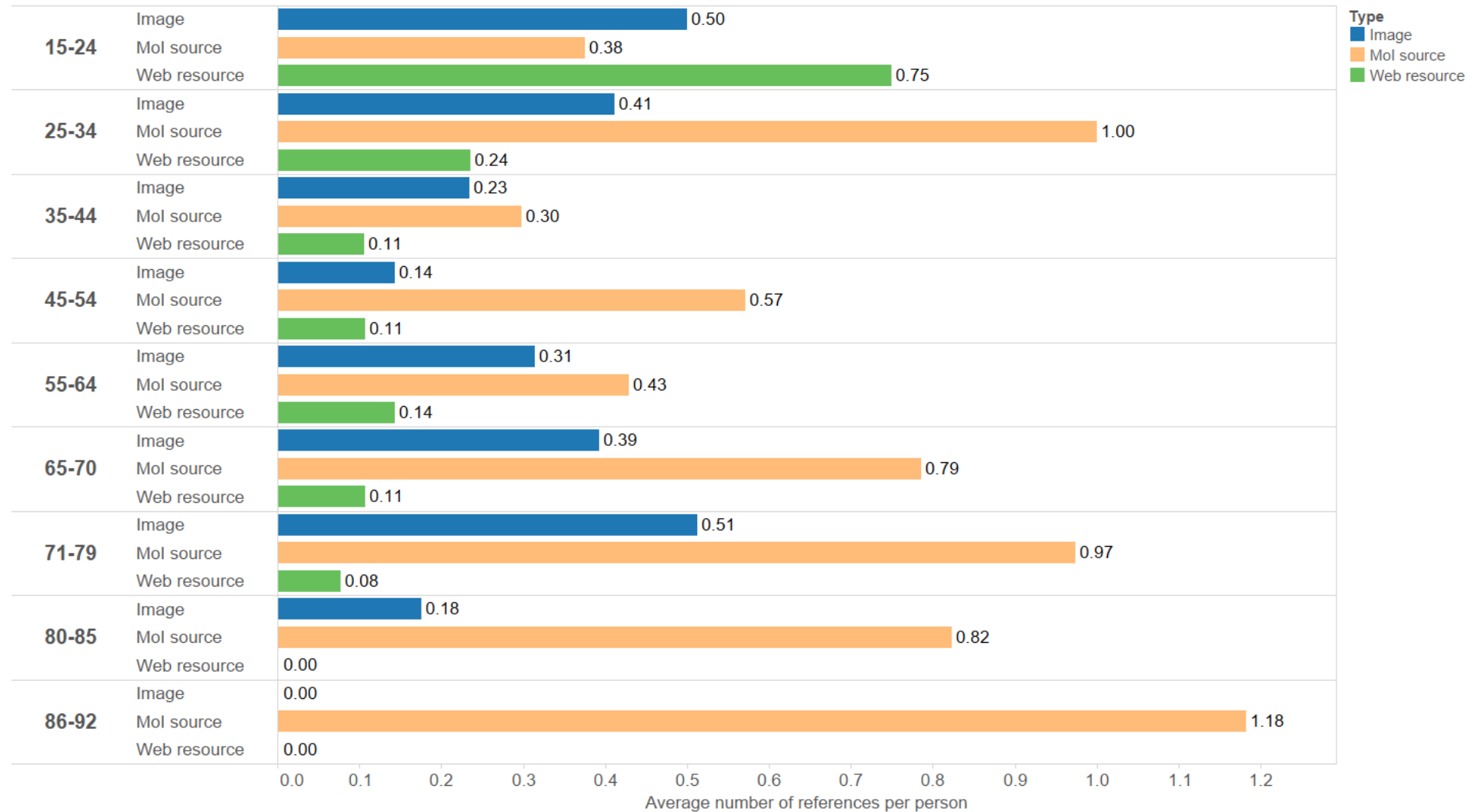
Generation as well as age is important for analysing war memory, and in particular the impact of experience in the formative years of a person's life. The MO writers are split into nine generation groups. The highest age brackets are based on members' ages during and just after the Second World War so that they can be categorised according to their generation relative to the experience of the war. The age brackets younger than these five are based on 10-year intervals.

*Table 13 Age groups*

Age (years)	Category
86-92	young adult during war
80-85	teenager during war
71-79	child during war
65-70	wartime baby
55-64	baby boomer
45-54	n/a
35-44	n/a
25-34	n/a
15-24	n/a

Figure 4 shows the average number of mentions of each of the three source types per person per age bracket, so that the chart takes into account the variation in numbers of participants in the different age brackets.

Figure 4 Average number of references to each source type per person, divided by age bracket



References to MoI sources are most frequent in the oldest four age brackets and particularly among participants who were between the ages of 16 and 22 at the outbreak of war. MoI references are generally more frequent in the older groups and less frequent in the younger groups; however, there is a spike in MoI references in the 25-34 age bracket. One could tentatively suggest that, while the older participants remember MoI materials in original contexts during the 1940s, the more recent interest in nostalgia surrounding the British home front might have resulted in MoI materials entering the memories of young adults in 2009. The examples below demonstrate these differences in the memories of two participants born in 1924 and 1977.

“The various government departments issued free leaflets on various subjects, and many clever wall-posters exhorting us to “Dig for Victory” or to tell us “Coughs and sneezes spread diseases” or “Be like dad - keep mum!””

*W1382, Male, 1924, South West*

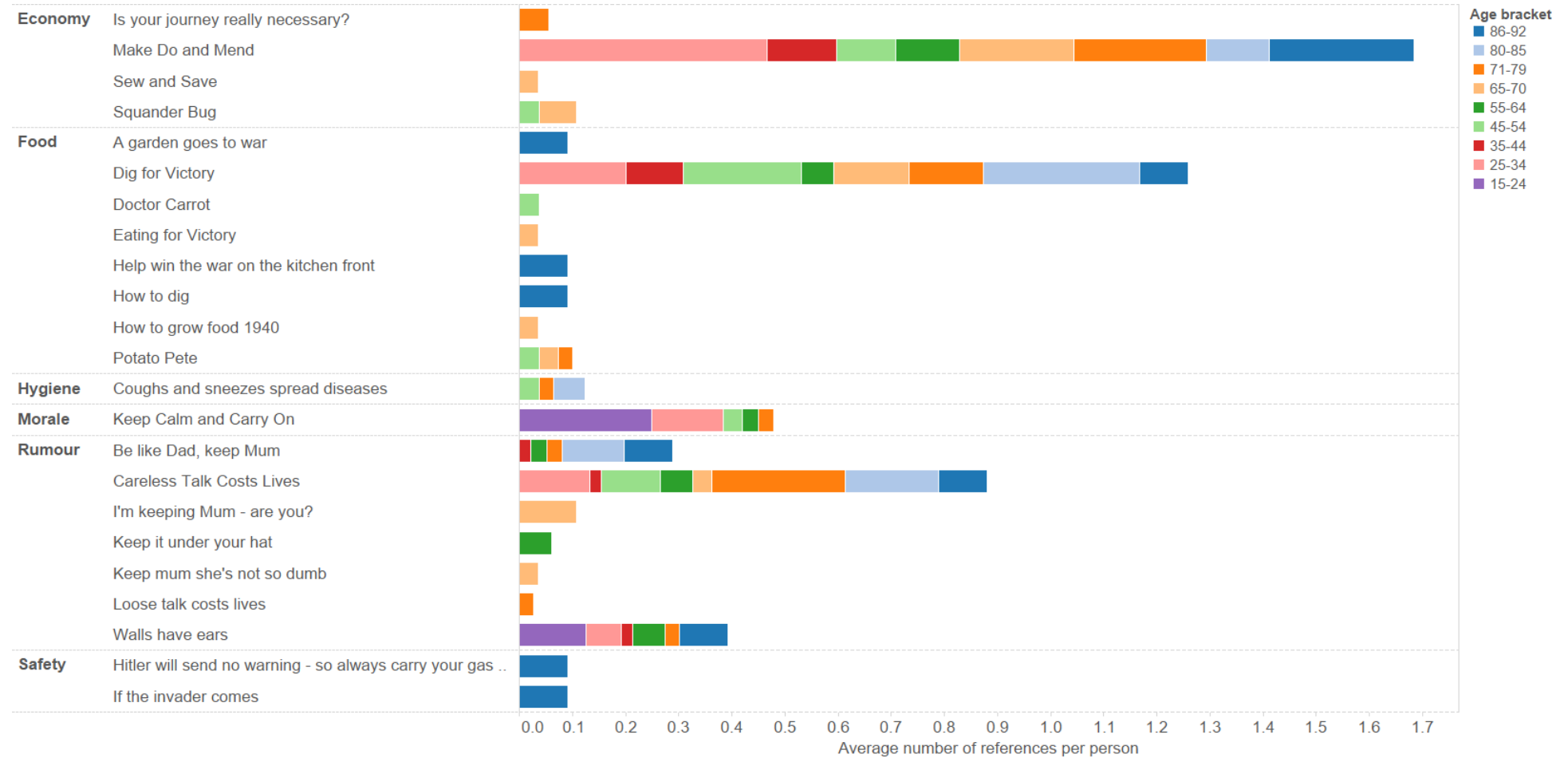
“It's so inspirational that I have Rosie the Riveter We Can Do It! And the Keep Calm and Carry On posters as fridge magnets and as a desktop wallpaper on my work's computer!”

*G4296, Male, 1977, Wales*

As might be expected, references to web resources are more frequent the younger the participant.

Figure 5 shows the average number of mentions of specific MoI campaign phrases per person in each age bracket. This chart takes into account the differences between the age brackets in terms of the number of members in each.

Figure 5 Average number of references to MoI campaigns per person, divided by age bracket



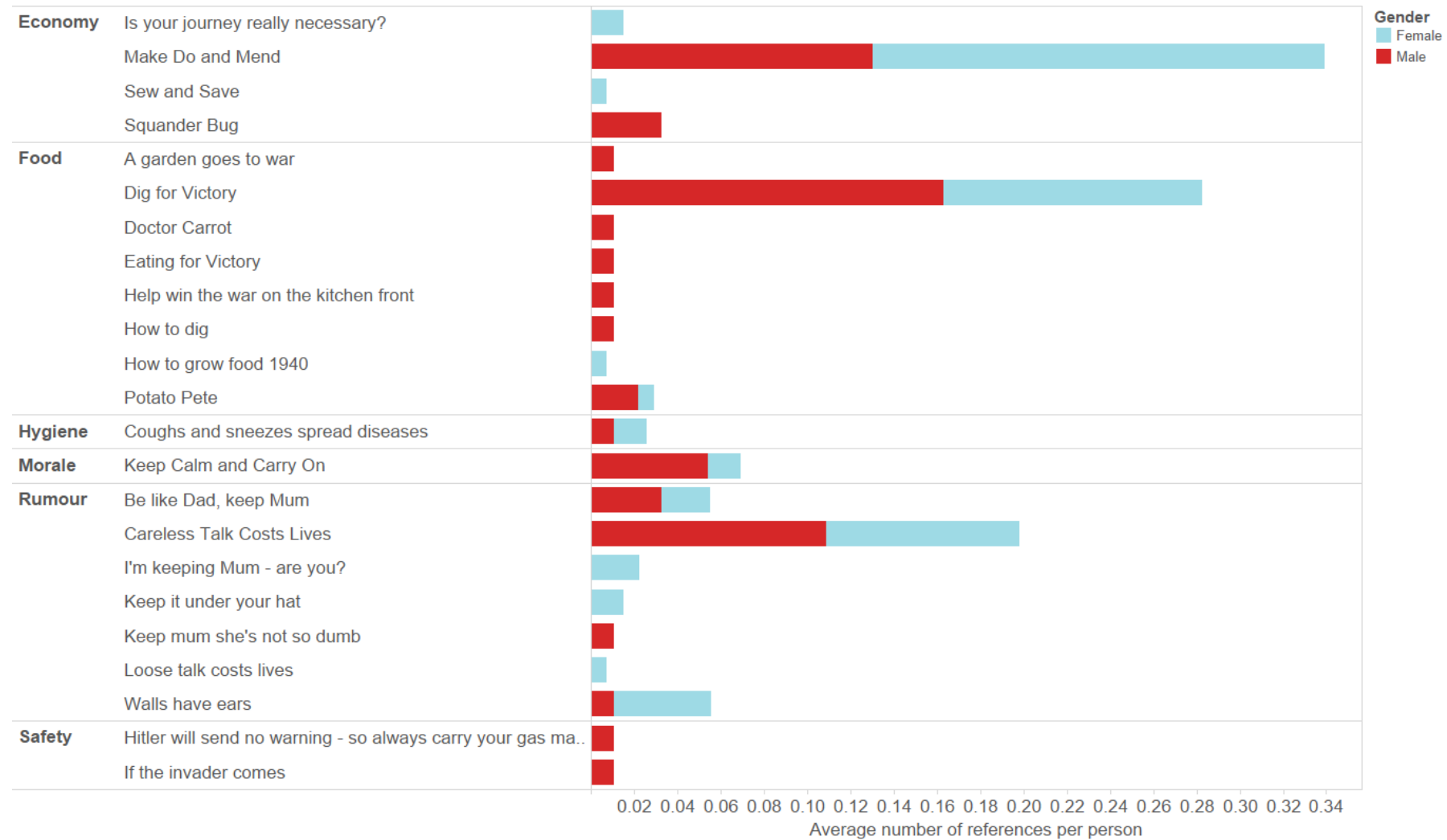
References to the three most popular campaigns, Make-do and Mend, Dig for Victory and Careless Talk Costs Lives, are relatively evenly divided among the age brackets. There is a slightly larger proportion of references to Make-do and Mend coming from the 25-34 age bracket. 28% of the references come from people under the age of 35.

References to more obscure campaigns are found in the response of one 87-year-old man, because his memories derive from encounters with specific MoI materials during the Second World War. This suggests that while older MO writers might remember these phrases, younger MO writers are only able to remember the campaigns that gained popularity and were republished later. The campaigns referred to by this MO writer are *If the invader comes, Hitler will send no warning - always carry your gas mask*, *A garden goes to war* and *Help win the war on the kitchen front* (R1418, Male, 87, Derby). References to *Keep Calm and Carry On* come overwhelmingly from the younger age bracket; 80% of references to this campaign come from MO writers under the age of 35. This suggests that the revival of this poster was most noticeable on the internet and in media most commonly consumed by younger generations; it took a little longer for the poster to be reproduced in sufficient quantity for it to be observed by all ages.

## **Gender**

Figure 6 shows the average number of mentions of specific MoI campaign phrases per person in each gender. This chart takes into account the differences between the genders in terms of the number of members in each.

Figure 6 Average number of references to MoI campaigns per person, divided by gender



There are slight gender differences in references to the two most popular campaigns; 62% of references to Make-do and Mend come from women and 38% come from men, whereas with Dig for Victory 43% of references come from women and 57% from men. This could reflect the traditional roles of men and women in Britain on the home front, since boys and young men may have been encouraged to take an interest in Dig for Victory and similar campaigns, while girls and young women would have been more involved in activities connected to home economy and making clothes, the Make-do and Mend campaign being originally targeted towards and even created by women (see section 2.1.2).

In relation to gender, it is important to note that the differences in the data are slight and for some campaigns, the number of people who made references to them are few; in some cases, there were only one or two individuals who mentioned them. As with all of the data presented in this study, no solid conclusions can be drawn; rather, the evidence in the data serves as an indicator of potential trends which require further investigation.

#### 4.3.3 CONCLUSIONS

Analysis of MO Directive 85 using the devised methods has allowed useful observations to be made regarding the process of remembering culturally. The analysis provides evidence to support the conception of cultural memory proposed, by demonstrating how a person can spontaneously draw on personal, familial and cultural memory from different media to construct and communicate a clear historical consciousness and personal identity.

The campaign slogans devised by the MoI are easily remembered by members of the public when they are prompted to consider the Second World War. Over time, these slogans have acquired so much memorability and significance that they have become signs or symbols in the English language to represent and communicate concepts beyond their original meaning. Phrases such as ‘Dig for Victory’ and ‘Make-do and Mend’ are used in ordinary everyday speech, not necessarily directly connected to the subject of the Second World War, and these phrases are used to convey both practical verbs and larger concepts and emotions.

I would argue that this is an example of a process of cultural remembering where terms are remembered and re-remembered; in this process, they lose some of their original context, acquire wider meaning, and are appropriated and assimilated into language. Those who lived through the Second World War may have specific memories of seeing



particular MoI publications and therefore remember the slogans. Members of younger generations see reproduced versions of these publications, often with contextual elements removed. They also hear the slogans in the speech of the older generations; again, context is lost and the original media at the source of the memory is forgotten. The slogans gradually become part of the English language.

It is not that older generations have accurate memories of the publications, while younger generations have simplified incorrect memories. Rather, I argue that members of all generations are active in the process by which the publications are remembered culturally and have become linguistic symbols over the course of the 70 years since their original publication. These symbols can be considered anchors of memory (see section 2.3.4), since they enable members of all generations to articulate their memory using phrases that they know will be known and understood by the majority of the rest of British society. However, the association that individuals have with these phrases, and the meaning they intend when they use them, likely varies between individuals and requires more probing interview-based research to identify these variations.

The popularity of certain campaigns reveals more about this process. Within each topic, there is usually one campaign slogan that is mentioned considerably more often than any of the others. To some extent, this may be related to the wartime popularity of that particular slogan; however, it is clear that those who were alive during the war are able to remember more obscure examples of MoI publications. The increased popularity of one particular campaign slogan within each topic is the result of this process by which the slogan enters language and is used to symbolise multiple memories and concepts. The other campaign slogans, with their various intended meanings, are subsumed within one.

The content analysis of the MO material has provided effective preparation for the following phases of this research. By defining and identifying categories of analysis in the written memories of members of the British public, this helped to draw conclusions regarding the nature of these memories. This process of identifying categories of analysis assisted me in the similar process which occurred during the analysis of survey and interview material in the later phases of the research. The content analysis also offered some new insights into the way people respond to prompts and reveal their processes of remembering. This knowledge is also useful in designing the survey and interview research processes and analysing the resultant data.

Finally, the content analysis of the MO source revealed some useful information on which campaigns and slogans were the most commonly remembered by the writers. The

prompts in the 2009 MO Directive had no direct reference to any MoI materials, meaning when writers referred to MoI materials in their responses, these references were entirely spontaneous. Those campaigns and slogans which did appear in the responses are the most commonly remembered and the most famous. The statistics on this helped me to select which MoI posters to include in the analysis in the following three phases of the research.

The results of the content analysis conducted in this phase led to the decision to loosely base the method of content analysis used in the subsequent phases on this method. Many of the categories used in this phase were also used in the survey phase content analysis. The research in this phase also informed the decision to use open questions in the design of the survey, in order to encourage similarly open and free communication of memory by participants. The decision was also taken, based on the information revealed in this phase regarding the most commonly mentioned MoI campaigns, to select images to use in the survey based on three campaigns: Dig for Victory, Make-do and Mend and Careless Talk Costs Lives, and one specific poster, *Keep Calm and Carry On*.

## Chapter 5: Survey phase

### 5.1 Introduction

Following the work undertaken in the first phase of the research, I had an initial sense of the specific Ministry of Information (MoI) campaigns which might be most prominent in the memories of British people. I also had information regarding the history of some of the MoI's campaigns and posters. The next phase of the research was to begin questioning people directly to uncover their memories of the MoI posters.

This phase was approached using two methods. Data was collected using surveys completed by volunteers recruited online and in person. The data from the surveys was analysed using semiotic content analysis. These methods are discussed in more detail in section 3.3.

The survey was conducted between March and May 2017. This period in the history of the United Kingdom was notable for several significant events. These included the invocation of Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union, which commenced negotiations on Brexit, Prime Minister Theresa May's calling of a snap general election and terrorist attacks in Westminster and Manchester Arena. These events are discussed in more detail in section 3.3.5. They may have had some influence on the remembering processes of survey participants and this is considered in section 5.3.3.

#### 5.1.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the survey phase were to gather and analyse data in order to address the following research questions (introduced in Chapter 1):

1. How and why are MoI images recognised and remembered?
2. How are MoI images interpreted by participants?
3. What remembering processes are revealed?

Although one of the ultimate aims of this study is to understand the nature of the concept of 'iconic' and investigate how it applies to MoI images, the term is not directly investigated in this phase. By enquiring into how and why the MoI images are recognised and remembered, initial observations can be made which relate to the nature of the concept of 'iconic' and which will inform and be expanded by the more in-depth analysis to be undertaken in the interview phase.

The research activity in this phase was designed with the following objectives in mind:

- To reveal which MoI images were recognised
- To reveal the ways in which participants interpret the images and what ideas they associate with them
- To understand why participants think certain images are memorable
- To recruit participants for the interview phase of research

These objectives enable the research questions to be addressed and ensure the successful continuation of the research in the interview phase.

## 5.2 Method

Social surveys were used to gather information from a wide range of people in order to address the research questions. The method was selected to uncover people's memories of MoI images and their self-reported beliefs regarding why they remember the images and what makes them memorable. The survey method enabled simple information to be gathered on these topics quickly from a large group of people so that it could be used to recruit people for more in-depth oral history interviews.

### 5.2.1 IMAGE SELECTION

The results of the analysis of the MO archive revealed that those MoI campaigns which were most commonly remembered included Make-do and Mend, Careless Talk Costs Lives and Dig for Victory. Four relatively well-known posters were selected from these campaigns to be included in the survey. *Keep Calm and Carry On* was also included in the selection, even though it was not frequently mentioned in the MO material. Its fame in contemporary society has been well-documented (Lewis 2017, 61) and it was deemed important to examine its role in British cultural memory. The scarcity of references to *Keep Calm and Carry On* in the MO material was due to the fact that the MO survey was conducted in 2009, before *Keep Calm and Carry On* had reached the height of its fame (Lewis 2017, 65).

The images chosen to be included in the survey were:

*Table 14 Ministry of Information campaign images included in survey*

Image	Appendix fig.	Campaign
Dig for Victory	A1	Dig for Victory
Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb	A6	Careless Talk Costs Lives
Go Through Your Wardrobe	A3	Make-do and Mend

Careless Talk Costs Lives (Fougasse)	A5	Careless Talk Costs Lives
Keep Calm and Carry On	A8	No overarching campaign

Five was considered to be the maximum number of images that could be presented to survey participants, in order for the survey to take less than ten minutes to complete. One poster from the Dig for Victory campaign and one from the Make-do and Mend campaign were selected. Two very different poster designs were selected from the Careless Talk Costs Lives campaign in order to give some more variety. The Fougasse poster selected contained the slogan ‘Don’t forget that walls have ears!’.

## 5.2.2 SURVEY DESIGN

### Question design

The survey included a combination of open and closed questions. Closed questions were used to gather biographical data. Participants were asked for their year of birth, place of birth, place of residence, length of time living in the United Kingdom, highest level of education and gender. Open questions were included to encourage participants to reflect on the images and on their memories in an open and unrestricted way. Participants were encouraged to write freely about their thoughts and include anything that came to mind. Additional text was included with each question to ensure that participants were aware of the kind of qualitative data that the survey was designed to gather. The advantage of open questions is that they enable participants to qualify and clarify their responses and they reveal their logic and frame of reference (Neuman 2006, 287). As the core aim of this research is to understand the thought processes behind memories and opinions reported in response to the images, any qualification or clarification from participants was encouraged.

The first question aimed to acquire information regarding whether participants recognised the images presented. The question was a closed yes-or-no question asking, ‘Do you recognise this image?’ It was decided to focus on the term ‘recognise’ rather than ‘remember’, because the use of the term ‘memory’ is ambiguous, and it is likely that it would be interpreted differently by different people, some assuming that for them to ‘remember’ the image, they must have seen it during the Second World War. Asking about recognition seemed more appropriate as participants could answer ‘yes’ even if they did not know the source of their recognition of the image. It was also decided not to include an option for ‘maybe’ or ‘not sure’, in order to force participants to come to a reflex decision over whether they believed they recognised the image. This decision could

also encourage participants to open up and be more proactive in considering their memories.

If a participant answered ‘yes’ to the first question, they were directed to answer an open question:

**If you recognise the image, why do you think you know it?** If you think you have ever seen this image before, please explain when you think that was and in what circumstances—whether it was just once or many times. If you think you might have seen it before but you are not sure where or when, please make a guess and describe any memories you have.

This question was designed to encourage open reflection on how and why they recognised the image. The explanatory text below the question also asked participants for any memories they had of seeing the image before in any particular context. This was to encourage participants to begin to consider their own memories connected to or triggered by the image and write these down in the survey. The question also offered participants the opportunity to clarify and elaborate on their answer to the first question.

Whatever their answer to the first question, all participants were asked the following question:

**What thoughts come to mind when you look at this image?** These may be memories, emotions you feel or ideas you associate with it. Please describe anything you can think of.

This question was again designed to encourage reflection and broaden the kinds of thoughts that participants were asked to record in the survey to include emotions and ideas as well as memories. This question was intentionally broad to avoid influencing the thought processes of participants and to allow for any thoughts to be recorded in the survey. It was hoped that this question would enable participants to record their interpretations of the images and the objects within the images, noting down any denotations and connotations which they attached to the images.

The final open questions were designed to request participants’ opinions on what made the images memorable to them (if they did recognise them) and memorable to others (if they did not). This was to contribute to an explanation of what makes some of the images iconic. The final questions were split between those who answered ‘yes’ to the first question and those who answered ‘no’. The questions were designed to inquire into how participants thought about the memorability and fame of the images and whether they

believed them to be well-known by other people in Britain. Those participants who answered ‘yes’ to the first question were asked:

**If you do know this image, why do you think it is so well-known?** Do you think it is memorable to other people?

Those participants who did not know the image presented were asked to answer an alternative question:

**If you do not know this image, why do you think it might be memorable to other people?** What elements of the image are most striking? Do you think you might remember it now?

Biographical questions were also included in the survey, in order to allow for demographic analysis of the survey data and also to enable participants to be selected and contacted for follow-up interviews in the next phase. Some of the questions were open text questions and some were multiple-choice questions. The questions included were:

- What is your year of birth?
- Please indicate your gender identity.
- Which level/s of education have you attained? *This information is only requested in order for us to make sure our data is as representative of the population as possible.*
- Where were you born? (Please provide country and town or area)
- If you live in the United Kingdom, how long have you lived here? *These questions help us to identify your cultural background to assist us in understanding your memory of the cultural objects presented.*
- Would you be interested in taking part in an interview to follow up on your participation in this survey?
- If you would be interested in taking part in an interview, please provide contact details.

Explanatory text was included with some of these questions (see italics above) to ensure participants understood why the questions were being asked and help to mitigate any fears concerning invasion of privacy.

### **Question order**

The survey was designed so that the first question and the open questions outlined above followed each printed image. The first question asking about recognition was included first in order to record the spontaneous reaction of participants to each image and not encourage them to reflect on the image too much before recording whether they recognised it or not.

It was decided that the demographic questions should be included at the end of the survey. This order meant that participants would be able to fill in the most interesting parts of the survey first and not be deterred by the inclusion of conceivably boring but also possibly personal and controversial questions at the beginning. This order did have the disadvantage of making it easier for participants to miss out this section and not fill in their demographic details, which was problematic for the results of the study as well as for recruitment of participants for the interview phase. However, for online surveys, participants were required by the platform to answer the demographic questions and for those surveys being completed in-person, the researcher actively prompted participants to complete the demographic section if they had missed it out.

The final question in the survey asked participants whether they would be interested in being interviewed following the survey, and to give their name and contact details if so. This was positioned last in the survey design for two reasons. Firstly, if the question appeared before the content questions, it may dissuade some from completing the survey and participants would not yet be aware of the kinds of topics the interview would cover. Secondly, those who are unwilling to complete the survey to the end are unlikely to agree to take part in the next interview stage of research.

Participants were asked the final question in person if they returned the survey without having answered the question. This was to encourage the maximum number of people to opt in to the interview phase of the research.

### **Format**

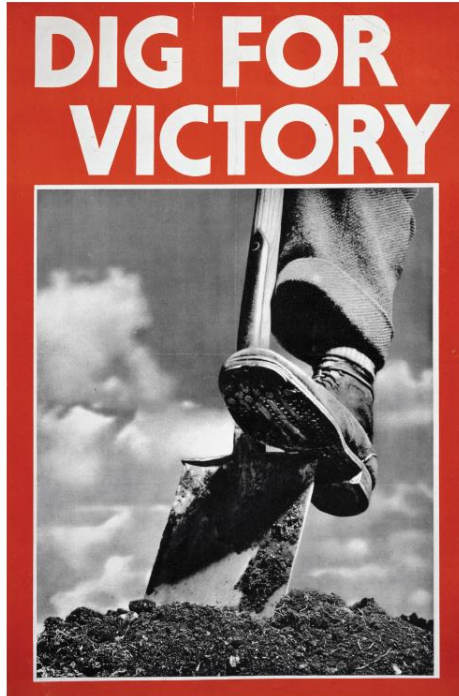
The survey was designed to be distributed in both paper and online formats. The printed survey was created using Adobe InDesign as a twelve-page booklet including a front cover. The front cover displayed the five images in the survey. Each spread included an image on the left page and the questions on the right page. The back cover contained the additional questions to collect the biographical information from the participants and obtain contact details where the individual was willing to partake in an interview process. Each set of questions were labelled section A–F. 250 colour A4 saddle-stitched booklets



were printed on Premium Uncoated 120gsm paper. Below is an image of the layout of section A.

Figure 7 Section A of the paper survey

SECTION A



1. Do you recognise this image?

- ☐ Yes – Please answer questions 2, 3 and 4  
☐ No – Please answer questions 3 and 5

2. If you recognise the image, why do you think you know it? If you think you have ever seen this image before, please explain when you think that was and in what circumstances – whether it was just once or many times. If you think you might have seen it before but you are not sure where or when, please make a guess and describe any memories you have.

3. What thoughts come to mind when you look at this image? These may be memories, emotions you feel or ideas you associate with it. Please describe anything you can think of.

4. If you do know this image, why do you think it is so well-known? Do you think it is memorable to other people?

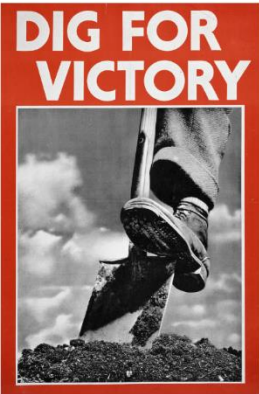
5. If you do not know this image, why do you think it might be memorable to other people? What elements of the image are most striking? Do you think you might remember it now?

The survey was also created online on the SurveyMonkey platform (SurveyMonkey 1999). It contained seventeen pages with an image at the top with the questions beneath. The online survey used page skip logic, so that participants were directed to the relevant question based on their answer to the question ‘Do you recognise this image?’.

Figure 8 First page of section A of the online survey

**Research Project: Cultural memory of Second World War images**

SECTION A1




1. Do you recognise this image?

☐ Yes  
☐ No

12%

Prev
Next

Powered by  
  
See how easy it is to [create a survey](#).

### 5.2.3 PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

#### **Ethical approval**

Every copy of the survey was accompanied by information about the research and outlining the rights and responsibilities of the participant and myself as the researcher.

Information was given under the following headings:

- What is the research about?
- Why should I take part?
- How does the survey work?
- How much time will it take?
- What will happen to the data collected?
- Can I withdraw from the research?
- How do I take part?

Participants were informed that their participation was voluntary, and their data would be anonymised and stored securely at the Department of Digital Humanities, King's College London.

For the printed survey, this information was included on a separate information sheet given to participants before they completed the survey. Participants were informed that by completing and returning the survey they were agreeing to their data being used for the research. The information sheet can be found in Appendix C.

For the online version of the survey, the information was displayed on the first screen followed by the following two statements with radio buttons for 'yes' and 'no'.

- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained above. I understand that such information will be treated in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998.
- I confirm that I have read and understood the information above and I agree to participate in the survey.

Participants could not continue to the survey without answering these questions. This ensured that online participants had read the information presented before completing the survey. A screenshot of this page can be found in Appendix C.

This survey phase of the research was approved by the King's College London Arts & Humanities Research Ethics Panel on 21 March 2017 - Reference LRS-16/17-4214. The ethical approval confirmation letter can be found in Appendix C.

### **In-person recruitment**

It was important to recruit as wide a range of people as possible to partake in the survey. This was the reason why I did not want to rely on online recruitment but also conducted the survey face-to-face in different public locations. Taking the survey to different public places enabled me to meet and recruit people who may not have been as active on the internet and who may not have had much of an interest in history, the Second World War, images or academic research before conducting the survey.

The survey was conducted in public places by erecting information stands from which I could approach passers-by and distribute surveys. The information stands also gave an opportunity to promote the online survey to people who did not have the time to complete a paper version.

I contacted a range of organisations responsible for suitable public spaces, including shopping centres, libraries, museums, parks and streets. I received positive responses from four organisations and arranged to visit and run the information stand in these locations. The locations and the time spent in each is as follows.

*Table 15 Survey information stand locations*

<b>Location</b>	<b>Number of days</b>
Ealing Broadway Shopping Centre, London, W5 5JY	2
Croydon Clocktower, 9 Katharine St, Croydon, CR0 1NX	2
The National Archives, Bessant Drive, Richmond TW9 4DU	4
Nottingham Central Library, Angel Row, Nottingham NG1 6HP	1

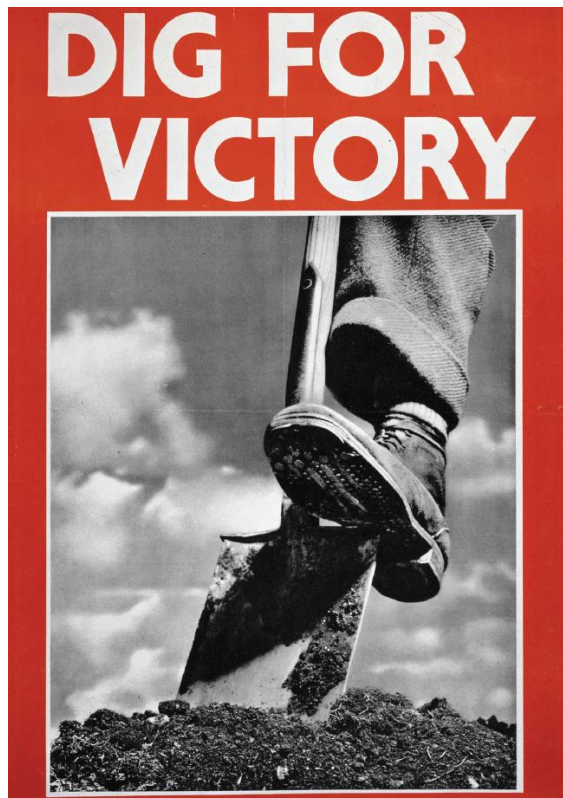
Each information stand consisted of a table and chairs and two banner stands. These banner stands were printed to display four of the posters in the survey and an adapted version of the first question in the survey ‘Do you recognise these images?’. This was designed to attract the attention of passers-by and pique their interest in the posters and the survey questions. The printed surveys were laid out on the table with pens and clipboards. A small sign was displayed asking people to ‘Please complete the survey’.

Figure 9 Information Stand at Croydon Clocktower, 19 April 2017, Source: Howells 2017



Postcards were also designed and printed to be distributed from the information stands. These displayed the posters on one side, and information about the survey and a link to the online version on the back. 600 of these postcards were printed on Silk 300gsm card.

Figure 10 Dig for Victory survey publicity postcard



### Do you recognise this image?

This poster was produced by the Ministry of Information in 1941 to promote self-sufficiency and domestic food production in response to Germany's blockade during the Second World War.

The slogan and poster are well-known by people today due to their frequent repetition in printed media, on television and on the internet.

### Please share your thoughts on this image!

I am conducting a research project to reveal whether people recognise and remember images produced by the government during the Second World War and how people think about these images today.

You could contribute to the research by sharing your memories and opinions on this and other images. If you'd like to take part:

- visit: [www.lovelyoldtree.com/warimages](http://www.lovelyoldtree.com/warimages)
- email: [katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk)

**KING'S**  
*College*  
**LONDON**

The research is being undertaken by Katherine Howells, research student at King's College London. The research is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

Surveys were also distributed by a colleague, Dr Henry Irving, at two public talks that took place in Leeds on 12 and 14 May 2017.

### Online recruitment

The online version of the survey was created on SurveyMonkey. The link to the survey was circulated online via four platforms:

- My own Twitter account (KHowellsKCL) and retweets from others including King's Digital Humanities Department (@kingsdh), Professor Simon Tanner (@SimonTanner) and the MOI Digital Project (@moidigital) among others
- My own Facebook page and the Facebook pages of King's Digital Humanities Department and Professor Simon Tanner
- My own blog (<http://www.lovelyoldtree.com/>)
- King's College London Research Volunteer Recruitment emails

The online survey was also promoted by word-of-mouth. I directed people to the online version of the survey when meeting them at the information stands. I distributed postcards to members of the public which displayed the link to the online survey.

Responses were collected on SurveyMonkey between March and May 2017.



#### 5.2.4 SURVEY ANALYSIS

A total of 92 completed surveys were collected from the information stands. A total of 209 completed surveys were collected online. Online responses tended to be more comprehensive than those collected in person: participants responding online submitted an average of 116 characters per question, whereas participants responding on a paper survey submitted an average of 77 characters per question. This difference was anticipated to some extent, since participants responding in person were limited by the amount of time they were able to offer and by the size of the boxes printed in the survey. The data from the 301 surveys was entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet.

##### **Data preparation**

Before beginning analysis of the data, participants who fitted the exclusion criteria for this study were removed from the dataset. Only those who had lived in the United Kingdom for at least ten years and were currently living in the United Kingdom were included. This was to ensure that all data analysed came from people with considerable experience of British culture and society so that their responses could be considered as evidence of British cultural memory. The application of this exclusion criteria removed 45 participants. Four participants were also excluded because they were under the age of sixteen. This exclusion criteria were applied at the data preparation stage, rather than at the point when participants asked to participate in the survey research, so as to avoid rejecting people publicly based on their history of residence and causing offence and embarrassment. Applying this exclusion criteria left 252 surveys in the dataset.

Each participant was given an anonymous and unique code. All names and identifiable details for the participants were removed before analysis and stored securely in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulations in order to be used later for the selection of interview participants.

##### **Method of analysis**

The data was analysed using the method of semiotic content analysis as outlined in detail in section 3.3.1. The concepts referenced by participants in the text of each survey were identified and entered into the spreadsheet. These were divided into connotations of signs within the image and associations of other things unrelated to the image. For example, if a participant referred to an image as being 'sexist', the connotation of 'sexism' was entered as being associated with the whole image. If a participant referred to the image of the crown in *Keep Calm and Carry On* as representing monarchy, 'monarchy' was entered as a connotation of the 'crown'. If, however, a participant referred to war as being

‘futile’, futility was entered in a separate section of the spreadsheet as an ‘association’ (rather than a connotation) made with the concept of ‘war’.

As well as connotation and associations, memories and emotions were also recorded. If a participant gave information regarding a memory, this was recorded in the spreadsheet along with, where applicable, the sign in the image that triggered that memory. When a participant referred to a specific emotion, this was recorded along with the symbol or concept towards which the emotion was felt. For each of these four units of analysis, the location in the survey where the response was identified was also recorded. This ensured that it was always clear which question the participant was responding to when they wrote the material in question. Notes relating to the reasons for memorability suggested by participants were also recorded in the spreadsheet.

This analysis resulted in a comprehensive content analysis spreadsheet which contained relevant and accessible information regarding the content of the surveys. Further quantitative analysis was completed on this spreadsheet in order to extract charts and statistics. The spreadsheet allowed relevant quotations to be easily extracted from the full dataset.

## 5.3 Findings and discussion

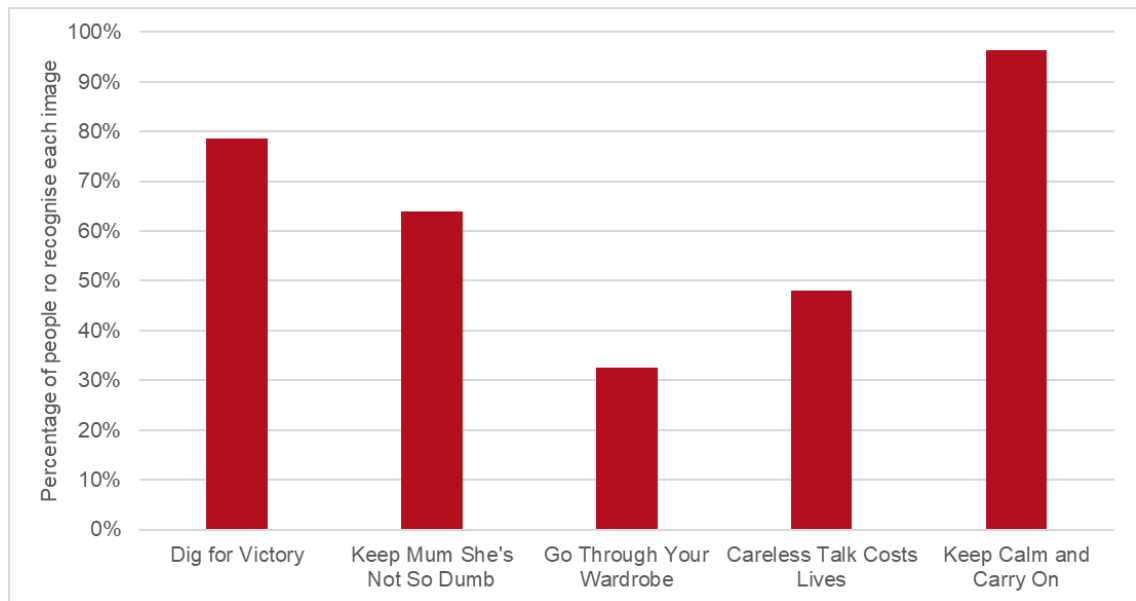
### 5.3.1 HOW AND WHY ARE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION IMAGES RECOGNISED AND REMEMBERED?

#### **Image recognition**

The results of the survey provided quantitative information regarding which images were recognised more than others. This information derived from responses to the question ‘Do you recognise this image?’ which was asked for each of the five MoI images presented in the survey. Demographic information on age, gender, highest level of education and place of birth was also collected, enabling analysis of the levels of poster recognition in relation to these demographics. This gives some insight into the correlation between these attributes and levels of recognition of the MoI posters. The chart below shows the percentage of total participants who stated that they recognised each of the five posters.



Figure 11 Percentage of participants to recognise each MoI image

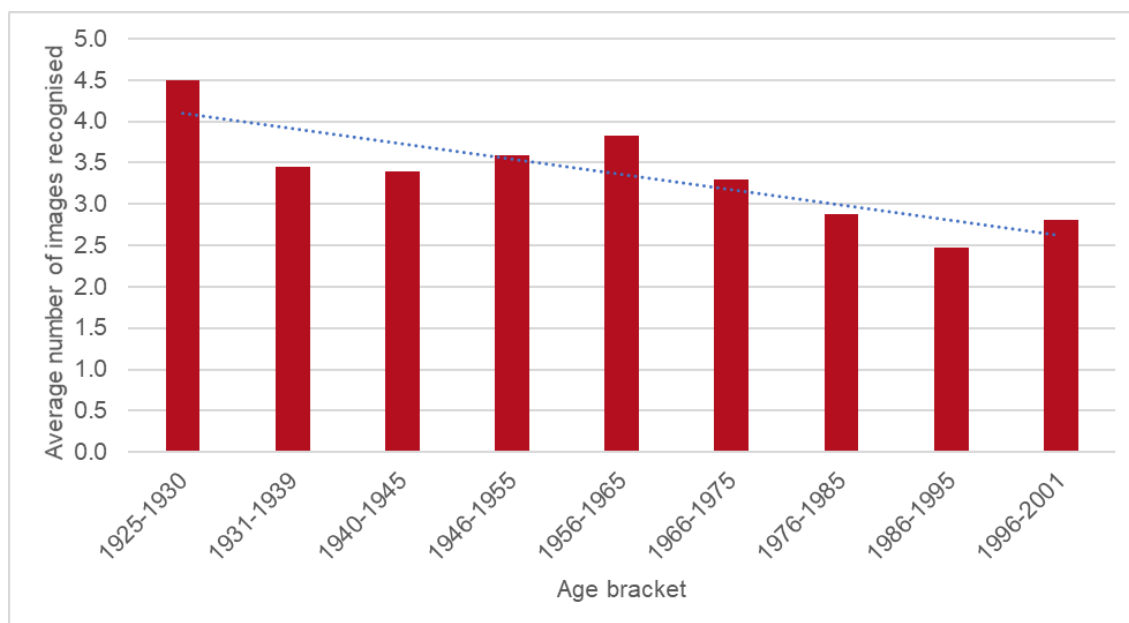


The poster which is most consistently recognised by survey participants is *Keep Calm and Carry On*, with 96% of participants reporting that they recognised it. *Dig for Victory* is the second most commonly recognised with 79% of participants reporting they recognised it. The five posters were generally highly recognised; the average recognition rate for all five posters combined was 64%.

### Age

The chart below shows the average number of images recognised by participants in each age bracket. The brackets are defined by birth year, rather than age, but will still be referred to hereafter as 'age brackets'. The average number of images recognised by all participants was 3.2.

Figure 12 Average number of MoI images recognised by participants in each age bracket



The participants in the oldest age bracket on average recognised the largest number of images. This may be expected because those in the 1925-1930 age bracket were old enough to remember the Second World War period and so are the most likely to remember seeing the MoI images during this period. It has already been observed that people ascribe more importance to memories which are created during a person's childhood and formative years (Schuman and Scott 1989, 377). In general, the trend indicates that the younger the participant, the less able they are to recognise the images. However, there is a clear spike in the level of recognition for participants in the 1956-1965 age bracket. This may suggest the influence of generational differences. Those participants in the 1956-1965 bracket were likely to have had parents who lived through or participated in the Second World War. This may mean that they had more memories communicated to them from their parents and developed a stronger and more well-informed cultural memory of the period, which includes memories of the MoI images. This links to Hynes' observation of differences between generations in the way they remember the First World War (Hynes 2011), discussed in more depth in section 2.3.6. This is particularly observable in the survey data when participants report memories of their parents using the slogans from the posters. In the two examples below, participants demonstrate the link between their recognition of the poster slogans and the received memories of their parents and even grandparents. All quotations are reproduced with a unique identification code for the participant, their gender, year of birth, region of birth and, where relevant, the poster they were responding to.

“Slogan of my parents - quoting a poster without realising.”

*TNA442, Male, 1961, International, ‘Go Through Your Wardrobe’*

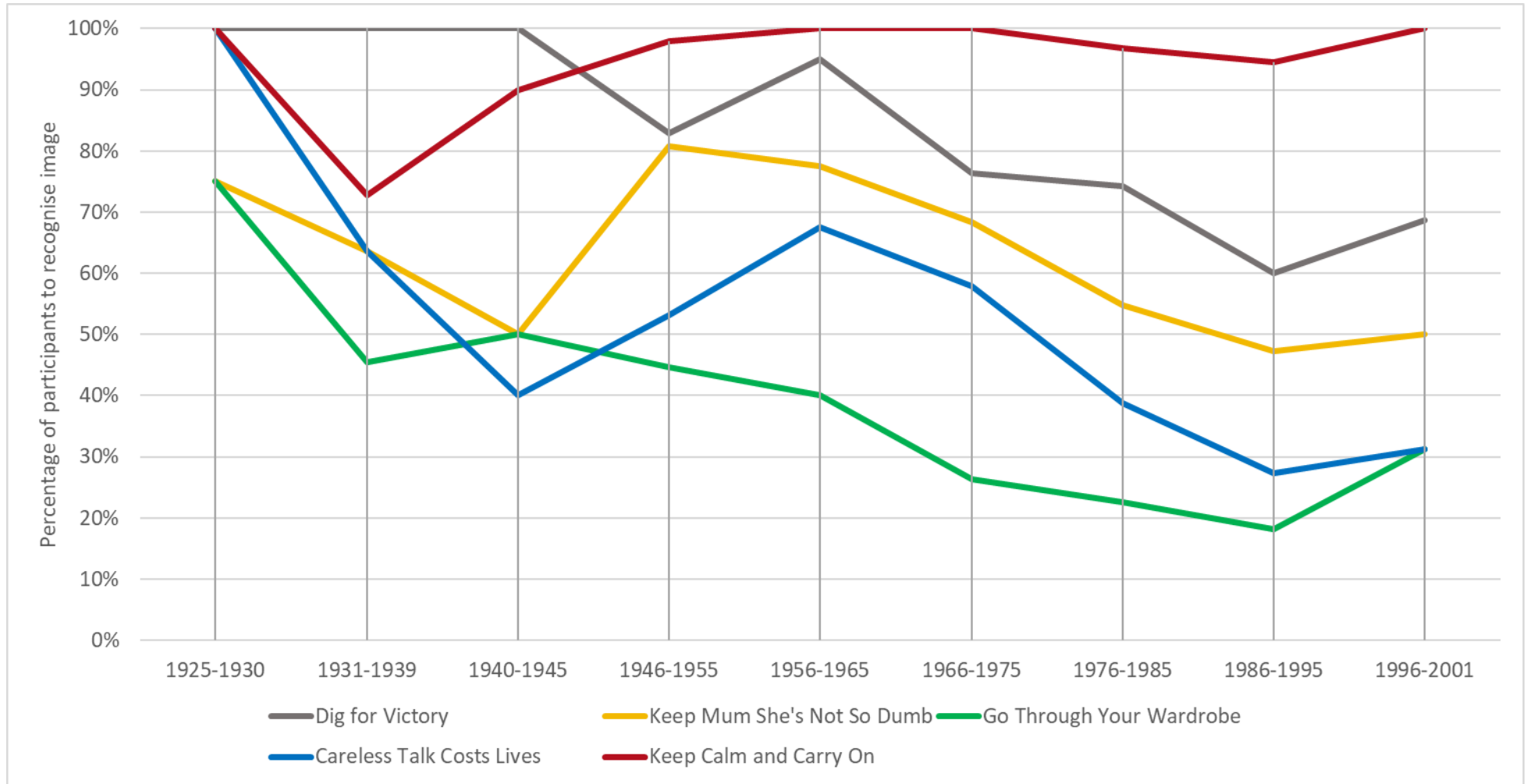
“I have heard the phrase in connection with the struggles my parents and their generation had to get sufficient to eat during WW2 aggravated by the U-boat blockades of the UK. I think of my Grandfather who served on the merchant ships keeping the trade with other countries in WW1.”

*6139909798, Male, 1952, West Midlands, ‘Dig for Victory’*

It must, however, be noted with any conclusions based on this data, that the number of participants surveyed in the oldest age bracket was very small. Only four people were surveyed in the 1925-1930 age bracket and so no concrete conclusions can be drawn from the results from this bracket. It is also likely that there are other potential influences for participants reporting that they recognise the images. Older participants with some connection to the Second World War might believe that they *must* have seen the MoI images for this reason, and so report their recognition of the images, even if they did not actually recognise the images. For example, one participant born in 1932 and writing about *Keep Mum She’s Not So Dumb* reports ‘I think I must have seen it at the cinema If I didn’t I certainly heard the slogans’ (6156914881, Male, 1932). The influences contributing to reported recognition may be quite diverse and complex and difficult to determine from the results of this study alone.

Figure 13 shows the percentage of participants in each age bracket who reported that they recognised each of the five images.

Figure 13 Percentage of participants in each age bracket to recognise each image

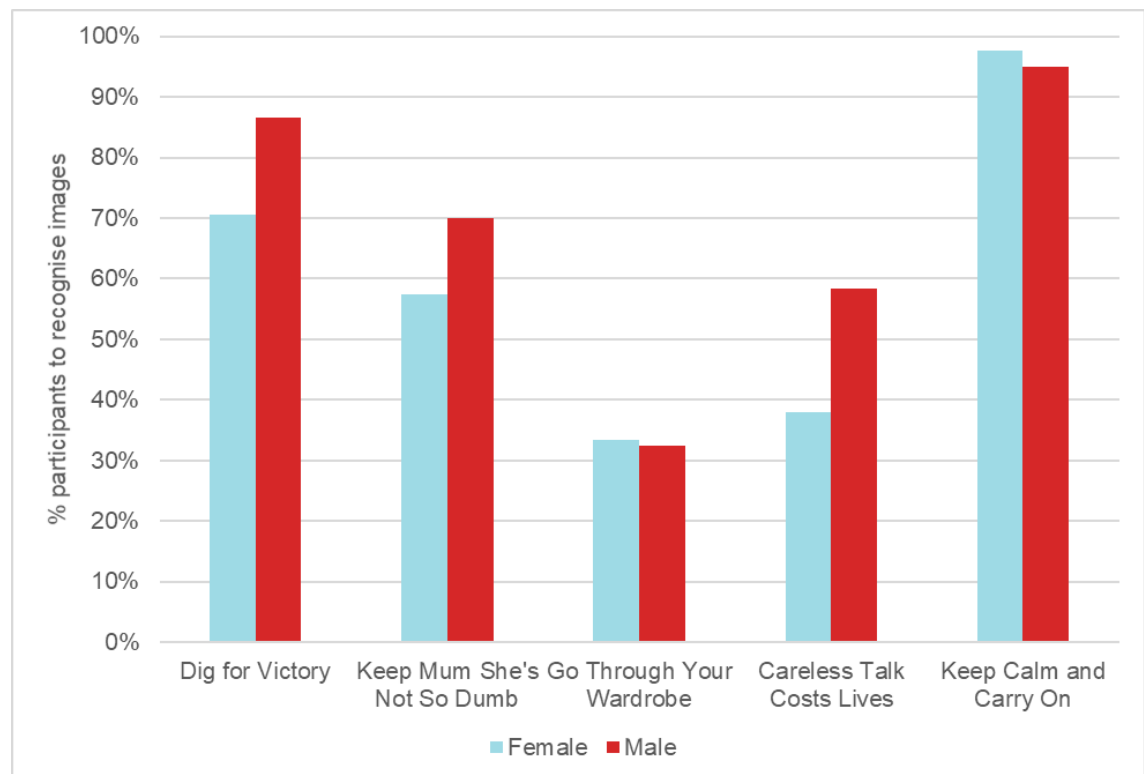


The general trend for images being less easily recognised by younger participants is not observed in the case of *Keep Calm and Carry On*, with 100% of those in the 1996-2001 age bracket recognising the image. The participants in this age bracket appear to recognise all of the five images a little more than those in the 1986-1995 age bracket. This variation could be a result of the impact of a different school curriculum or higher engagement with online media among participants in this age bracket. The spike in recognition for the middle age brackets is also visible most clearly in relation to *Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb* and *Careless Talk Costs Lives*.

### Gender

The chart below shows the percentage of male and female survey participants who reported that they recognised each of the five images.

Figure 14 Percentage of male and female participants to recognise each image



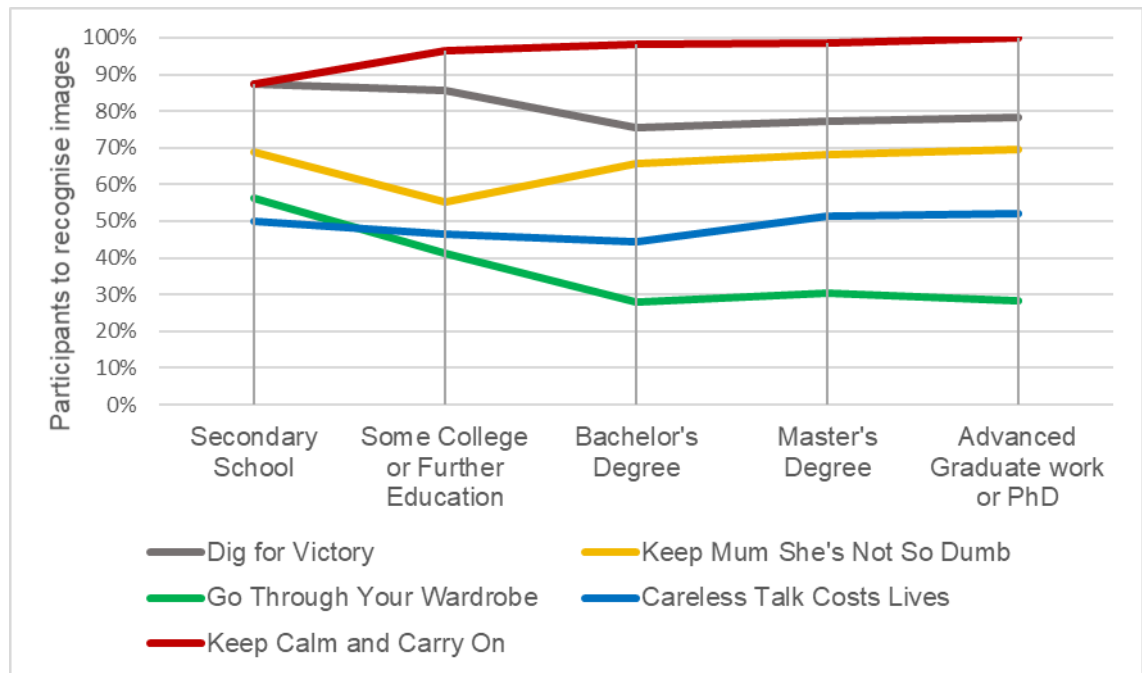
Male participants recognised the MoI images more often than female participants. The average number of images recognised by men is 3.4 and the average number of images recognised by women is 3.0. This trend is observed for *Dig for Victory*, *Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb* and *Careless Talk Costs Lives*. There is little difference between male and female participants in terms of their recognition of *Go Through Your Wardrobe*; however, women recognise it slightly more than men, deviating from the trend with the other images. This may suggest a different level of interest in the Make-do and Mend campaign

and movement, which was originally targeted at women. Female participants recognise *Keep Calm and Carry On* slightly more than male participants, but the difference is not significant.

### Education

The chart below shows the percentage of participants within each group sharing the same highest level of education who report that they recognise each of the five posters.

Figure 15 Percentage of participants in each education group to recognise each image

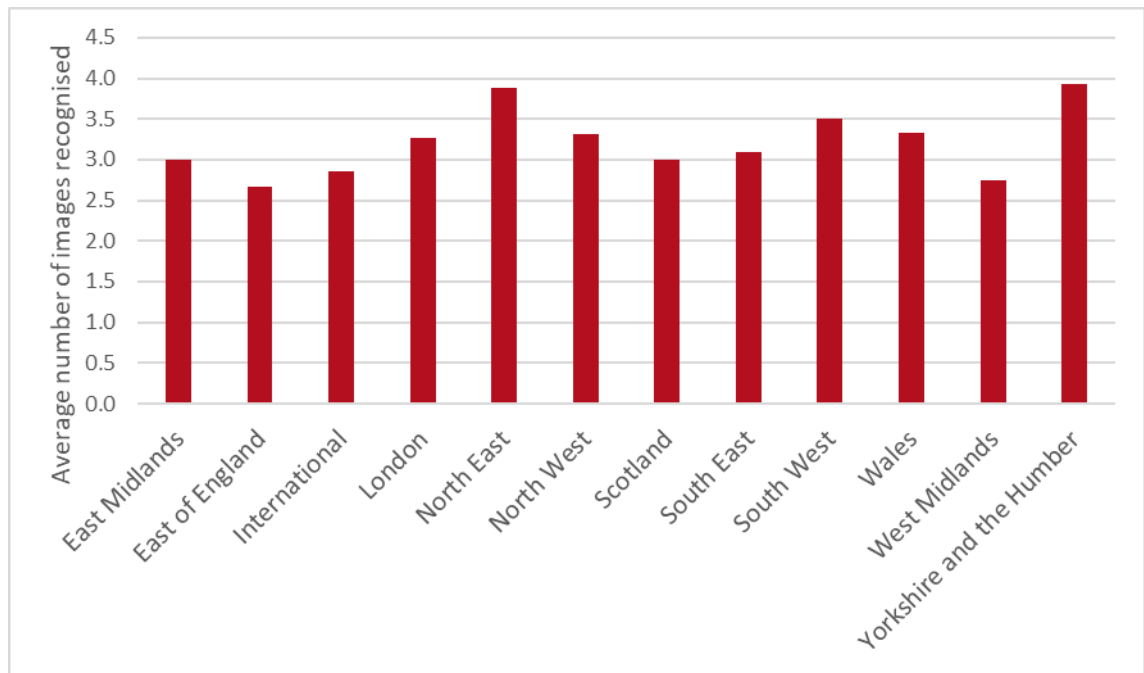


The levels of recognition across different levels of education were generally comparable and there is no significant trend visible. Whilst including a question about education level was useful as it enabled me to attempt to survey a more representative sample of the population of Britain, it is not in itself that useful from the perspective of quantitative data analysis. There are too many other variables impacting the levels of recognition for those groups. For example, the groups with higher levels of education disproportionately include younger participants, due to changes in the British population and education system. To fully interrogate the impact of educational experience on recognition of MoI images, more detailed questioning would be required to encompass differences in subjects studied and curricula.

### Place of birth

The chart below shows the average number of images recognised by participants who were born in each region.

Figure 16 Average number of images recognised by region of birth



A similar problem exists for the recognition data relating to participants born in different regions of the United Kingdom. There are no significant differences observable between the different regions in terms of how many images are recognised by participants. Again, asking participants for this data made it possible to include a broad spread of people from different regions in the survey sample. However, the participants who volunteered were not representative of each region and there are consequently too many potential biases in the data for any conclusions to be drawn in relation to recognition of the images and the birth region demographics.

The findings of the survey indicate some clear differences in terms of which images are more commonly recognised than others. *Keep Calm and Carry On*, *Dig for Victory* and *Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb* are recognised the most by participants, with over 60% recognising each one. There are also interesting findings relating to the differences in recognition levels between participants in different age brackets and between male and female participants. The findings suggest that a person's experiences and sense of identity, relating in particular to their generation and gender, may have an influence on which images they recognise. A person may attach significance to an image they encounter because it resonates in some way with their cultural memory. It might resonate with their memory of family members with experiences of the Second World War, or with their historical knowledge about the war, or with their gender identity. In attaching significance to an image, that image is more likely to be remembered and recognised.

### Reasons for memorability

Whether or not participants recognised the images themselves, the survey asked them why they thought the images might be well-known or memorable. The term ‘iconic’ was not used in the survey text itself due to the ambiguity of its definition, which might influence the responses of participants.

Participants referred to a wide range of attributes which might make images memorable, some were common to all five of the MoI images whilst others were specific to an individual image. The text written by participants in response to questions about why images are well-known or memorable was reviewed and categorised according to the general attribute that it corresponded to. Thus, one response ‘Simple but strong image’ (TNA2043, Female, 1960, ‘Dig for Victory’) was categorised both as ‘simplicity’ and ‘strength of image’. This categorisation is not designed to enable comprehensive conclusions, but to give some initial insights into the kinds of attributes of images that people consider important for memorability.

Below are the ten most frequently mentioned reasons why an image is considered to be memorable by participants.

*Table 16 Reasons for image memorability referred to in the survey responses*

<b>Reason for memorability</b>	<b>Dig for Victory</b>	<b>Keep Mum</b>	<b>Go through</b>	<b>Careless talk</b>	<b>Keep calm</b>
Strength of slogan	32	43	58	76	22
Simplicity	82	4	12	18	71
Specific visual sign	15	66	18	67	8
Frequency of reproduction	24	16	11	6	71
Colour	21	11	48	6	19
Strength of image	22	28	11		10
Relevance	9		23	6	25
Composition	11	1	6	16	
Boldness	6			2	18
Type	2		3	4	16

It seems clear that the slogan present in each image is very active in encouraging people to remember the image. This is perhaps due to the slogans being communicated in a variety of ways, textually and verbally, unconnected from these specific images, partly due to the original multimedia campaigns of the MoI, discussed in section 2.1.2. There is also evidence in the survey responses that participants remember the slogans being used



by family members, commented on in the previous section in relation to age and recognition. Simplicity is also an important attribute for the memorability of *Dig for Victory* and *Keep Calm and Carry On*, while the memorability of *Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb* and *Careless Talk Costs Lives* relies more on specific visual signs or objects within the image, such as the face of Hitler in the wallpaper design in *Careless Talk Costs Lives* and the eyes of the central female figure in *Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb*. Attributes that influence the memorability of images are not universal and depend on the nature of each particular image.

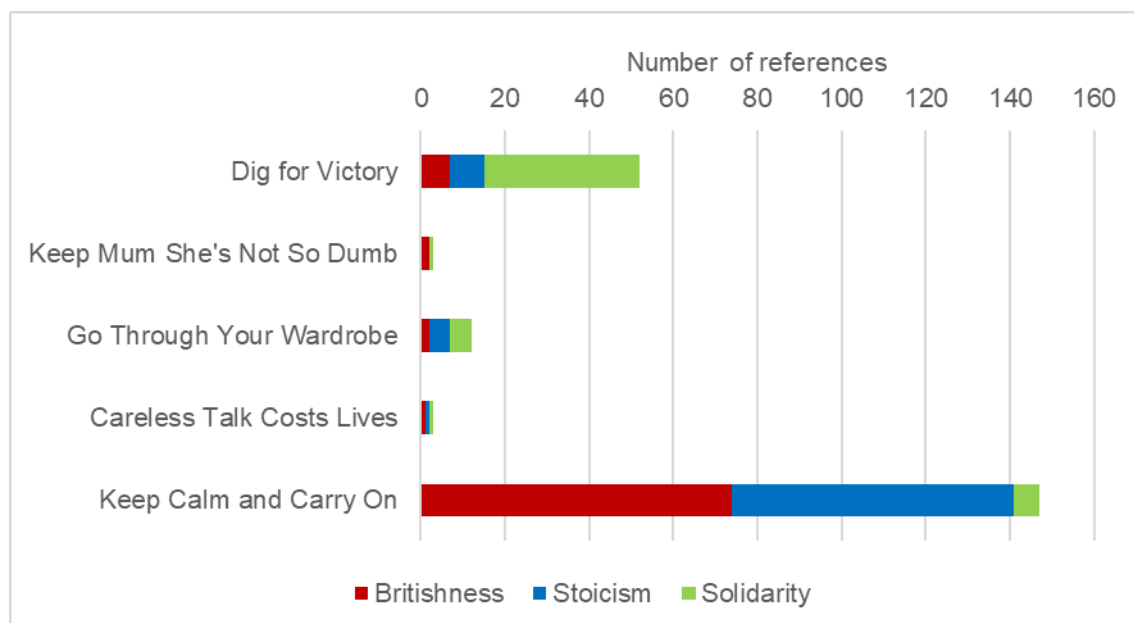
### 5.3.2 HOW ARE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION IMAGES INTERPRETED?

Survey participants respond to the images and record their initial thoughts, usually in direct response to the question 'What thoughts come to mind when you look at this image?'. However, some participants write more freely about thoughts that come to mind across the different sections of the survey. These thoughts consist of concepts and ideas associated with each image, memories that are triggered by observing each image and emotional reactions. In the analysis of the survey data, each of these kinds of response were identified and categorised. This offers some insight into the different ways the images are interpreted.

The concepts that were referenced most frequently in the survey responses were categorised as Britishness, solidarity and stoicism. These ideas are often raised in the context of explaining the national characteristics of Britain or British people. For example, one woman born in 1997 responds to *Dig for Victory* by writing 'It depicts Britain's strength as a nation to carry on in times of hardship' (6169793919). Another woman born in 1979, writes that *Keep Calm and Carry On* communicates the idea of 'British stiff upper lip and resilience of the British community' (6165997105) and a man born in 1960 writes that *Go Through Your Wardrobe* suggests 'Adversity, community, sacrifice, commitment to the cause' (EB2834).

The chart below shows the numbers of references to the three concepts—solidarity, stoicism and Britishness—in the survey responses.

Figure 17 Number of references to concepts



References to these concepts are made overwhelmingly in response to *Keep Calm and Carry On* and also to *Dig for Victory*, with solidarity more associated with *Dig for Victory* and stoicism and Britishness more associated with *Keep Calm and Carry On*. The primacy of these concepts in the survey responses indicates that participants drew on existing mythic narratives and cultural memories of the Second World War and ideas of British national identity in order to interpret the images. The dominant cultural memory of the Second World War home front, which is associated heavily with ideas of solidarity and stoicism through myths of the People's War, the Blitz Spirit and the Dunkirk Spirit, has been highlighted by many scholars (Calder 1992; Connelly 2004; Mackay 2003; Eley 2001; Noakes and Pattinson 2013) and is discussed in more detail in section 2.4. These narratives rely on concepts of stoicism (determination and composure in the face of adversity) and solidarity (working together and a sense of community) and these concepts and narratives are frequently referred to by survey participants, with some even using the names of the myths.

"I believe this image is widely known because it encapsulates the blitz spirit which has been romanticized by popular culture."

6141648519, Male, 1990, West Midlands, 'Dig for Victory'

"Captures 'blitz spirit' which appealed to national sensibilities following 2008"

6210396462, Female, 1997, South East, 'Keep Calm and Carry On'

“Irritation, boredom, a sense of frustration that we sentimentalise some kind of Dunkirk spirit at a time when we are experiencing a real international crisis”  
 6140780367, Female, 1971, North West, ‘Keep Calm and Carry On’

“It seems to equate to the so-called Blitz Spirit (was there really one?)”  
 6135515088, Male, 1947, South East, ‘Keep Calm and Carry On’

Participants also connect these myths with perceptions of British national identity, suggesting that it is accepted that the Second World War experience and the related concepts of solidarity and stoicism are closely associated with Britishness. The myths are commonly employed today in speech and by the press to highlight a perceived British character in the face of modern hardships such as terrorist attacks, the recession or even train delays (BBC News 2018b; Helm 2008; Kelsey 2010). This application of the myths to a timeless conception of Britishness is found in the survey responses.

There is also some indication in the responses that participants are aware of the mythic and exaggerated nature of the People’s War, Blitz Spirit and Dunkirk Spirit narratives. In the examples above, participants refer to the myths as ‘romanticized’ and ‘sentimentalised’ and ask ‘was there really’ a Blitz Spirit; additionally, other participants record irritation with the repetition of these kinds of myths. This indicates that participants do not generally accept these kinds of narratives entirely without scepticism.

In many cases, research participants interpret the images in such a way as to assist them in drawing connections between existing national stories of myths, national identity, and their own personal identity and this sense of identity is fundamental to the development of cultural memory, as discussed in section 2.3.5.

### **Dig for Victory**

*Dig for Victory* is interpreted by many participants in relation to its context and the general meanings intended by its creators. It is associated with ideas around shortages and rationing (41 references), growing food, gardening and agriculture (86 references). These associations do not always relate to the Second World War but sometimes relate to gardening and allotments in a generalised or more modern context.

“My immediate thoughts were ration books and shortages.”  
 TNA1841, Male, 1945, North West

“I think of my father's love of gardening and his allotment where he enjoyed growing vegetables”  
 TNA11410, Female, 1957, London

“It has a farming feel to it - a sense of a large open space - which always seems a little incongruous when it's aimed at gardeners. Makes me think of my dad's vegetable plot!”

6217152606, *Female, 1972, Yorkshire and the Humber*

Other associations that are commonly mentioned in response to the *Dig for Victory* poster include physical labour, hard work and strength (44 references). These ideas are often associated with the symbol of the boot on the spade. The idea of hard work is also frequently connected with the fight for victory and with ideas of solidarity, when participants refer to the wartime generation who worked hard to contribute to the community effort to strive for victory.

“I think it taps into the British feeling of resilience and hard work during tough times”

6229266833, *Female, 1989, East of England*

“Hard work, self-sufficiency, how precarious food supply was.”

6188514718, *Female, 1971, London*

“Agriculture, manual labour, feeding the nation”

EB28310, *Female, 1994, London*

Gender is another area which emerges in responses to *Dig for Victory*. Participants interpreted the boot and spade symbol as a masculine image (11 references). For some participants, this is due to the boot being a hobnail boot, which they believed to be a male-only item of clothing. This interpretation occasionally clashed with participants' existing cultural memory of the Second World War home front, which they believed to be a place where women were empowered to do more of the physical work while men were away fighting. A few participants comment on this conflict of interpretation and even question the design of the poster, rather than attempting to incorporate its gendered meaning into their cultural memory.

“Male foot and spade - needn't be, but it seems to me to be saying it's hard work! Hobnail boot. Only aimed at men!”

LM1451, *Female, 1949, Wales*

“it's a man's boot and a gendered male image though I more frequently associate women with digging for victory on the home front.”

6140780367, *Female, 1971, North West*

“I think it's cool! I like gardening - though that's a male boot isn't it? I get male vibes from it, even though the diggers were mainly women weren't they.”

*6166008009, Male, 1998, East of England*

### **Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb**

The concepts most frequently associated with *Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb* by survey participants are beauty and glamour, with 86 references, and sexism, with 71 references. They also interpret the image as a representation of espionage (49 references). There is some polarisation in the way the image is interpreted, with some commenting on the beauty and glamour of the female figure in a nostalgic way and others being repelled by the sexism of the slogan and the depiction of the female figure. In the examples below, participants comment on glamour and beauty and nostalgia for the 1940s period.

“I think of 40s glamour, honey traps, that some people still managed a good standard of living (tho I know that's not the purpose of the poster).”

*6188514718, Female, 1971, London*

“I also love the image because it seems to sum up some of the glamour that I associate with the wartime era, as seen in classic war movies - dashing officers, uniforms, glamorous women in smoky bars, classic cars and blacked out streets.”

*6208995313, Male, 1974, Scotland*

“Glamour of the model and the men crowding round her give the impression that she is the belle of the ball”

*6165997105, Female, 1979, London*

For others, the anger at the sexism of the image and slogan overrides any other thoughts.

“Very dated. The woman in the image is domineered by the three men in uniform. I hate the cigarette which is nearly burning her arm. She is not representative of "women" or "mothers". I don't like the image. The 'not so dumb' wording is offensive (today and potentially then!)”

*TNA11410, Female, 1957, London*

“Irritation at the sexism of it: so many stereotypes at work here! The men are portrayed with real character, but the central figure is just a bland cipher.”

*6217152606, Female, 1972, Yorkshire and the Humber*

Even though participants were limited in the extent they were able to elaborate on their response in the survey, there is some indication that some participants interpreted the image in both ways and felt conflicted by the image.

“I think this is sexist. I understand the message it is trying to convey and that it is reflective of the culture and time in which it was created, but it still makes me kind of angry.”

*6229266833, Female, 1989, East of England*

“Even though I don't like the sexism of the pun now I can't help but love the drawing.”

*6210132931, Female, 1985, South East*

“I think it's quite memorable because it's a picture of a beautiful woman surrounded by handsome men in uniform. It's quite sexy! It's also very old-fashioned: it wouldn't be so acceptable now to label a woman as dumb.”

*6229288949, Female, 1961, International*

### **Go through Your Wardrobe**

The most common connotation with *Go Through Your Wardrobe* mentioned by survey participants is economy with 73 references. This reference is sometimes related to the specifics of the wartime period (the concepts of rationing and shortages is mentioned 44 times) and sometimes referred to more generally, as a virtue relevant to modern society.

“The value of thrift in general - not an age of disposable items as replacements were not easily available. Memories of my parents mending/repairing things, not just clothes but also shoes. The fact that rationing was in force on clothes as well as food. Dressmaking, sewing and knitting were key domestic skills.”

*6208571455, Male, 1945, South East*

“The Make-do and Mend message is very strong and in many ways echoes current campaigns about recycling”

*6167642925, Male, 1965, South East*

Femininity is also associated with the image due to the female figure and the items of clothing depicted (24 references). The image is considered by these participants as being aimed at the female population. This interpretation is sometimes combined with the connotation of sexism (11 references) as participants criticise the gendered nature of the image and the implication that women were expected to mend clothes and do housework.

“Depressing to see this representation of the female role in the war effort reduced to basic housekeeping, and the implication that women would be mainly concerned about fashion during such a dire time.”

6215730016, *Female*, 1967, *International*

“Again - sexist. No man in the picture, yet there is a pair of men's trousers ready for the woman to fix.”

6229266833, *Female*, 1989, *East of England*

### **Careless Talk Costs Lives**

The main focus for participants when viewing the *Careless Talk Costs Lives* poster was the depiction of the faces in the wallpaper, which participants recognised as representing Hitler's face (95 references). The surprising nature of this symbol in the image, which sometimes took time to be noticed by participants, meant that participants considered it worth commenting upon in their survey response.

“It is sort of an optical illusion as you do not see Hitler's face immediately, but only after a few seconds of properly looking. Therefore it creeps up on you and makes you shocked. This shock factor makes it more memorable.”

6229742724, *Female*, 1996, *London*

“It took me a while until I noticed the Hitler-patterned wallpaper! I remember noticing that.”

6210178569, *Female*, 1971, *North West*

“There is something about the shapes on the wallpaper that is disconcerting. And I have only just realised (after about 5 mins of looking at the image) that they are the images of Hitler's face all across the wallpaper. That makes it feel even more creepier. Very clever.”

6208539636, *Male*, 1979, *Wales*, ‘*Careless Talk Costs Lives*’

Caution and danger are connotations which are also frequently referenced by participants (52 references). Espionage (22 references) and paranoia (30 references) are also mentioned. Although participants interpret the image as being a humorous and comic image (36 references) and they appreciate this element of the image, the negative fearful connotations are still strong as participants recognise that the image represents a dangerous and paranoid time. This sometimes leads to conflicted responses from participants.

“It's quite humorous/satirical, and makes me not want to say anything and also slightly paranoid.”

*6165997105, Female, 1979, London*

“Whilst the overall image looks cheerful there is a sinister, paranoid edge to it. It is funny but serious.”

*6208614763, Female, 1996, South East*

### **Keep Calm and Carry On**

*Keep Calm and Carry On* is overwhelmingly associated by participants with the concepts of Britishness (74 references) and stoicism (67 references). Participants do not in general explain which elements of the image held these connotations; however, it is likely that the slogan is considered to be synonymous with the concept of stoicism. The association of the concept of Britishness may partially derive from the symbol of the crown (monarchy is referred to 17 times) but also from participants' memory of seeing the image in contexts promoting Britain.

“Very British, 'stiff upper lip' during the Home Front, WW2. The crown - symbolising Monarchy and officialdom.”

*TNA1143, Male, 1960, London*

“Now it is seen as "Britishness" in a phrase. We are all proud of it and want to say "this is us"”

*CC27411, Female, 1953, Yorkshire and the Humber*

“Calmness and stoicism and courage in hard times.”

*CC2749, Male, 1930, London*

“My thoughts are of stoicism, that is what 'we Brits' did and it just served as a reminder to carry on as normal. Something that I felt the people were proud to do.”

*6143275846, Female, 1946, London*

### **5.3.3 WHAT REMEMBERING PROCESSES ARE REVEALED?**

The responses to the survey help to reveal the way that participants' memories work and how they remember in response to viewing the MoI images. The memories recorded in the survey by participants vary and include personal individual memories of life events and of seeing posters in the past, memories of family members, memories passed down through the family, and memory of cultural ideas and events. This range suggests that the



cultural memory of individuals, which participants begin to reveal in their responses, are comprised of a variety of influences, knowledge and types of memory, far broader than individual memory alone. This does support a conception of cultural memory, proposed by Ann Rigney (2005), Lucy Noakes and Juliette Pattinson (2013), which includes these varied influences.

In the survey data, there are also examples of the way the cultural artefacts, in this case the MoI posters, trigger memories for participants. We can see how participants refer to an image or an object within an image and are prompted by this to widen their discussion to their own memories and then sometimes to memories passed down by family members and then to broader concepts and ideas. One participant is prompted by viewing *Go Through Your Wardrobe* to remember their childhood experiences of darning socks.

“I certainly remember the slogan but not this particular image. I used to spend hours darning my socks (at the age of 10). I think we should do more mending even now. It was good to save and reuse and (now in my 80's I still do it!!)”  
*CC1544, Female, 1933, London, ‘Go Through Your Wardrobe’*

In the following example, the participant scrutinises the nylon stockings in *Go Through Your Wardrobe* and is prompted to think of a memory passed down from her mother.

“The nylons. I remember my mother telling me that she drew a line on her leg to imitate wearing nylons as she did not have them.”  
*6140461397, Female, 1949, South West, ‘Go Through Your Wardrobe’*

These examples and others demonstrate how the mind can move from semantic to episodic memory. Participants view the images, remember what the image is and the meaning of the signs and words in the image and then drift into episodic memory as they begin to consider memories of past events and experiences in their lives that relate to those signs and words.

There are also examples of how participants construct their cultural memory of the images, not only by recalling memories of events and people, but also by recalling other cultural and historical artefacts and other media. In the example below, the participant is reminded by *Careless Talk Costs Lives* of modern political cartoons relating to Brexit.

“I love the humour in this -the almost-benign Hitler wallpaper listening-in to the ladies' private conversation. I am reminded of the cartoons appearing about brexit now e.g. the Britain domino one. I think that there are similar

elements/patterns of the 30s and now!”

6188976877, Female, 1951, South West, ‘Careless Talk Costs Lives’

Participants are sometimes reminded of other media, both historical and current, and record this in the survey, indicating how these different influences contribute to the development of cultural memory every time participants engage in remembering.

This example demonstrates how participants sometimes draw on the significant events which were taking place in the United Kingdom at the time in order to situate their memories and opinions. Brexit is referenced by participants several times. One participant expresses frustration at the sentimentalisation of the cultural memory of the Second World War while real problems, such as Brexit and the European migrant crisis, are being ignored.

“Irritation, boredom, a sense of frustration that we sentimentalise some kind of Dunkirk spirit at a time when we are experiencing a real international crisis around refugees and Brexit and so much more. It has become a cosy and depoliticised image which I find troubling.”

6140780367, Female, 1971, North West, ‘Keep Calm and Carry On’

A few participants also associate *Keep Calm and Carry On* with the UK Independence Party (6208537567, Female, 1983, West Midlands) and former Prime Minister David Cameron (6166008009, Male, 1998, East of England).

Terrorism was another common theme that appeared in survey responses. Looking at *Keep Calm and Carry On* and writing just eight days after the Westminster terror attack, one participant reported seeing ‘people posting this, and people writing this slogan just this last week, in light of the terrorist attack in Westminster’ (6128496948, Male, 1989, South West). Three others associate the message of stoicism communicated by *Keep Calm and Carry On* with the British reaction to the recent terror attacks.

“Not just from the war, but it became very symbolic in recent times, not only from merchandising from the upgrade in level of fear of terrorism.”

6154383179, Male, 1970, South East

“Very true of the British culture. We don't tend to let war/terror stop us from our day to day lives.”

6229293944, Female, 1990, London

“All of the above reasons. I think it’s still very relevant today, especially with the numerous terror attacks we suffer.”

*6229266833, Female, 1989, East of England*

The unusual frequency of terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom during the period of this survey clearly had an impact on the minds of participants and caused them to view the posters in light of these events.

It is indicated that the MoI images are able to act as sites of memory or memory anchors for some participants (Nora 1989; Rigney 2005; den Boer 2008, 22), as multiple memories converge around one image. It is possible that those participants who have multiple significant memories and ideas triggered by an image, imbue that image with significance and consequently recognise and remember it.

Due to the limited nature of the survey responses, the data only ever offers hints of these processes occurring. There is no doubt that more complex remembering was taking place in the minds of participants than they were able or willing to write about. The interview phase enables deeper consideration of these processes, as participants have the opportunity to take time to explain and clarify their memories and ideas as they come to mind.

#### 5.3.4 RECRUITMENT FOR INTERVIEW PHASE

The final objective for the survey phase was to provide a pool of interested participants who could be recruited for the interview phase. Of the 252 survey participants who were included in the analysis, there were 167 participants who said that they might be open to participating in a follow-up interview. The survey data for these participants was reviewed with the aim of creating a smaller list of people to contact in order to invite them to participate in the interview phase. This list included participants from a broad range of age brackets, places of birth, levels of education and included an equal gender balance. The recruitment for the interview phase is discussed in more detail in section 6.2.2.

## Chapter 6: Interview Phase

### 6.1 Introduction

The third phase of this research was designed to extend the data gathered from the survey phase to address the research objectives more comprehensively. The oral history method was chosen to allow participants to reflect on their own thought processes when viewing the Ministry of Information (MoI) images presented. The full reasoning for selecting this method is explained in section 3.3.3. For each image, I aimed to uncover whether interviewees remembered the image and if so how their memories of the image fit into their wider cultural understanding of the Second World War. They were prompted to explore how they thought each image entered their memory and what concepts, interpretations and other memories they associate with them. They were encouraged to connect their reflections to the particular elements of the images that were most significant to them. The thoughts of interviewees on these topics provided a fruitful source of data to address the question of what makes certain images memorable and iconic.

The interview method has some limitations, the main one being the restriction of the number of participants. Each interview took time to organise and travel to, over an hour to conduct and several hours to transcribe, so the number of participants had to be smaller than when using the survey method. In-person interviews also raised the problem of interviewer effects. Participants in interviews would have an awareness of the objectives of the research and this knowledge, combined with the presence of the interviewer, could influence the answers of the interviewee. Despite these limitations, the open and reflective nature of the interview method makes it a suitable addition to the survey method used in the previous phase. This phase required participants to offer their thoughts in a spontaneous, expansive and reflective way, while the survey encouraged participants to both edit their answers before writing them down and to keep their answers short. For these reasons, the oral history interview method was confirmed as the most appropriate method for this phase.

The interviews were conducted between July and September 2017. This period in the history of the United Kingdom, and the few months prior to it, was notable for several significant events. These included the commemoration of the centenary of the Battle of Passchendaele, a general election which resulted in a hung parliament and three terrorist attacks in London. Two successful films were also released during the period, *Dunkirk*

and *Churchill*. These events are discussed in more detail in section 3.3.5. They may have had some influence on the remembering processes of interviewees and this is considered in section 6.3.1.

### 6.1.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objective for this phase was to address the following research questions (introduced in Chapter 1):

1. What remembering processes are revealed?
2. How and why are MoI images recognised and remembered?
3. How are MoI images interpreted by participants?
4. What causes some images to be defined as iconic?

The interviews were designed to learn from each participant:

- Which of the MoI images they remember
- How they think the images entered and remained in their memory
- What interpretations and associations they hold for the images
- Whether they think the images are iconic and why

Responses to points 1 and 2 give information about the remembering process and highlight where the images sit within cultural memory. Responses to points 2, 3 and 4 help to uncover what it is about the particular images that makes them memorable and iconic.

I wished to understand how participants' generational experience has affected their memory of these images. Those whose formative years were during the Second World War may have a different impression of the images to those whose formative years were during the 1990s or 2000s, since the images may have been seen in different contexts and will have elicited different interpretations and emotions. Therefore, I aimed to interview people of a range of different ages.

As this study aims to discuss cultural memory in Britain, I wanted to interview people from across the country. A representative geographical sample was not feasible, nor was it required, since the interviews were designed to be in-depth qualitative studies of individual people so would not be used to generalise across the country. However, to understand a varied range of experiences that exist, I aimed to recruit interviewees with experiences of living, and crucially growing up, in different locations in Britain.

## 6.2 Method

### 6.2.1 INTERVIEW DESIGN

#### Images

Five images were included in the survey phase due to the constraints of time for the survey method. However, the interview phase offered the opportunity to present participants with a larger number of images to be discussed. Five additional images were selected and added to the original five from the survey. This approach meant I could observe how the original five images were interpreted by participants during in-depth interviews. In addition, new data could be gathered on a new set of five images through their inclusion in the interview process. By focusing on a set of ten images, rather than only five, I was able to analyse a more comprehensive dataset to produce more useful findings potentially applicable to other research areas.

Three of the five additional images were selected because they were alternative designs from the same campaigns as the posters included in the surveys, namely the Dig for Victory campaign, the Make-do and Mend campaign, and the Careless Talk Costs Lives campaign. The image *Women of Britain Come into the Factories* was selected due to its relevance to the war work recruitment campaign, another significant campaign of the British home front, and also because it is related to gender, which was a significant issue to emerge from the survey findings and so I thought might provoke some interesting responses from participants on this issue. The final poster added to the selection was *Let Us Go Forward Together* featuring a photograph of Winston Churchill. This was selected as it was a similar general morale-boosting poster as *Keep Calm and Carry On*, but the photograph of Churchill made it stand out from all the other posters in the selection. All images are reproduced in Appendix A.

*Images appearing in the survey and in the interview:*

- Dig for Victory (fig. A1)
- Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb (fig. A6)
- Go Through Your Wardrobe (fig. A3)
- Careless Talk Costs Lives (Fougasse) (fig. A5)
- Keep Calm and Carry On (fig. A8)

*Images appearing in the interview only:*

- Grow Your Own Food (fig. A2)
- Make-do and Mend (Mrs Sew and Sew) (fig. A4)
- Be Like Dad Keep Mum (fig. A7)
- Women of Britain Come into the Factories (fig. A9)
- Let Us Go Forward Together (Churchill) (fig. A10)

The images were printed in colour on A4 paper to be shown to the interviewees as the questions were asked.

### **Topic plan**

A topic plan was devised with five topics which I aimed to cover in the interviews. The first topic was the general personal experiences of the interviewee that related to the Second World War, drawing inspiration from the 2009 MO Directive (see section 4.1.2). This was designed to open up discussion in a contemplative way and allow the interviewee to think more generally about their own past and memories. This was also included with the hope that it would get the interviewee used to considering their life as a whole and so make answering the following questions about the posters easier. There was a risk that interviewees might respond to the posters shown to them by thinking only about the modern day or only about factual information they remembered; however, I wanted to encourage them to respond to the images with reference to their own life experience and memory. This opening topic, therefore, was designed to mitigate this potential problem.

The following four topics were designed to apply to each image in turn. The first was to address whether the interviewee recognised the image and what their initial reaction was to it and if they had memories of seeing the image. The next topic was designed to encourage the interviewee to consider why they recognised and remembered the image. The third topic was to discuss what the image meant to the interviewee and what were the thoughts, memories and emotions that they associated with it. The final topic addressed the issue of whether the image was well known by others in Britain and whether it could be described as ‘iconic’.

Model questions were designed for each topic so that as far as possible the way the questions were asked could be uniform across the different interviews.

Table 17 Topic 1 – discussed at the beginning of each interview

Topic	Model question	Sub question
The Second World War	First, I'd like to understand how the Second World War features in your own life. What does it mean to you?	[What are your <b>own memories</b> of the war, or life just after the war?] (Age-specific)
		Were there any experiences or memories of the war shared in your <b>family</b> ? Give some examples.
		Did you learn about the Second World War at <b>school</b> ? If so what do you remember?
		Are you interested in the Second World War more generally? Do you notice references to it in wider <b>culture</b> ?

Table 18 Topics 2–5 – discussed in reference to each image shown

Topic	Question	Sub question
Recognition	Do you recognise this image?	Do you have any <b>memories</b> of seeing it before? If so, <b>where</b> and <b>when</b> ?
		Which do you recognise most? The <b>image</b> or the <b>slogan</b> ?
		In your opinion, what is this image?
Reason for recognition	(If recognised) I'd like you to think about why you know this image.	Do you have an idea of when you might have <b>first</b> become aware of it?
		What is it about it that makes it <b>memorable</b> to you?
Meaning and interpretation	What does this image mean to you?	What <b>thoughts or memories</b> come to mind when you look at it?
		How does the image make you <b>feel</b> ?
		Circle the <b>part</b> of the image that draws your eye. Why are you drawn to that? What do you <b>associate</b> that with?



Well-known and iconic	Do you think this image is <b>well known</b> by others in <b>Britain</b> ? If so, why?	Do you think this image is <b>well known</b> by others in <b>Britain</b> ? If so, why?
		(If they use the term ‘ <b>iconic</b> ’) What do you mean by that term?
		(If they do not use the term ‘ <b>iconic</b> ’) Would you describe it as ‘ <b>iconic</b> ’? If so, why? If not, why not?

### Recording method

The interviews were audio recorded on two devices, an Olympus WS-853 MP3 Digital Voice Recorder and an iPhone 5s using the Voice Memos App. Brief notes were also taken during the interviews on key topics mentioned and also to confirm in writing exact dates or the spelling of names and places. In general, note taking was kept to a minimum in order to encourage constant eye contact and thus achieve an effective level of rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee.

The images were printed in colour on A4 paper and each image was physically shown to the interviewee as the questions relating to that image were asked. The interviewees were encouraged to annotate the images in relation to what they were saying, or I as the interviewer would annotate the images in relation to what they were saying in their presence so that they could agree or clarify what they were saying in response to my annotation.

### Locations

Where possible, interviews were organised to take place in public places where we could sit quietly with as few distractions as possible. Cafés, libraries and booked rooms in university buildings were the suggested locations for the interviews. It was also accepted that interviews could be held at the interviewee’s home if there were particular reasons for doing so, such as the mobility of the participant and/or the lack of suitable alternative public locations. Risk assessment forms were completed and filed for interviews held in the homes of interviewees.

## 6.2.2 PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

Responses from 252 survey participants were analysed in the previous phase, following the exclusion of participants who met the survey exclusion criteria. These 252 participants

were compared with the additional eligibility criteria for interviews. The eligibility criteria are:

- Would you be interested in taking part in an interview to follow up on your participation in this survey? - Yes or maybe
- Contact details included in survey

This left a total of 159 volunteers who were eligible to be interviewed. A shortlist was created containing participants covering an equal gender balance, and a broad range of ages, birth locations and levels of education. I then began to contact the participants by email and phone to ask if they would be interested in partaking in an interview. Arrangements were made where suitable. The template email can be viewed in Appendix E. It was tailored to each participant to include some reference to their survey response where relevant.

Twenty-three participants were contacted between 2 July and 3 August 2017. Interviews were arranged with sixteen people in total.

### **Interviewee demographics**

The demographic details of those interviewed can be seen in the tables below.

*Table 19 Birth years of interview participants*

<b>Birth year</b>	<b>Number of interviewees</b>
1925-1930	2
1931-1939	1
1940-1945	3
1946-1955	2
1956-1965	1
1966-1975	2
1976-1985	1
1986-1995	2
1996-2001	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>

*Table 20 Birth regions of interview participants*

<b>Birth region</b>	<b>Number of interviewees</b>
East Midlands	1
East of England	2
International	2

London	2
North East	2
North West	1
Scotland	1
South East	1
South West	1
Wales	1
West Midlands	1
Yorkshire and the Humber	1
TOTAL	16

*Table 21 Gender of interview participants*

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Number of interviewees</b>
Female	9
Male	7
TOTAL	16

*Table 22 Highest level of education of interview participants*

<b>Highest level of education</b>	<b>Number of interviewees</b>
Secondary School	2
Some College or Further Education	4
Bachelor's Degree	5
Master's Degree	3
Advanced Graduate work or PhD	2
TOTAL	16

## **Ethics**

Details regarding the interview phase were submitted to the Arts and Humanities Research Ethics Panel and received ethical approval on 14 June 2017 - reference number LRS-16/17-4718 (see Appendix E).

An information sheet was designed for the interviewees to read before agreeing to participate in the interview. This included details about the aims of the research, reasons why the participant might choose to take part, details about the process of the interview, details about the time and place of the interview, details about the use of data and the rights of the participant to withdraw from the research. The sheet also contained contact details for myself and my supervisor (see Appendix E).

A consent form was also designed using the King's College London guidelines, allowing participants to agree or disagree with each of the elements discussed in the information sheet, including the audio recording of the interview (see Appendix E).

For interviews which were going to be conducted in the homes of participants, a risk assessment form was completed and filed with my supervisor and the Department of Digital Humanities, King's College London. This gave details of precautions taken during these research trips, including informing a third-party contact about my location and safety before and after each interview.

### 6.2.3 PROCESS

The steps taken to conduct each interview are presented below in chronological order:

1. I contacted the potential participant by email or phone to invite them to interview.
2. I exchanged further emails or phone calls with the interviewee to explain the process to them. The information sheet and consent form were sent by email.
3. The interviewee and I agreed by email to proceed with the interview and agreed to meet at a local café, library, university room or at the interviewee's home. We also agreed on a date and time for the interview.
4. I arrived at the location at the arranged time and greeted the interviewee and thanked them for agreeing to take part.
5. The interviewee and I bought or made cups of tea and coffee and sat down at a quiet table.
6. I gave the interviewee a printed copy of the information sheet and consent form and answered any questions they had.
7. The interviewee completed and signed the consent form and returned it to me.
8. I showed the interviewee the audio recorders and asked to start the interview and the interviewee agreed.
9. I began the recording.
10. I asked the questions for topic 1 regarding the interviewee's family memories, education and cultural experiences relating to the Second World War.
11. I showed the interviewee the first printed image and asked the questions for topics 2-5.

12. I continued this process with each of the 10 images.
13. When the interviewee answered the question asking them which part of the image drew their eye, I asked them to circle the part corresponding to their answer in front of them on the table.
14. I wrote down a few words for each topic to remind myself about the content of the interview, and also to help me devise follow-up questions based on things said by the interviewee previously.
15. When the interviewee mentioned a name or date, I would write this down and check it was correct with the interviewee.
16. The interviewee would sometimes answer one of my later questions fully in an earlier answer. When this occurred, I did not ask the question again. When I felt they had only partially answered the question, I asked it again referencing their previous answer.
17. After the final question, I told the interviewee that I had asked everything I wanted to ask. I asked them whether there was there anything further they would like to add.
18. I thanked the interviewee and ended the recording.
19. I asked the interviewee if they had any questions for me.
20. When the interviewee seemed interested, I explained a little about the history of some of the posters. I also explained a little about what I had found from the survey research about the way people have interpreted the posters. I also told them about my next steps with the research project.
21. I thanked the interviewee again and asked them to contact me if they had any further questions.
22. We both left the interview location.

### **Assessment of interview process**

The experience of conducting the interviews was positive and the objectives of using the interview method were met. In general, participants were responsive to the interview process and seemed sufficiently interested in the posters and the questions asked in order to respond in sufficient depth for me to meet my objectives. The interviews lasted between 43 and 93 minutes, meaning that all participants were able to speak for at least a few minutes about each image. There was a great deal of variation, however, in which images

prompted the most discussion; this was as I had expected. I interpreted that most of the interviewees were interested in the topics covered and felt positively towards the interview process. This is likely to be due to the fact that only those who had already shown an interest in the subject matter, at least enough to complete a survey and respond to emails on the subject, were recruited at the interview stage.

The questions designed were successful in that they were phrased in a broad enough way to encourage expansive responses from the interviewees; there were no instances where questions were answered with a single word when a longer answer was expected. The majority of the interviewees exhibited a stream-of-consciousness style in their responses to the questions, in that they spent time discussing and elaborating on their responses and drawing on a range of memories and knowledge. The use of silence was very important in this process, particularly for some interviewees, where I left long pauses after they had finished speaking which often led to them adding more detail to their answer. The initial topic, which focused on experiences and memories of the Second World War in general, worked very well in the interview process. Interviewees referred back to memories that had already been brought to mind earlier in the interview as a result of those initial questions.

The extent to which participants exhibited a stream-of-consciousness approach to answering does depend very heavily on the personal characteristics of the individual participants. The longest interview in the set, which lasted 93 minutes, continued for so long because the interviewee spoke a great deal and moved from topic to topic constantly. In some cases, I did have to return the interview to the question in hand, but in general I tried not to stop interviewees once they were speaking in a stream-of-consciousness fashion as the process might yield interesting data on how thoughts come to mind when a person views an image.

### **Problems and limitations**

#### *Lack of interest in and understanding of reasons for research*

Some interviewees assumed that I wished to conduct a traditional oral history and only uncover their experiences during the war. This was clear from some responses to my initial contact email which began by explaining their lack of direct experience of the Second World War and so assuming their unsuitability for the research. In all cases, I was able to explain to them that the aims of the research were focused on the images and thus direct experience of war or even the wartime period was not required.

Despite this, I had one experience with an interviewee who seemed to lose interest in the research once he had finished narrating his wartime experiences. He was very interested during the survey phase of the research and seemed to enjoy relating his experiences; however, when the questions moved on specifically to the images, he seemed to lose interest. I believe this was due to the fact that he did not recognise many of the images, and so was not able to offer any wartime experiences related to them, and thus he felt unable to contribute anything. In many cases, he did state that he knew the images from the war, but could offer nothing further, giving the impression that he was bored with the interview experience. He asked whether the research was for advertising or marketing purposes. I did sense that the interviewee did not really understand the point of researching what people think about the posters, partly because they are ephemeral objects that he himself did not remember, and partly because he did not consider it useful historical research, compared to the kind of research expected with traditional oral history interviews.

Due to his negative reactions to some of the questions and his clear desire for the interview to end sooner, I began to limit the questions I asked, focusing only on whether he recognised the images, where and when he might have seen them, and what thoughts and memories came to mind. This meant that I was able to question him on all ten of the images before the end of the interview and kept his boredom to a minimum. Whilst this means it is impossible to compare this interview with others due to the differences in questions asked, I am still including the interview in the research data as it presents some interesting elements.

### *Question order*

There were many cases throughout the interviews where interviewees would discuss topics in a different order to the one outlined in my topic plan. Particularly after an interviewee had discussed the first image in the selection, they knew the questions I was going to ask and so would sometimes anticipate these questions in their responses. Hence, for example, interviewees would discuss the thoughts and memories that came to mind as soon as they saw the image, rather than waiting for my question on this subject. Although this means there is reduced consistency between the interviews, I did want to record people's thought processes as naturally as possible, so it was important to let people speak about whatever they thought without restricting them with the order of my questions. I do not believe these inconsistencies have undermined the usefulness of the research data.

### *Noise*

In two of the interviews, ambient noise was a problem. One was conducted in the National Archives café, as the interviewee was working in the archive and it was the most convenient location. The noise level in the café was higher than expected and the interviewee's voice was quiet, making it difficult to hear and record the interview accurately. Another interview was conducted in a café of the interviewee's choice. This was also noisier than expected. In this case, the interviewee's voice was louder and there was no problem hearing the interviewee during the interview; however, the noise levels led to a lower quality recording and difficulties in transcription. The transcripts for these interviews include a higher number of sections marked [unintelligible].

## 6.2.4 INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

### **Transcription**

The audio files from both recording devices were transferred to a computer. The automatically-generated titles for these files, which consist of the date of recording and a unique number, were noted in a spreadsheet alongside the unique identifier for each participant and their demographic details. The quality of the audio files was the same between the two devices. The audio files from the voice recorder were used for the transcription process.

NVivo was used to transcribe the audio interviews, following the completion of a Learning to use NVivo training course on 7 October 2017, which explored the best methods for transcribing and analysing transcripts using NVivo (Mau and Godec 2017). I transcribed each file manually using NVivo and the following guidelines were used during the transcription process.

- Filler statements, such as 'um' and 'er', were included in the transcriptions, but edited out where appropriate when quoting the text
- Short pauses indicated by a comma
- Longer, mid-statement pauses, or interrupted speech indicated by an em dash (—)
- Tailing off at the end of a sentence indicated by an ellipsis (...)
- Non-verbal communication noted in square brackets e.g. [laughter]
- Very long pauses and interruptions to the interview itself indicated by [PAUSE]



- Inaudible or unintelligible material indicated by [unintelligible]
- All identifying names or other details removed

The transcription process was generally effective. Two of the interview files posed problems due to background noise, mentioned previously. In some transcriptions, there are sections marked as '[unintelligible]'.

### **Analysis**

The analysis of the interview data was designed to directly address the research questions. The approach was primarily based on a content analysis similar to the one I conducted in the survey phase, but also drawing on techniques from interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), discussed in section 3.3.1. The approach was designed to identify how interviewees interpret the images they are shown and record clearly all the associated concepts, emotions and memories that feed into this interpretation. I began with a close reading of the interview transcripts and carefully formed categories which accurately reflected the content. I refer to these categories of analysis as 'codes', but when using NVivo, these categories are referred to as 'nodes'.

NVivo also offers two other types of category: 'cases' and 'classifications'. Cases refer to units of analysis; for this study, each interviewee was established as a case and each of the ten MoI images was established as a case. Classifications are descriptive categories for the cases. Each interviewee case was assigned classifications for their demographic details. These were:

- Year of birth
- Age bracket
- Place of birth
- Region of birth
- Length of time in the United Kingdom
- Gender
- Highest education level

Each MoI image was assigned classifications for its title, year created, creator and associated campaign. Using cases and classifications in this way means that it is easy to organise the data by these variables and notice differences between the responses of

different kinds of participant and differences between responses to different kinds of images.

After this initial organisation of the data, the next stage was to compile a coding sheet to help me categorise the qualitative data. This coding sheet consists of a taxonomy of categories which can be used to identify parts of the interview transcripts that are important for this analysis. According to the IPA approach, this coding sheet is best built up through close reading of the transcripts; one systematically reads, highlights and classifies sections of text, adding new codes (or nodes) and reorganising them as one goes along. This process was followed, but with key requirements based on the four objectives of the research.

1. Which of the MoI images presented do they remember
2. How do they think the images entered and remained in their memory
3. What interpretations and associations do they hold for the images
4. Whether they think the images are iconic and why

I wanted to uncover which of the images were recognised by the interviewees. This is a quantitative requirement since I aimed to be able to establish some broad statistics on the level of recognition of each image. The categories, therefore, needed to be binary, so I created a node for 'recognised' and subnodes for 'yes' and 'no'. Through careful listening to the audio and reading of the transcripts, it was clear that interviewees did not always respond to the question 'do you recognise this image?' with a simple yes or no. A small degree of interpretation was required to determine whether or not the interviewee recognised the image in each case and to consequently code their answer as either yes or no. For example, one participant responded to the question with 'I know the slogan, not sure if I've seen this particular one but it looks familiar.' (EB2833, Female, 1982, South East) and this answer was coded as 'no' for the purposes of the analysis.

To explore how the images might have entered the memory of the interviewees, I recorded their memories and their own account of why the image might be memorable. This was done by creating one overarching node for 'memories', one for 'memory of seeing image' and one for 'memory of slogan', with subnodes to be created beneath these. These subnodes were developed carefully throughout the close reading of the transcripts, adding and rearranging the subnodes according to the IPA approach.

A key objective was to understand why interviewees believed that the images might be memorable and through close reading it was clear that interviewees often commented

upon this issue. Resultantly, I created an overarching node for ‘reasons for memorability’, to then create specific subnodes beneath this. These subnodes were established in the same way as above and designed to accurately describe and categorise the content of the interview and the opinions of the interviewee.

Following the method of content analysis used in the exploratory and survey phases, I recorded the associations that interviewees had with the images and the emotions that were triggered by them. This categorisation assisted in addressing the third research question. One node was created for ‘associations’ and one for ‘emotions’. Multiple subnodes were created beneath each of these nodes; these were again developed using the IPA approach.

The final research objective relates to how participants understand and define the term ‘iconic’, which is discussed in the interviews. I created one node ‘definitions of iconic’ to record the reasons why interviewees defined certain images as ‘iconic’. This would allow me to easily locate specific ways in which interviewees defined the term.

During the process of reading the transcripts and building up the coding sheet, I decided to add extra nodes to record information which I thought might be useful later in the analysis. The first was the ‘focal point’ to record interviewees’ responses to the question asking them what part of the image drew their eye. If an interviewee explained that their eye was drawn straight to a particular object in an image, I would highlight that text and categorise it under the node ‘focal point’. This allows me to easily locate instances where this issue is discussed and easily determine if there are any predominant focal points for particular images.

The second additional node that I established was ‘judgment’ with ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ subnodes to record whether the interviewee liked or disliked the image. This required a great deal of interpretation of the responses of interviewees, as their opinions were usually more complex and ambiguous than simple positive and negative. Therefore, I only categorised text under this node if I felt the positive or negative opinion was stated clearly enough by the interviewee. If the opinion was more ambiguous, no judgment was categorised. The reason for this binary category was that it allows me to identify any obvious trends in how people feel about the different MoI images.

The third node that I established was ‘memory transition’, which I used to highlight points where interviewees demonstrated how they moved from one thought to another as they viewed and considered the image in front of them. Again, this allowed me to easily locate

moments in the responses of interviewees where they exhibited interesting remembering processes that might be useful to comment upon subsequently.

By the end of the process, nine overarching nodes had been created, with 128 subnodes, most of which were associations. The full coding sheet, showing the hierarchy of the nodes and subnodes is as follows.

*Table 23 Interview coding sheet*

<b>Nodes and subnodes</b>
Associations
Aggression
American
Britishness
Calm
Caution
Censorship
Children
Class
Middle class
Upper class
Working class
Command
Conservatism
Courage
Craft
Creativity
Creepiness
Damage to nature
Danger
Division
Eco-friendliness
Economy
Empowerment
Espionage
Evil
Fashion
Femininity
First World War
Gardening
Glamour
Heroism
Hope
Instruction
Isolation
Labour
Masculinity
Mindfulness
Modernity
Movies
Nazi
Nostalgia
Ordinariness
Paranoia
Patriotism
Politics
Poverty
Propaganda

Prostitution
Race
Religion
Royalty
Secrecy
Security
Self-reliance
Sexism
Socialism
Solidarity
Soviet
Stoicism
Strength
Stupidity
Suffering
Surveillance
Waste
Weapons
Definitions of iconic
Applicable to other situations
Instant meaning
Ubiquity
Emotions
Admiration
Ambivalence
Amusement
Anger
Aversion
Confusion
Discomfort
Distrust
Excitement
Fear
Gratitude
Joy
Motivation
Offense
Pride
Shame
Sorrow
Surprise
Focal points
Judgment
Negative
Positive
Memories
Childhood
Cultural references
Events & stories
Family
Memory of seeing image
Book
Children's studies
Internet
Museum
Newspaper
Poster
Products
School
Shop

TV
Memory of slogan
Films
Museums
Print
Radio
School
Television
Word of mouth
Objects
Memory transition
Reasons for memorability
Adaptability
Aesthetics
Emotion
Humour
Personality
Power
Relevance
Repetition
Simplicity
Recognised
No
Yes

Once the transcripts had all been coded according to this structure, I was left with a usable set of data from which conclusions could be drawn. The coding of the text allowed for statistical data to be drawn from the complete set of interviews (where appropriate and relevant) and, more importantly, for reports to be drawn for each node in question, so that I could view the relevant text across the different interviews. This has allowed me to begin to address the overall research questions using the data from the interviews in this phase.

### 6.3 Findings and discussion

In total, sixteen people were interviewed. Of those recruited for interview, a broad spread of ages and birthplaces was achieved. The gender split achieved was nine women and seven men. The highest level of education of each interviewee was recorded and a group representative of Britain's population was not achieved, however a broad spread was achieved. All interviewees have lived in the United Kingdom for at least ten years and lived there at the time this research was undertaken. Interviewees were able to discuss their thoughts and feelings related to the images they were shown in depth. They understood the purpose of the research and were able to answer each question with some consideration. Interviewees varied considerably in how much they spoke in relation to each image and in how much depth. A few interviewees were reserved and unwilling to discuss emotion for example, while others demonstrated a more open approach to the

interview, which has provided more data. These variations are due to the individual qualities and personalities of the different interviewees. Despite these variations, the sixteen interviews have provided sufficient evidence to address the research questions posed. All quotations are reproduced with the participant's unique identification code, their gender, year of birth and region of birth.

### 6.3.1 WHAT REMEMBERING PROCESSES ARE REVEALED?

Interviewees revealed a variety of remembering processes as they encountered the MoI images during the interview. Due to the research design, interviewees' remembering was not entirely free and spontaneous as they were prompted by questions with clear research objectives. This means that inevitably only certain kinds of remembering processes were revealed through the interviews. My discussion of these processes, therefore, is in no way to say that these are universal or the most significant; they are just the processes that were observed during this phase of the study.

Those interviewees who exhibited a stream-of-consciousness approach to answering the interview questions tended to reveal these processes more clearly, while others were less forthcoming and their thought processes more indistinct. However, there is sufficient similarity between remembering processes revealed across different interviews that it is possible to identify these and describe how they work.

There are many different subtle remembering processes that could be described from the interview data; however, many of them are insufficiently clear and insufficiently universal to be described in depth with any degree of surety. It would require a far greater quantity of in-depth interviews in order to comment on these processes effectively. For this reason, I have only highlighted two examples of remembering processes which are demonstrated clearly in the interview data and which I have also observed in my analysis of the MO archive during the exploratory phase.

#### **Objects as memory anchors**

Elements of the interview resonate with the concept of 'memory anchors', discussed in relation to wider literature relating to memory (2.3.4), and in relation to observations made during the analysis of the MO archive (4.3.1) and during the analysis of the survey data (5.3.3) The concept of 'memory anchors' was suggested by Pim den Boer in his discussion of Pierre Nora's concept of '*lieux de mémoire*', which is often translated as 'sites of memory' around which memories collect (Nora 1989). Den Boer argues that 'anchors of memory' better reflects the range of things which can be considered sites of

memory, not only physical locations but also concepts and objects (den Boer 2008, 22). It is not the type of thing that determines it as an anchor of memory, but rather the thing's influence on the remembering of an individual.

MoI images can act as anchors of memory as some individuals connect their memories to these images. When an interviewee views an image that they remember seeing before, they often report any specific memories they have of seeing the image. In addition, regardless of whether or not the image is actually remembered, viewing particular signs (objects or words) in the MoI images triggers other memories for particular interviewees. The images, therefore, act as anchors for these memories. Interviewees sometimes relate their triggered memories spontaneously and sometimes they are only reported after a prompt question from the interviewer, but this process is present in the majority of the interviews. Below are two examples of quotations from interviewees that illustrate this phenomenon most visibly.

“Interestingly the man's smoking a pipe, that's what they used to do. If you went on a bus, the top of the bus, you could hardly breathe because they were all smoking their pipes up there.”

*EB1154, Male, 1930, London, 'Be Like Dad Keep Mum'*

“Doesn't seem to be any connection whatsoever except for that cake tray, umm— I was once at a wedding and the reception was held on the London tube, and we went in there for tea, cup of tea, afternoon tea, it was about £25 a cup, but we all went in and, so why that reminds me of that I just don't know. It was a long time ago yeah.”

*TNA1141, Male, 1942, West Midlands, 'Careless Talk Costs Lives'*

In these cases, the visual objects—the pipe in *Be Like Dad, Keep Mum* and the cakes in *Careless Talk Costs Lives*—act as anchors around which different memories collect. When viewed, these signs trigger different memories and meanings for different people. Similar to examples discussed in the survey phase, participants move from semantic memory, as they recognise and identify the signs and their meaning, to episodic memory, as they recall events in their lives and the lives of others that they associate with these signs. Each image is a collection of signs and so a collection of potential anchors of memory, ensuring that each viewer has a different encounter with and interpretation of an image.



## Extrapolation

Expanding on the functioning of objects as anchors of memory, interviewees demonstrate how they extrapolate from the initial memory triggered by a sign to wider judgments and understandings. This process was also identified during my analysis of MO sources, where there were many examples of writers detailing a memory shared by a family member and then extrapolating this to wider society or to broad conclusions about the nature of the Second World War, enhancing and justifying their own cultural memory (4.3.1). In the interviews, this process is often demonstrated in relation to visual signs in the images. Interviewees comment on the specific sign and as this sign functions as a memory anchor, they extrapolate their interpretation of the sign to a wider cultural memory of society as a whole and the era of the Second World War. I was able to observe instances of extrapolation in a large proportion of the interviews. This phenomenon is sometimes demonstrated over the course of a couple of minutes of the interview; however, the example below gives a particularly succinct account of the process.

**Interviewee:** I suppose you've got the image of the man who's smoking his pipe and is not saying anything because the pipe's in his mouth [laughter].

**Interviewer:** Any thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at that one?

**Interviewee:** Hmm, My grandad had a pipe like that [laughter], but I didn't know him just seen him from photos. I suppose it makes you think of a past generation, that would sort of be smoking their pipe and reading their paper, and not saying very much to anyone. Minding their own business that kind of thing.

*EB2833, Female, 1982, South East, 'Be Like Dad Keep Mum'*

In the above example, the interviewee views the image of a man smoking a pipe in *Be Like Dad, Keep Mum* and is reminded of photographs of her grandfather. She then extrapolates this personal memory to her conception of the character of a whole wartime generation. Her conception of the wartime father figure is likely to derive from a range of influences, including personal memories and perhaps cultural artefacts such as books, film and television. Viewing this particular image reinforces the existing perception.

In another example, the interviewee views *Go Through Your Wardrobe* and multiple memories are triggered including family memories, recent personal memories and memories of cultural artefacts encountered during childhood. In the course of the encounter, she extrapolates from the specific to the general.

**Interviewer:** Are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at this one?

**Interviewee:** I suppose that my mum would have done more sewing than I do [laughter]. She had a sewing machine and I remember seeing my Grandma's house had a singer sewing machine, one of those old-fashioned ones. I think nowadays we do less mending, the most I ever do is put a button back on and then if my tights are ripped I usually throw them away, to be honest. Whereas you couldn't back then. I remember seeing in the video we watched at school the women would draw a line up the back of their legs with makeup or paint or something or even was it tea, they would rub tea over their legs instead of stockings. It's funny. I don't know why just bare legs weren't acceptable [laughter], it seems a lot of effort to go to, but I suppose it was— maybe they were trying to look glamorous— it was a way of having extra joy during a hard time you could dress up a bit by making a bit more effort. So maybe this was to do with morale as well as anything else it was to help people's spirits up. Because you probably wouldn't have had much time to think about fashion, but, maybe it was a to keep people busy as well as anything else, because if you're busy you're not being so depressed. It was to help them do something positive.  
*EB2833, Female, 1982, South East, 'Go Through Your Wardrobe'*

The encounter with the image, enriched by all these memories of different kinds, assists the interviewee in forming a broader understanding, or cultural memory, of the experience of people on the home front. She extrapolates from the specific personal family memories that are triggered by the signs in the image, to cultural memories from media, and finally to broader conceptions of home front morale. These examples demonstrate how, during encounters with MoI images, interviewees draw on a variety of influences—memories and knowledge—to form their own individual cultural memory.

The two remembering processes highlighted here act together during an encounter with an object. As a memory anchor, an MoI image can trigger memories of various kinds in the mind of the viewer and then the viewer can extrapolate from these memories to form a broader conception of history and society.

### **Influence of temporal context**

The interviews provide evidence of how the temporal context, referring to the current affairs and media of 2017, influenced the remembering of participants. As is discussed in reference to the survey in section 5.3.3, participants in the interviews draw on current

affairs at the time to make sense of their memories and interpretations of the MoI images. One interviewee talks about an increased sense of crisis or ‘threat level’ in 2017 due to war and the ‘noise in the States and the kind of— North Korea, USA’ (6143866229, Female, 1969, East Midlands). This thought process is triggered by looking at *Keep Calm and Carry On* and the interviewee suggests that the slogan is particularly appropriate for people in the era in which she is speaking.

British politics are also discussed specifically by some participants. In discussing the reasons for considering *Dig for Victory* to be an iconic image, one interviewee compares it with a slogan from the 2017 general election, ‘strong and stable’, which was used frequently by Prime Minister Theresa May in the Conservative Party election campaign. He argues that ‘given that like 7% of British people knew what the phrase strong and stable was during the election, or recognised it, this surely is much higher than that’ (6208583948, Male, 1997, International). The same participant also referred to the 2016 European Union membership referendum in discussing his understanding of the role of the Second World War in British cultural memory. Having ‘worked for Britain Stronger in Europe as a campaign assistant’, he reports feeling ‘amazed by like how many people in Britain's idea of Europe is based— it exists around World War Two’. This demonstrates how people draw on their own experiences from recent years to inform their understanding of British history and cultural memory.

Fears about Brexit and associated political trends are evident in the same interview. The interviewee praises the message of *Dig for Victory* suggesting that Britons ‘should be doing that sort of stuff today really’, however he also thinks of Brexit as an event which might cause the same kinds of difficulties as the Second World War did, suggesting that ‘maybe post Brexit we can all— when food becomes so expensive cos of inflation we'll have to grow it’ (6208583948, Male, 1997, International). Others refer to Brexit in the context of discussions of the pro-European nature of Britain’s struggle in the Second World War. Europe suffered along with Britain during the war and Britons fought to save their neighbours and, in this context, Brexit is seen negatively as an act of rejection. One interviewee explains:

“I feel very very sad that things ever came to this sort of end that you know Europe turned itself upside down, I don't find anything sort of glorious or umm marvellous in it I think it was absolutely horrendous that it came to that, you know that Europe sort of turned itself upside down and now we're turning our

backs on it.”

*TNA1841, Male, 1945, North West, 'Dig for Victory'*

Triggered by discussing the Second World War and the face of Adolf Hitler depicted in Fougasse's *Careless Talk Costs Lives*, one participant expresses concerns about the perceived rise of the far right in the USA and Europe and considers whether an awareness of this rise causes her to feel more disturbed by the Nazi imagery in the *Careless Talk Costs Lives* poster.

“I don't know if my emotional response to it has changed because of all the current context around swastikas being present on the streets in certain countries, the increasing rise of the far right and the sign of the swastika being back and very present on the media and, which I utterly despise with every fibre of my being I despise it, and I don't know if therefore the link to this I am more horrified and find that more threatening now because it feels like there is a greater threat now, even compared to when I first filled in the questionnaire for you some months ago

...

I've not seen a swastika here, not—it's stuff maybe in the States, where it's on the news big, the far right marching, the far right is active in Europe and it is here too, but yeah, so I don't know if my perspective has shifted and I'm more horrified by that now than I was before because of that, what's informing the thinking.”

*6143866229, Female, 1969, East Midlands, 'Careless Talk Costs Lives'*

The interviews took place during the centenary of the First World War and the increased media interest in that period may have led to more references to the First World War in the interviews, although this cannot be proven without similar interviews being conducted at another time. Most references to the First World War in the interviews are in relation to memories of family members, but one indicates that the centenary may have increased the number of veteran and survivor stories being circulated, thus influencing her memory.

“Sometimes they're survivors stories... some of them might have been for help for heroes although they tend to be more modern, but definitely some of the stories from Dunkirk and also there's more now recently about, obviously because of the anniversary of the first world war, but stories, but some of those people were also in the Second World War as well, so some accounts in small

detail, things like that”

*6143866229, Female, 1969, East Midlands*

The film *Dunkirk*, which was released in the UK on 21 July 2017, seemed to have the most influence on interview participants, compared to other films. The film provided historical information and enriched visual memories of the period. In one interview, the participant draws on the film to inform his understanding of the role of Winston Churchill and the historical nature of the Battle of Britain:

“I think, Churchill was, he's a very reassuring sort of patriarchal figure. And I imagine when things were getting really bad, because with hindsight, with recent films like the one about Dunkirk, and I believe the battle of Britain was a real turning point.”

*NL2441, Female, 1946, Yorkshire and the Humber, 'Let Us Go Forward Together'*

The film also triggered personal memories of participants. One is reminded of a story about his grandmother from viewing a particular scene in *Dunkirk*:

“My grandma on my mother's side, she was in late childhood during the Second World War. She always shares this really striking memory which I was reminded of recently when I saw *Dunkirk*, the film. That she was walking down the street one day, and then a plane came overhead and started shooting at her. A man in the street ran over and pushed her to the ground and saved her life, then the plane went off. That's always been a memory. As I say, I remembered it recently because we watched *Dunkirk* in the cinema and there's a scene very early on in that where there's a bomber comes down and is actually shooting them in the street.”

*6139902292, Female, 1987, South West*

It is clear that, when looking at images and being asked about topics relating to the Second World War, participants draw on recent memories from current affairs and media in order to situate and inform their responses. Sometimes the temporal context in which the person speaks influences their opinions directly, for example by encouraging comparisons between the current era and the Second World War era, and sometimes this context triggers more personal memories held by the person, such as in the case of *Dunkirk* above. The temporal context in which an interview takes place clearly can have an influence on the mind and responses of the interviewee and, in the case of this research, this influence

may in fact stronger than the limited direct references made by the interviewees would suggest.

### 6.3.2 HOW AND WHY ARE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION IMAGES RECOGNISED AND REMEMBERED?

The three images that were recognised by the largest number of interviewees are *Keep Calm and Carry On*, *Let Us Go Forward Together* and *Dig for Victory*. The three images that were recognised least are *Grow Your Own Food*, *Be Like Dad Keep Mum and Make-do and Mend*. The different images are memorable for different reasons; however, there are key reasons that interviewees cite most frequently in response to being asked why an image is memorable.

Interviewees were asked, in relation to each image, why they thought the image might be memorable. The reasons given were categorised as shown in the table below. These reasons for memorability are entirely self-reported. I did not attempt to infer any reasons that were not directly reported by interviewees.

The categories developed from the responses of interview participants correspond with some of the categories defined based on the responses of survey participants. The categories defined here consolidate some of those identified in the survey phase, particularly ‘aesthetics’ which covers elements relating to colour, composition and boldness. The ‘power’ category closely relates to the ‘strength of image’ and ‘strength of slogan’ categories used in the survey phase.

Table 24 Reasons for memorability in interviews

Reason	Category details	Number of times referenced
Aesthetics	Image memorable due to it being pleasant to look at, appealing or visually striking. Also includes positive references to colour and composition as reasons for memorability.	17
Simplicity	Image memorable due to the simplicity of its content.	13
Frequency of reproduction	Image memorable due to it being frequently reproduced and encountered.	10
Relevance	Image memorable due to it being relevant to contemporary events and concerns.	8
Personality	Image memorable due to it having a human face or sense of personality.	5

Power	Image memorable due to it being ‘powerful’ or having ‘power’.	5
Emotion	Image memorable due to its ability to provoke an emotional response from viewers.	4

Interviewees refer most frequently to images being aesthetically pleasing in some way—appealing, striking, appreciating the colours—and cite this as a reason why they remember the image. Simplicity is another key reason mentioned frequently. The third most mentioned reason is repetition of the image. As expected, interviewees report that when an image is displayed frequently and is therefore encountered frequently, they are more likely to recognise and remember it. This reason is fundamental and potentially underrepresented in the table above. Even when interviewees do not refer to it specifically as a reason why an image is memorable, it is still mentioned throughout the interviews. An image is recognised when an interviewee knows that they have seen it before and the more they have seen it, the more likely they are to recognise it.

Another aspect that is not referred to as a reason for an image’s memorability, but still plays a part in the interviews, is memory. From interviewees’ discussion of images, it is indicated that when certain memories are attached to an image, the importance of the image in an interviewee’s mind increases and the likelihood that it is recognised and remembered is enhanced.

### **Frequency of reproduction**

The frequency at which an image is reproduced is the most fundamental reason why images are recognised by people. There are many examples in the interviews of images being recognised because they have simply been encountered so many times in the past. *Keep Calm and Carry On* is the most powerful example of this. Two quotations from the interviews that refer to this reason explicitly are presented below.

“That’s been around, fairly recently as well, go into some of these shops, they’ve got these on the wall and everything—Keep Calm and Carry On, I don’t remember that back in the forties or even fifties, I think it’s much much later.”  
*TNA1141, Male, 1942, West Midlands, ‘Keep Calm and Carry On’*

“It’s so everywhere like, it’s just, it really is everywhere this one. It’s just it’s, well yeah it’s just it’s on, there’s probably a mug in every house with some annoying unfunny play on words. My cousin had a poster with all of the various

you know like keep calm and make tea and all the you know...”

6208583948, Male, 1997, International, ‘Keep Calm and Carry On’

In the case of *Keep Calm and Carry On*, it is partly the frequency of encounters with the poster that cause it to be remembered and partly the recency of encounters. Interviewees’ memories of seeing the image come from recent years and so are fresher in the memory.

However, even when encounters are in the distant past, if they are frequent enough, the memory and recognition is still strong. In the example below, the interviewee remembers frequently seeing *Dig for Victory* as a child during the war and so the recognition of the poster is very clear.

**Interviewee:** Yeah that one was on, my father had an allotment, and that I’m pretty sure that was on— there were two ways in, and I’m pretty sure that was on one of the gates if not both of them. I remember it quite clearly.

...

**Interviewee:** I remember it from my childhood. I’ve got quite a good memory [laughter].

**Interviewer:** Is it just that you saw it quite a lot?

**Interviewee:** Well yes I mean every time we had— when I went to St Margarets you passed the allotment to go to school, so you saw it every day.

TNA4410, Female, 1933, North East, ‘Dig for Victory’

The effect of frequent encounters in childhood of course depends on the memory of the individual. Another interviewee of a similar age recognised many of the posters and reported having seen them frequently as a child during the war but was unable to specify memories of seeing them, making it difficult to ascertain the true reason why they recognised each image. For example, in response to seeing *Keep Calm and Carry On*:

**Interviewer:** Do you recognise that?

**Interviewee:** Yeah course I do.

**Interviewer:** Do you have an idea when you first became aware of this?

**Interviewee:** No. It was around everywhere.

**Interviewer:** Do you think you saw it during the war?

**Interviewee:** Of course I did yeah. You wouldn’t see it after the war would you.

EB1154, Male, 1930, London, ‘Keep Calm and Carry On’



In this example, the interviewee recognises the image and believes they encountered it a lot as a child during the war, to the extent that they do not believe they could have seen it after the war. In the case of *Keep Calm and Carry On*, it is of course quite likely that the interviewee had encountered the image after the war, but they do not believe it is possible. This is the only clear example of how childhood memories can impact perceptions of an image's role in modern society. However, it raises interesting questions and demonstrates the difficulty in understanding the influence of frequent encounters with an image on a person's memory of the image. However, it is still a fundamental factor for ensuring a person actually recognises an image, even if they are unable to remember how frequent the encounters have been.

### Aesthetics

A key reason why images are recognised and remembered, reported by interviewees, is that they are aesthetically pleasing. When an interviewee likes the design, artistic style or colour of an image, they believe the image is more memorable. The importance of aesthetic value is mentioned frequently in the interviews, sometimes in passing and sometimes as the most significant factor. In the two examples below, the interviewees clearly demonstrate their aesthetic judgment of the images.

“But, this is memorable, the images, they really are, they obviously put a lot of— you know they're really great graphics aren't they, they really are, they've put a lot of effort into making the posters look appealing and attractive. Yeah, so I think that's why they stand out.”

*6165997579, Female, 1965, North East, 'Go Through Your Wardrobe'*

“Oh it's clear. It's not cluttered. It's very striking in its simplicity, yeah I think it's a fantastic image. And artistically it just works doesn't it. It's not straight down it's slightly at an angle, I think it just works so well, you've got counterbalance of weight, you've got a base, you've got different style, you've got, nah I think it's a superb image, I'd be very proud if I was the photographer that'd taken that.”

*LM1451, Female, 1949, Wales, 'Dig for Victory'*

Images with a bold and simple design are more likely to stand out when seen among other visual materials, and so it may be possible that they are more likely to be remembered and recognised when seen again. Images with designs that are positively received by viewers may also increase the likelihood that they are remembered, when compared with images that are disliked. These were certainly the design objectives of the creators of

these images in the MoI, who prioritised aesthetic appeal in their commissioning of posters (see section 2.1.2).

However, with all these factors, it is very difficult to identify exactly why an image is liked by an interviewee, whether this is due to the aesthetics of the image or other factors such as the interpretation of the themes and meanings communicated by the image and the pleasure of connected memories. Each of the factors described here are inevitably intertwined and cannot be isolated entirely.

### **Memory**

Interviewees do not directly report that their own connected memories might make an image more likely to be remembered and recognised. This is due to the fact that the question asked was not related to the personal but rather asked in a general sense ‘why do you think the image is memorable?’ However, reviewing the interview content more broadly, it is clear that interviewees have a stronger response to an image, and imbue it with more importance, when they have strong personal memories anchored to the image. The two examples below illustrate the impact of connected personal memories very plainly.

**Interviewer:** Any thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at this?

**Interviewee:** I remember my dad telling me about seeing the bombers, him saying something about the thousand bomber raids going into Germany, they used to go over, over the north east and he remembers counting them. Umm, so that brings to mind, also my uncle's dad died— in France in a— he was in a spitfire, so stuff like that, you know that there is, you have a personal link to these things that have happened.

*6165997579, Female, 1965, North East, ‘Let Us Go Forward Together’*

**Interviewer:** Are there any thoughts, memories come to mind?

**Interviewee:** My dad used to do Churchill impressions a lot [laughter]. So I just remember at dinner time my dad would be doing his impressions. I don't know why my dad started doing that, whether it was because it was something his dad used to do maybe after the war so it was passed down.

*EB2833, Female, 1982, South East, ‘Let Us Go Forward Together’*

In the above examples, interviewees quickly remember stories of family members when looking at the MoI images. These associated memories help to give the image increased

importance in the mind of an interviewee and so it is likely that the existence of these memories makes the image more likely to be recognised again.

The memories often have an element of emotion, which again makes the memories even more meaningful and important to the person remembering. There were instances during the interviews where interviewees demonstrated a clear emotional reaction in response to seeing an image and contemplating the memories connected with it. In the examples below, interviewees report feeling pride and patriotism when encountering an image. This again makes the image more meaningful in the minds of interviewees and makes it in turn more memorable.

“I do, I do. It's not what I remember seeing way back, but I've seen it more recently. I think, for those of us who have imbibed memories, and for whom it is as if we have lived through the war, because it is like that for me. Churchill saved us, and one feels very emotional [voice breaking and visible display of emotion].”

*6150025179, Male, 1943, London, 'Let Us Go Forward Together'*

“Think it makes me feel, nationalistic's the wrong word, but as if I belong to, you know, I feel British when I look at that— it's inclusive, it's the us.”

*LM1451, Female, 1949, Wales, 'Let Us Go Forward Together'*

It is, however, very difficult to demonstrate any direct causal relationship between attached personal memory, perceived importance and memorability; the observations made regarding this relationship are only ever indicative and require further study.

### 6.3.3 HOW ARE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION IMAGES INTERPRETED?

#### **Cultural memory**

The responses of interviewees to the MoI images in the interview phase support the concept of cultural memory outlined in 2.3.3. Interviewees draw on a wide range of different kinds of memory as they discuss the images and associated concepts. The signs within the images trigger memories which the participants are then able to communicate. The memories that participants communicate include direct episodic memories of personal experiences, memories of stories communicated by family or other people, semantic memory of information learned and memories of other cultural objects or artefacts. These different kinds of memory influence and trigger one another as the participant reminisces.

### *Episodic memory*

In the examples below, participants tell stories of particular episodic memories of events in their lives. These memories are triggered by observing and discussing signs within the MoI images. In the first quotation, the participant nostalgically describes her experience of visiting a restaurant with her mother and eating cakes. This episodic memory was triggered by seeing the cake stand appearing in the *Careless Talk Costs Lives* poster.

“We used to go to a lovely restaurant, mum used to take me when we went to Shrewsbury, and we used to go for tea and cakes at a black and white place when the ladies, all the waitresses were ladies as far as I can remember, black outfits little white pinnies white hats, I loved it because we had chocolate eclairs with cream, yeah, I wasn't allowed a meringue because they were horribly sweet things according to my mother.”

*LM1451, Female, 1949, Wales, 'Careless Talk Costs Lives'*

Following discussion of the meaning of *Grow Your Own Food*, in which the participant associates it with the idea of rationing, the participant proceeds to describe specific episodic memories relation to rationing. In the example below, he describes how he went shopping with his mother with ration stamps.

“When I was a schoolboy, I seemed to remember my mother actually did have a ration book. It went on to 1950, didn't it, '51? Yes, because I can remember going shopping with a ration stamps. As a little boy, you know, she took me shopping. But, yes, now that isn't just familiar that one at all, really.”

*TNA1841, Male, 1945, North West, 'Grow Your Own Food'*

This episodic memory appears to feed into more semantic memories, or knowledge, about rationing, such as the fact that his mother had a ration book and that rationing continued in Britain until 1950 or 1951.

### *Memories of stories*

Participants often discuss their memories of hearing the memories of others, often family members. They retell stories that have been told to them. In the example below, the participant retells a story told to her by her father about his having seen bombers overhead and counting them. The participant is likely able to imagine her father's experience through the story told to her and by retelling it, she is reimagining the experience, reinforcing this as part of her cultural memory of war.

“Umm, I remember my dad telling me about seeing the, bombers, him saying something about the thousand bomber raids going into Germany, they used to go over, over the north east and he remembers counting them.”

6165997579, Female, 1965, North East, ‘*Let Us Go Forward Together*’

The continual passing down of family stories is demonstrated very clearly in the quotation below, as the participant describes being told stories by her grandfather about his mother’s experiences during the war. It may be that her grandfather was telling her about events he witnessed involving his mother, but it is also likely that her grandfather was repeating stories told to him by his mother, thus creating a multiple generation link in storytelling. However direct or indirect the storytelling process, the stories still have imaginative power for the listener and still play a key role in the development of cultural memory.

“I think probably just again I’m sure my grandad has told me numerous stories about things that my great grandma would do during the war and you know how every single scrap was just always, you know, you never wasted anything and that’s something that my grandad has always kept to this day and has almost been passed down.”

6165982650, Female, 1992, East of England, ‘*Dig for Victory*’

### *Semantic memory*

The interview data presents many examples of semantic memory being called upon to help interviewees make sense of their other memories and clarify their perception of the Second World War. In the example below, the participant draws on their semantic memory about the war to describe what the government did during the war in relation to the role of women. He does this to assist in his interpretation of the *Women of Britain* image he is observing and also to situate his own semantic memory of his mother having ‘worked in the factories’ within a wider national historical context.

“Yes I know that umm, more or less at the beginning of the war, umm, the government was trying to get women into the factories, well first world war that was, umm, they got the suffragettes onto the government’s side, er, was it Baldwin I can’t remember, so I mean mum worked in the factories during the war.”

TNA1141, Male, 1942, West Midlands, ‘*Women of Britain Come into the Factories*’

### *Memories of objects*

Memories of other kinds of media and objects are commonly discussed in the interviews, as participants draw on these memories to make sense of the images they are viewing and to explain their cultural memory of the Second World War. In the example below, the participant refers specifically to her memory of watching a video at school about the war. The video itself acted as a form of storyteller, passing down the memories of others who experienced the wartime period, and specifically the story of women drawing lines on their legs to imitate stockings.

“I remember seeing in the video we watched at school the women would draw a line up the back of their legs with makeup or paint or something or even was it tea, they would rub tea over their legs instead of stockings.”

*EB2833, Female, 1982, South East, ‘Go Through Your Wardrobe’*

In the example below, the participant explains their idea of what it must have been like to be a pilot in the Second World War by referring directly to her memory of reading *Catch 22* as her source of information. The book offers an insight into the experience, which the participant uses to make sense of the image of planes flying overhead in *Let Us Go Forward Together*. Even though the participant explains that she does not know whether the book is based on genuine episodic memory of the writer or even knowledge about the Second World War, the text still provides her with an imaginative lens through which to interpret the image she is viewing.

“I’ve been recently trying to read *Catch 22*, that’s a hell of a wild ride, but the main character in it he’s American, but he’s a bomber I think pilot, yeah he’s a pilot in World War Two even though he’s American, but the way it’s written I don’t know if the writer knows anything about the war or anything but that just kind of intense fear, and that like lull before the storm of like flying in formation into battle.”

*6165982650, Female, 1992, East of England, ‘Let Us Go Forward Together’*

When considering ideas relating to economy and mending and making clothes in response to viewing *Go Through Your Wardrobe*, the participant below refers to a specific personal object: a teddy bear. The reference to this object in the discussion includes episodic memory of finding the teddy bear ‘the other day’ and also potentially the episodic memory of sewing the bear’s jersey during the war period. This object certainly acts as an anchor of memory for the participant and helps her to interpret the meaning of the poster she is viewing, in light of her own cultural memory.

“I did and in fact upstairs I still have a teddy bear I sewed all its jersey and its hat for. Just discovered it the other day in a box.”

*6140448209, Female, 1930, International, ‘Go Through Your Wardrobe’*

This coalescence of different kinds of memory for each participant when viewing each image enables them to make sense of the image in light of their cultural memory. On occasions, the memories are not closely related to the image or the subject of the Second World War but instead relate to more personal experiences and ideas. The interviews only ever offer a small insight into the large range of memories that form a person’s cultural memory of their own past and the past of their social group.

The responses clearly demonstrate that all participants have some form of cultural memory of the Second World War, whether or not they had any direct experiences during the war period or even relating to it. This supports my concept of cultural memory of events not experienced that was discussed in section 2.3.5. Those who lived during the war draw on their own direct memory of the period; however, even those participants also rely heavily on memory communicated by family, semantic memory and memory of cultural texts and objects to construct their memory. Those participants who were too young to have experienced the war period or the following decade rely entirely on memory communicated by family members and on cultural references.

When reviewing the transcripts of the interviews, it is clear that each person’s cultural memory is unique and comprised of a variety of very personal memories. Despite this, there are elements of their cultural memories which are very similar between the different participants. For example, many of the concepts associated with the MoI images and the stories associated with those concepts are found in multiple interviews, indicating that forms of collective cultural memory do exist. This homogeneity of interpretation varies depending on the image in question, but there are clear correlations with the concepts identified in the survey phase.

Some stories are shared between multiple participants in their cultural memories. The most common is the story of women painting lines up the backs of their legs in order to simulate silk stockings. This is mentioned by five separate participants.

“I remember seeing in the video we watched at school the women would draw a line up the back of their legs with makeup or paint or something or even was it tea, they would rub tea over their legs instead of stockings”

*EB2833, Female, 1982, South East, ‘Go Through Your Wardrobe’*

“I think my grandma told I think a story, one of the few things she remembers was people, instead of wearing stockings they'd just draw a black line on the back of their leg to pretend like they were wearing stockings, instead of wasting money on silk they just [laughter] drew a black line”

*6165982650, Female, 1992, East of England, 'Go Through Your Wardrobe'*

“I mean the women were very enterprising. If they got married they'd turn their wedding frock into something to go dancing in or— or they would colour their legs and put an imitation line down the back to make it look as though they were wearing stockings.”

*EB1154, Male, 1930, London, 'Go Through Your Wardrobe'*

“tights and stockings they were hard to get I believe, they were— you hear stories about them being on the black market and people using gravy browning and stuff like that”

*6143866229, Female, 1969, East Midlands, 'Go Through Your Wardrobe'*

“and you know the anecdote about painting a seam on your leg cos you didn't have any stockings.”

*NL2441, Female, 1946, Yorkshire and the Humber, 'Go Through Your Wardrobe'*

Another less frequently mentioned but connected story involves the use of parachute silk for the making of clothes and in particular wedding dresses and underwear.

“The Make-do and Mend stuff umm, I think you know you remember all the stuff about the gravy browning on the legs and parachutes turned into wedding dresses”

*6165997579, Female, 1965, North East, 'Go Through Your Wardrobe'*

“I mean I remember him telling me one story about a parachute, like a person had to eject out of a plane and he landed and a load of the ladies from the village went and like you know sort of divided up the parachute between and used that to you know patch things or make knickers out”

*6165982650, Female, 1992, East of England, 'Go Through Your Wardrobe'*

Participants draw on stories that have been shared through word of mouth by family members but also through mediated memory and other texts such as books and television. This reveals how participants rely upon a repertoire of cultural memory references which are shared by a social group to discuss the Second World War and explain their



interpretations of the MoI images. The way these stories were told in the interviews suggests that the participants expected the interviewer to share knowledge of the stories and thus share these elements of their cultural memory.

### **Associated concepts**

Many of the same key concepts that were identified in the survey phase are also found in the responses of the interviewees. Ideas of solidarity, stoicism and Britishness are all referred to. Solidarity is referred to 17 times, stoicism 10 times and Britishness 19 times. However, there are several concepts which are referred to more than these. Sexism (29), caution (26), femininity (25) and economy (23) are the concepts most frequently mentioned by participants. In general, the concepts associated with the images in the interviews are more varied than in the survey. This may be due to the fact that the nature of the interviews meant that interviewees were pressed to discuss all of the images in detail, rather than overlooking those they were less interested in. They were also more likely to discuss the images and memories in depth, due to the time allowed for the interviews, moving beyond the initial spontaneous interpretation that might have been recorded in the survey, and discussing a wider range of concepts and ideas in more detail. This was particularly the case for complex ideas such as sexism and femininity which the participants felt the need to expand on and discuss in detail, leading to large numbers of references to these concepts.

### *Dig for Victory*

The way interview participants interpret the posters from the Dig for Victory campaign has some similarities with the way survey participants interpreted them. The *Dig for Victory* poster is associated with concepts related to solidarity (9) and economy (5) and participants understand the meaning of the poster to be related to gardening, agriculture and growing food on the home front. The poster is generally interpreted in a positive, and sometimes nostalgic, way depending on the nature of the memories the individual participant has.

The following participant gave his general interpretation of the meaning of the image, and then proceeded to discuss his grandfather's experiences of working on the land, before responding to a question regarding his emotional response to the image:

“Well either you expect it on a sort of montage on yesterday with Jerusalem or something like that or Nimrod, but it does- I mean, it does, without getting overly sentimental there is something a bit proud making on it because of the

importance of the Second World War to the British psyche it's sort of like ah yes, the end of our empire and when we fought off fascist tyranny and that's not- there's a faint sense of national pride in a sort of endearing British way, not full on American fly the flag way, but yeah it is sort of what comes to mind and then thinking about the war.”

*6208583948, Male, 1997, International*

*Grow Your Own Food* causes more confusion for interview participants due to the multiple visual and textual signs within the image that build up a complex image that requires time for participants to interpret.

“I think that's slightly confusing, and the cookhouse I know that's a sort of military terminology but, I don't think you'd identify with that as much as you would with dig for victory.

...

No I think it's— I think, the simpler an image it has to almost be instant with something graphic, and this looks vaguely like the devil's pitchfork [laughter].

It's not clear enough.”

*NL2441, Female, 1946, Yorkshire and Humber*

Participants are less able to interpret clear concepts relating to the Second World War, but instead comment more on the design of the image, which is sometimes associated with modernity (4).

**Interviewer:** And then, are there any thoughts or memories come to mind about any element of that?

**Interviewee:** This weirdly looks quite modern actually, I wouldn't associate this as much with sort of like the word war two era, it's kind of with the like the gradient and the kind of like modern sort of imagery, like it kind of looks like modern graphic design, it doesn't look as kind of retro, and I think in that way it doesn't kind of conjure as much, like sort of memories and stories that my grandad's told me because it doesn't— it looks more seventies and eighties [laughter] than it does sort of like word war two.

**Interviewer:** So the fact that it doesn't make you think of World War Two instantly...

**Interviewee:** Yeah it kind of almost acts as a blocker to memories because it's just, it doesn't, because it has no link from imagery of World War Two, I'm kind of a bit like— other than kind of what the other one reminds me of it doesn't conjure anything new.

*6165982650, Female, 1992, East of England*

This image demonstrates how subtle and unique interpretations can be made when participants have the space and time to examine and consider the meaning of the image in an interview setting. One interviewee considers the sign of the cap resting on the table in this image and interprets it as meaning that somebody is missing from the table, and she therefore responds to the image with sadness.

“I couldn't figure what the cap is, I couldn't figure out what the object was, but that's a really powerful image, that's quite, that has an emotion to it, for me. It's like somebody's absent, it's like somebody's missing, which was the case people were away. It's very, also it's like kind of like very— it makes me feel like there's umm, it's more of a thought than a feeling though, it's like it's ordinary, cos it's an ordinary table, knife and fork, cup of tea, plate of food, there's a simplicity to it. It's the cap that's really quite powerful, that, somebody's missing, yeah somebody's away or missing, you know lots of people were missing.”

*6143866229, Female, 1969, East Midlands*

#### *Make-do and Mend*

Interpretations of *Go Through Your Wardrobe* also present similarities with the survey responses. Concepts of economy (16), femininity (14), and fashion (8) are commonly mentioned in the interviews in relation to the image. Again, like *Dig for Victory*, interpretations are generally positive when interviewees have their own nostalgic memories triggered.

Gender issues do arise in the discussion for some participants who are irritated by the fact that the image is aimed at women. In the example below, the participant recognises the inequality inherent in the assumption that making and mending clothes was considered a women's job during the war.

**Interviewee:** It's a very feminine thing isn't it. I mean I suppose I am quite old fashioned and it is quite, in my mind, brought up in a farming community it was the women that did the, was doing the needlework, now I suspect that could get people's backs up because it shows a woman.

**Interviewer:** It does.

**Interviewee:** And, you know, it's not impossible for men to hold a sewing needle.

*LM1451, Female, 1949, Wales*

The *Make-do and Mend* poster, showing the image of the doll, encourages very different reactions from the participants. The image is associated mostly with horror and creepiness (7). This is due to the interviewees associating the image of the doll with horror films, a more recent influence in their cultural memory which impacts their interpretation of the historical image. This interpretation causes some participants to dislike the image strongly and avoid viewing it or discussing it any further in the interview.

**Interviewer:** How does that make you feel looking at it now?

**Interviewee:** Intrigued, because I don't remember it. Also slightly creeped out, I felt like she's quite scary, which is probably not what she was intended to be like, but it's quite—I don't know, I think because today, we're used to seeing creepy dolls in horror movies, she does look a bit like a creepy doll, unfortunately. The way she's kind of staring off looks a bit manic.

**Interviewer:** Okay, sort of slightly negative.

**Interviewee:** Yes. Slightly negative, but not that I feel like it's a bad poster, I just think that viewing it today without prior knowledge, I'm bringing sort of another baggage to it of the scary doll trope in horror-fiction.

*6139902292, Female, 1987, South West*

### *Careless Talk Cost Lives*

The Fougasse poster *Careless Talk Costs Lives* is generally perceived in a positive way due to its design, upon which interview participants comment favourably.

“I love this. A, because Fougasse is a wonderful cartoonist. B, because it is a message and it has to be got across.

...

Because I'm so fond of Fougasse, my reaction is of, “I'd love to see some more of this.””

*6150025179, Male, 1943, London*

The concepts they associate with the image are, however, negative and serious, with espionage (10), caution (9) and sexism (7) being the most frequently referred to. The

juxtaposition of the humorous cartoon style and the serious message and the symbol of Hitler's face understandably cause mixed feelings on the part of interviewees as they experience some degree of dissonance in their interpretation.

*Be Like Dad Keep Mum* is another image which causes a great deal of confusion and disconcerts interviewees, leading them to not want to discuss it. Interviewees question the meaning of the signs in the image and find it difficult to come to any interpretive conclusions about the meaning of the image. Sexism (9) is a key issue which participants discuss in relation to the image as they are deterred by the misogynistic connotations of the slogan. In the example below, the interviewee is angered by the slogan and compares it unfavourably with *Go Through Your Wardrobe*.

“I hate the words here. I am not that diehard a feminist as you could see about the make and mend one with the little dresses hang up, it didn't worry me that she might have to do her man's trousers, but be like dad and keep mum? that just sticks. Even back then, there was a realisation that lots of dads, well they couldn't keep the family anyway it was mum who did all that, that sticks in the gullet I'm afraid.”

*LM1451, Female, 1949, Wales*

*Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb* also provokes mixed feelings, similar to those reported in the survey results, but in more depth. Interviewees vary in whether they like or dislike the image. Participants appreciate the design and the glamour (6) of the image, associating it nostalgically with movies (6), but some also recognise and criticise the sexism they interpret (7).

#### *Morale and recruitment*

The interpretation of *Keep Calm and Carry On* in the interviews is very similar to the interpretation in the survey. Participants associate it with Britishness (8), royalty (7) and stoicism (6), but also modernity (6). It is associated with modernity because many of the memories it triggers for participants relate to their having seen the image in recent years and associating it with recent events.

“Well there are wars we're involved in but we're not at war per say, but umm— no but interestingly, like one of the answers I gave earlier, in terms of the current threat level, not necessarily terror threat level being difficult, but the noise in the States and the kind of you know North Korea, USA, there's a sense of keep calm and carry on in that sense which is different to say four months ago or pre

November. But it's a situation that can apply to everything like stop catastrophising. I don't know if it's a phrase that appeals to me as a therapist as well you see, like my career kind of, you know and not— there are no crises just keep calm and carry on, breathe, we're all okay.”

*6143866229, Female, 1969, East Midlands*

Participants also record their irritation with the repetition of the image and also with the jingoism of the image. They recognise that it successfully conveys an idea of Britishness associated with stoicism, the ‘stiff upper lip’ and the monarchy, but they simultaneously express their displeasure at this simplification of national identity. This is discussed in more detail in the next section on identity. The frequent repetition of the image has impacted the way it is interpreted, often negatively, perhaps demonstrating the phenomenon of ‘desacralization’ described by Boudana, Frosh and Cohen and discussed in section 2.2.5 (Boudana, Frosh, and Cohen 2017, 1213).

*Let Us Go Forward Together* also encourages these mixed feelings, in a similar way to *Keep Calm and Carry On*, as participants recognise the national myth of the Second World War as Churchill’s War being communicated through the image, but criticise this interpretation. The concepts most associated with the image are Britishness (4), patriotism (4) and solidarity (5), but the way individuals interpret the image depends very much on their own personal memories.

“I don't know, I feel like I have mixed feelings about Churchill. In some ways I feel like he was a great leader, but I don't really like his politics. I don't know, for me Churchill now— there is a lot of baggage there. In some way I feel proud about the fact that we fought Second World War and that we won, and I feel like it was a noble cause, but I don't know. In a lot of surveys and things you have people talking about the Greatest Britain of all time and a lot of people will say Churchill and I don't know. I feel like he is elevated to a status which is perhaps problematic and probably would have been problematic even for him, because obviously it wasn't just one man that won the war. I would say this creates mixed feelings in a way. It's some sort of doubts, maybe reservations. It doesn't seem in general, as romantic as some of the other images as well. There isn't for me a feeling of nostalgia when I look at this image.”

*6139902292, Female, 1987, South West*

*Women of Britain Come into the Factories* is associated with the concept of Soviet Russia (8) due to its design features which have similarities to the designs of Soviet propaganda

(Slocombe 2010, 16). The image is generally interpreted positively and associated with positive ideas of female empowerment (8). This is discussed in more detail in the following section on identity.

### **Identity**

The relationship between cultural memory and identity is revealed in the interview responses. Interview participants interpret meaning from the images, which is informed by and helps to structure their own identities. Participants' cultural memory of the role of the different genders during the Second World War is revealed in the way they interpret and discuss *Dig for Victory*. The image is associated with masculinity by participants; the concept is referred to seven times in the interviews. However, some participants indicate a degree of ambivalence with this interpretation, because they believe from their semantic memory of the events of the war that women were more involved in agriculture and growing food than men were. This is demonstrated in the example below and may be due to the dominance of stories of the Women's Land Army in cultural memory of the Second World War.

**Interviewee:** It's a man's boot—and there's the sky behind and then he's digging. Which is kind of funny because I would've thought the women would have been doing most of the digging.

**Interviewer:** So it was surprising to see them using a man?

**Interviewee:** Yeah, I'm not sure why they chose that.

*EB2833, Female, 1982, South East, 'Dig for Victory'*

*Women of Britain Come into the Factories* also triggers discussion of gender identity. The poster is associated with the concept of empowerment (8) by interview participants. For some female interviewees, viewing, interpreting and communicating their interpretation of the poster allows them to communicate their own gender identity. One participant uses the word 'us' in her response to demonstrate her identification with the concepts and ideas communicated by the image. In response to a question asking what thoughts or memories come to mind when they look at this poster, she said:

“Women— sort of like empowerment and a sense of their liberation and I know that's not what that is meant to symbolise, I know she's looking more towards the men who are going to war, but that kind of image, it kind of signifies like a sort of sense of us finally, as women, moving forward a bit, breaking the traditional roles and breaking some boundaries.”

*6165982650, Female, 1992, East of England, 'Women of Britain Come Into the Factories'*

When viewed today by participants with an already accumulated cultural memory and set of beliefs, the image can elicit powerful thoughts and feelings for participants which help them to define their own gender and feminist identity.

*Dig for Victory* is associated with working-class identity by participants, due to their interpretation of the boot as a working man's boot. The colour red is also sometimes associated with socialism or the Labour party. One interviewee states that the image feels like 'very much a working-class image' and makes the link between the boot and the concept of working-class identity:

**Interviewer:** When you look at it, what draws your eye first?

**Interviewee:** It's the boot I think. The boot, yeah.

**Interviewer:** And you've kind of said what that might represent—

**Interviewee:** Yeah, yeah, the working class, yeah, sort of maybe that's what it would represent, yeah.

*6165997579, Female, 1965, North East, 'Dig for Victory'*

Another interviewee associates the red colour with the Labour movement, concluding that the image is intended for a working-class audience:

"I suppose red is striking, it's—tends to be an aggressive colour, it's a Labour colour, maybe there's a Labour sort of message in that. It's not aimed I suppose at the gentry—"

*LM1451, Female, 1949, Wales, 'Dig for Victory'*

There are also examples of interviewees defining their national identity in relation to the images they were viewing and discussing. *Keep Calm and Carry On* is most associated with the concepts of Britishness (8), royalty (7) and stoicism (6). Participants often use the terms 'we' and 'us' when discussing these associations, identifying themselves as members of the national community to which the image belongs. The image helps participants to define a shared concept of national identity and identify themselves with this concept. However, due to the nature of the interview process, participants have more time to reflect on their definition of this national identity than they did in the surveys. For this reason, participants reveal more nuanced attitudes to national identity and sometimes define their own personal identity in reaction to their perception of the shared dominant



national identity. In this example, the participant interprets an idea of British national identity from *Keep Calm and Carry On* but then explains that they feel a level of ambivalence and discomfort with this idea of national identity.

“It makes me feel like, yeah, yeah, yeah, pull together— and that’s slightly uncomfortable, in the sense of— in terms of nationalism, yeah, yeah, pull together, we will defeat enemies— that is slightly uncomfortable, now... It makes me feel like patriotic and that has a double edged sword, now, that’s a very, that’s an uncomfortable thing I think currently and I wouldn’t have felt that years ago— but at the same time it’s like this is part of my history, I’m English, I’m British, English, and this is part of my heritage.”

*6143866229, Female, 1969, East Midlands, ‘Keep Calm and Carry On’*

#### 6.3.4 WHAT MAKES SOME IMAGES ICONIC?

The concept of the iconic image has been defined in various ways and usually in terms of four core qualities. These include frequent reproduction, recognition by many people, emotional impact and the ability to refer to broad significant concepts beyond the image’s own individual components. Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright define an ‘image icon’ as ‘an image that refers to something outside of its individual components, something (or someone) that has great symbolic meaning for many people’ (Sturken and Cartwright 2009, 36–37). Tom Allbeson also defines an iconic photograph as ‘visual shorthand’ for a larger event or concept (Allbeson 2015, 532–34). Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites describe iconic photographs as ‘photographic images appearing in print, electronic or digital media that are widely recognised and remembered, are understood to be representations of historically significant events, activate a strong emotional identification or response, and are reproduced across a range of media, genres, or topics’ (Hariman and Lucaites 2007, 27). These writers agree on many elements of the definition, but Allbeson, Hariman and Lucaites, due to their focus on famous photographs from history, have a particular interest in an iconic image’s relationship with historically significant events. These theories are discussed in detail in section 2.2.4. Analysis of the interviews gives particular insight into how interviewees define the term ‘iconic’ in relation to MoI posters and why some are referred to as iconic and others are not. This leads me to a definition of the term iconic which differs slightly from those of the above authors and focuses primarily on the areas of meaning and perceived audience.

The discussion in the previous section has identified the frequency of reproduction, aesthetics and memory as being key factors that influence an image's memorability. These three factors are also important in determining why images are considered iconic, since for an image to be considered iconic by an individual, it needs to be recognised and remembered by that person. This will be explored in more detail below. There are, however, two new factors that are just as important for the definition of iconic: the speed of interpretation of an image and the perceived audience for that image.

### **Speed of interpretation**

The most significant factor for interviewees using the term 'iconic' to describe posters is meaning, and in particular the speed that they are able to interpret the meaning. The various objects and words present in each poster are all signs which can be interpreted in different ways by different interviewees; however, the collection of signs comprising the image as a whole must communicate a distinct meaning instantly to the viewer for it to be considered an iconic image. This is the most prominent factor and is demonstrated very clearly throughout the interviews and illustrated in the examples below.

“Well he's certainly an iconic image, so you'd see him and you immediately think to the war so yeah.”

*6165997579, Female, 1965, North East, 'Let Us Go Forward Together'*

“I also think it's iconic, as soon as people see that they think oh Second World War”

*TNA1141, Male, 1942, West Midlands, 'Let Us Go Forward Together'*

“So, if something's iconic, in that sense obviously an icon is something you look at it and you know exactly what it means so like an internet explorer icon, you look at the 'e' you know it means internet explorer, you look at that icon you know what it means. With this, although it's difficult, words, how can words be icons, but— it's the sense that you look at that shape and you know exactly what it is.”

*6165982650, Female, 1992, East of England, 'Keep Calm and Carry On'*

In these examples, it is the immediacy of the interpretation and the triggering of memory, that makes the image iconic. On viewing an image, interviewees have their minds immediately cast back to their cultural memory of the Second World War, whether that cultural memory consists of direct personal memories or family memories and knowledge of cultural artefacts.

Images that contain signs that are more contentious in how they are interpreted by different people can slow down the speed of interpretation. Objects such as the plate of food in *Grow Your Own Food* or the doll in *Make-do and Mend* confuse interviewees and cause them to spend time considering the meaning of these objects. This blocks the instant communication of an overall meaning, making them potentially less iconic. The signs in *Grow Your Own Food* are ambiguous in their potential meanings and so complicate interpretation. One interview reflects on this problem, explaining that the lack of imagery relating to the Second World War in the image means that memories are not triggered.

“Yeah it kind of almost acts as a blocker to memories because it's just, it doesn't, because it has no link from imagery of World War Two, I'm kind of a bit like— other than kind of what the other one reminds me of it doesn't conjure anything new.”

*6165982650, Female, 1992, East of England, 'Grow Your Own Food'*

In terms of the signs present in the image, it is not only the visual objects but also the text that has this effect. In comparing *Dig for Victory* with *Grow Your Own Food* in terms of how iconic they are, one interviewee explains that the complexity of wording in *Grow Your Own Food* requires some consideration to comprehend its meaning, compared to *Dig for Victory* where the meaning is comparatively immediate.

“Actually probably, you know, just show that [Dig for Victory] and people would know what it was referring to. You'd know, even just showing a part of that, you'd know what that means and what it refers to. You know, [Grow Your Own Food] supply your own cookhouse, every available piece of land, although this is more instructional, and explains what they want you to do, this you don't need, you know it's [Dig for Victory] only got three words but you know exactly what it's talking about, it's talking about— and presumably also it appeals to the emotion, rather than just oh what do they mean here oh they mean that. You know it's much more immediate isn't it.”

*6165997579, Female, 1965, North East, 'Grow Your Own Food'*

This links closely with Massumi's theories, discussed in detail in section 2.2.3, that factual language can 'dampen' the intensity of images (Massumi 2002, 25).

In other posters it is one individual visual element that signifies meaning and makes the image iconic. In *Let Us Go Forward Together*, Winston Churchill's face is defined as the reason the whole poster is iconic, because, in the opinion of the interviewees, he himself

is an icon of Britain in the Second World War. This feeling is implicit in some of the interviewees' discussions, but very clearly stated in others, such as the example below.

**Interviewer:** And would you describe it as iconic?

**Interviewee:** I suppose so. I mean Churchill is iconic so I suppose anything with him in you sort of have to consider it as iconic.

**Interviewer:** Why is he iconic?

**Interviewee:** Well he's the great steward who led Britain to victory. He's sort of the face of Britain at that time or at least Britain as a political power.

*6166008009, Male, 1998, East of England, 'Let Us Go Forward Together'*

An important consideration that was revealed by the interviews is the subject matter of which images are iconic. An image is not iconic without there being an assumed and sometimes unspoken concept or event that the image is iconic *of*. Thus, in many of the examples of MoI images, interviewees consider them to be iconic of the Second World War, so their minds are cast quickly to that cultural memory. However, other images have different and sometimes more specific meanings. Interviewees consider some images to be iconic of the British home front, Britain, or British stoicism or other concepts existing within the broader cultural memory of the Second World War. Some elements of the images signify concepts completely unrelated to the Second World War. *Keep Calm and Carry On*, for example, is often associated with modernity and modern issues, such as stress, as much as with the Second World War.

“Just— I wouldn't say it was iconic for World War Two. I know it is originally a World War Two posters, that was like dug up and touted around. Umm, but I definitely associate it more with modern times than with the war.”

*6166008009, Male, 1998, East of England, 'Keep Calm and Carry On'*

**Interviewer:** What do you think it means in the context of now, considering that's when you know it from?

**Interviewee:** Mainly just keep your temper especially when driving, just normal day to day.

**Interviewer:** So would you actually consider it as a wartime— as related to wartime?

**Interviewee:** No.

**Interviewer:** So if you describe it as iconic, you don't mean it's iconic of the war?

**Interviewee:** No, no.

*TNA1141, Male, 1942, West Midlands, 'Keep Calm and Carry On'*

Despite differences between interviewees in what they believe the image to be iconic of, it is still considered iconic by all. It is, therefore, not only the speed at which meaning is communicated, and not necessarily the homogeneity of meaning, but also other factors that influence whether an image is defined as iconic.

### **Perceived audience**

A core factor in the definition of iconic is the perceived audience. Images are defined as iconic or not iconic by individuals; however, the definition is not made in a vacuum based only on personal considerations but relies on the individual's conception of what others think. This connects with the idea, discussed by Boudana, Frosh and Cohen, that there is always an assumption that an iconic image will be recognised (Boudana, Frosh, and Cohen 2017, 1212). This is discussed in more depth in section 2.2.4.

The interviews offer many examples of how people refer to other people and wider society when deciding whether an image is iconic or not. The three quotations below illustrate how interviewees refer to other people when forming their opinion on an image's iconic qualities.

**Interviewer:** Would you refer to it as an iconic image?

**Interviewee:** Yeah.

**Interviewer:** What would you mean by that word?

**Interviewee:** Umm that it's very popular and that most people know it now.

*EB2833, Female, 1982, South East, 'Keep Calm and Carry On'*

"That is just instantly recognizable. In fact, I think anyone who's seen any of them, they would immediately say, "Well that's one of those posters." It becomes almost style icons and design icons."

*6208995313, Male, 1974, Scotland, 'Dig for Victory'*

"What I mean if that's like 100% iconic, but when I will say, that one, almost everyone in Britain, if not more, would know what that poster is and it's like such a classic."

*6139902292, Female, 1987, South West, 'Dig for Victory'*

If an interviewee believes that other people recognise and remember the image and they believe that other people share their own immediate interpretation of that image, then they believe that the image must be iconic. This relates to Benedict Anderson's concept of the 'imagined community' which enables people to identify as part of a socially constructed nation (Anderson 1991). In a similar way, interviewees imagine the existence of a society of people around them who share their encounter with and reaction to particular images. It is this perception of a larger audience that enables people to define images as iconic.

This relates closely to the kinds of meanings that images have the capacity to convey. An interviewee's own existing personal experiences and interests allow them to draw certain meanings from certain images more easily. Hence, for example, those interviewees who have experiences relating to economy and thrift quickly associate *Make-do and Mend* and *Dig for Victory* with these concepts and sometimes have a more personal and emotional reaction to those images. However, because interviewees know that those experiences will not necessarily be shared by many other people, they are, therefore, less inclined to consider those images iconic. Images are more likely to be defined as iconic by interviewees when the meanings they interpret from them are broader and more universal, such as Britishness or the Second World War in general.

There are some examples where interviewees recognise an image, interpret a clear meaning immediately and have a strong personal and emotional reaction to it. Despite this, they do not believe that it is iconic because they do not perceive an audience that will share their own reaction to the image. In the example below, an interviewee encounters *Go Through Your Wardrobe* and after discussing his own memories of thrift during childhood associated with *Make-do and Mend*, he states that the image is iconic but only to people of his own age. He does not perceive an audience beyond his own generational group that would share his interpretation.

**Interviewer:** And would you call this iconic?

**Interviewee:** Yeah, just.

**Interviewer:** In the sense that it's—

**Interviewee:** Showing it to people I think, well definitely my age, would say Second World War.

*TNA1141, Male, 1942, West Midlands, 'Go Through Your Wardrobe'*

Conversely, when an interviewee has a strong perception of a wider audience and how those people would interpret an image, they can define it as iconic, even if their own

interpretation does not match the interpretation of the perceived audience. Thus, during encounters with *Let Us Go Forward Together*, many interviewees have mixed feelings about Winston Churchill and offer complex and conflicting interpretations of the image; however, they still believe it is iconic because they believe that Churchill's face will instantly cast other people's minds back to a cultural memory of the Second World War. This suggests the perceived audience's interpretation is more important than the individual's personal interpretation in determining whether an image is defined as iconic or not.

In a different example, one interviewee views *Women of Britain Come into the Factories* and their own mind is cast to the First World War; however, they still believe everyone else would think immediately of the Second World War, so the image is iconic of this period. In this way, the interviewee's perception of a wider audience influences them to define the image as iconic, even if their own instant interpretation differs.

"I think it is iconic, because you immediately think of the Second World War, although I was thinking about the first world war after I'd read this."

*TNA1141, Male, 1942, West Midlands, 'Women of Britain Come into the Factories'*

These examples suggest that it is less an individual's own personal interpretation and more their belief in what others think that really influences whether an image is considered to be iconic or not.

### **Frequency of reproduction**

The frequent reproduction and display of images is a crucial factor in definitions of iconic as it feeds directly into the previous two factors. At the most basic level, a person needs to recognise an image in order to even consider that it might be iconic. Interviewees never believe that an image they do not know might be iconic because if they do not know it then it is extremely hard to imagine that others do. An individual, therefore, needs to have seen the image before in order to recognise it, and the more frequently they have seen it, the more likely they are to recognise it. In this way, those images which are frequently reproduced in popular culture have a higher chance of being considered iconic.

The scale of the impact of frequent reproduction is most clearly seen in the example of *Keep Calm and Carry On*. The poster is so frequently encountered by interviewees that, even if their own interpretation of the image is slow and ambiguous, they believe that the image must be iconic. The interviewee in the quotation below illustrates this very clearly.

“Probably because it's just everywhere and, umm— and it's become a thing on its own. It's not necessarily linked to the war, but it's linked to— it's become, you know, it keeps getting revived for all sorts of different situations—London Bridge—you start to see it all over the place so iconic in that respect.

Everybody's seen it and everybody has a fridge magnet of it,”

*6165997579, Female, 1965, North East, 'Keep Calm and Carry On'*

Even with images that are reproduced less frequently than *Keep Calm and Carry On*, if an individual's own experience leads them to believe it is frequently reproduced, this then encourages them to believe it is iconic.

“it's the only one I've seen reproduced, so much. So it must be quite iconic.”

*NL2441, Female, 1946, Yorkshire and the Humber, 'Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb'*

In the example above, the interviewee owned a reproduction of the poster *Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb* and her knowledge that the image is generally reproduced led her to believe it ‘must be’ iconic, even though it is likely that is reproduced less frequently than some of the other posters (see sections 2.1.3 and 7.3.4).

### **Aesthetics**

The way images are designed also impacts their iconic status, because it impacts the speed at which a person can interpret meaning from the image and the extent to which an image will be recognised. Simplicity is frequently cited among interviewee definitions of iconic. The simpler the design of the image, the fewer signs there are in the image; this consequently means that fewer meanings can be drawn from the image and there is less potential for confusion. A simpler image is more likely to have a universal meaning to those that view it, whereas an image with much to draw the eye is likely to have an increased diversity of interpretations. *Grow Your Own Food* is the clearest example of this, as the image contains many words and visual objects and interviewees interpret a wide range of concepts from the image.

When compared to *Dig for Victory*, it is clear that a simpler and more universal meaning is communicated more quickly, and this image is thus considered iconic by most interviewees, while *Grow Your Own Food* is not.

**Interviewer:** It's a bit more— complicated. It's a bit more— overdesigned, probably. Yeah it's probably why you don't see it, do you, you don't remember it.



**Interviewer:** So do you mean the meaning doesn't jump out at you in the same way?

**Interviewee:** Yeah, presumably what, you know, yeah, if you look at it you know obviously it's fairly obvious what it is, but it's a little bit over fussy. Yeah I don't remember having seen it.

**Interviewer:** What thoughts come to mind when you look at this?

**Interviewee:** Umm— I suppose, I quite like the supply your own cookhouse, you know the link between the very small piece of land, the size of the table and your— but yeah the message isn't anywhere near as clear as that one [Dig for Victory], although you know it's an important message obviously you can grow vegetables in any available plot, but, it's not...

*6165997579, Female, 1965, North East, 'Grow Your Own Food'*

Simplicity, boldness and colour are also factors that influence whether an image will be recognised and remembered, as explored in section 6.3.2. If an image is designed such that it stands out among other visual materials, it is more likely to be noticed and remembered when seen, and so this impacts its potential to be considered iconic.

### **Image and word**

In this analysis of the MoI posters, visual objects and text are considered in the same light as signs, which can signify meaning in the mind of a person viewing an image. This allows the images to be considered as a whole, as they are encountered by the interviewees. Different signs signify different meanings and are stronger or weaker in communicating this meaning. For example, visual objects on the table in *Grow Your Own Food* are weak at communicating meaning as interviewees are often confused by them and so offer conflicting interpretations. In contrast, Churchill's face in *Let Us Go Forward Together* communicates a clear and powerful meaning and so most interviewees share the same instant interpretation of this image, even if they subsequently describe more complex reactions to the sign as well. With words, 'Victory' communicates meaning quickly and clearly to interviewees, while 'dig', 'cookhouse' and 'keep mum' are open to a wider variety of interpretations and leave some interviewees unsure about their meaning, thus undermining or 'dampening' the power of the image (Massumi 2002, 25).

The iconic status of some of the posters depends more on their text than their visual objects and others vice versa. 'Dig for Victory', 'Make-do and Mend' and 'Careless Talk Costs Lives' are often defined as iconic phrases in their own right and the factors

contributing to this iconic definition as described above still apply to these text-based signs. Interviewees' responses to a poster with a famous slogan may be impacted by their memories of other media carrying this slogan that they may have encountered over the course of their lives. To some extent, this is due to the multimedia nature of the original campaigns, discussed in section 2.1.2. For some campaigns, there exists a wide range of visual, textual and aural material (including word-of-mouth memories) that might influence a participant's cultural memory.

Some posters, such as *Dig for Victory* and *Careless Talk Costs Lives*, are more balanced in which of the two elements—text or image—contribute more to their definition as iconic. Even though *Keep Calm and Carry On* consists almost entirely of text, it seems to owe its status as iconic more to its visual features than its words, since several interviewees state that it is still known even when the words are changed, illustrated in the below examples.

**Interviewer:** Any other thoughts or memories coming to mind?

**Interviewee:** Just that— that just— I used the word again, but that iconic font. That block font, just really, strong simple message. Bold colour and it just screams 1940 [laughter]. Which is why it's iconic.

*6208995313, Male, 1974, Scotland, 'Keep Calm and Carry On'*

“Now they've started changing the words haven't they. But even though you can change all those words, that still links back to this logo so it's iconic in that sense.”

*6165997579, Female, 1965, North East, 'Keep Calm and Carry On'*

These responses encourage consideration of how iconic images and words work within an image which is itself iconic. The participant above (6208995313, Male, 1974, Scotland) refers to an 'iconic' font' indicating that the font used is iconic in itself, which in turns contributes to the iconicity of the whole image. Other images in the selection also exhibit this connection. *Let Us Go Forward Together*, for example, depicts both Churchill's face and Hawker Hurricane fighter aircraft flying in a V formation. Both images can be considered iconic in their own right, but combined together, can only increase the likelihood that the whole image is considered iconic.

This can also be considered in relation to iconic slogans. Many posters include slogans, such as 'Make-do and Mend' and 'Dig for Victory', that were widely used on multiple printed materials and spoken on the radio. This has led to these slogans being

considered to be iconic in their own right. If considered in the same light as the image of Churchill, which had similarly been reproduced in multiple media, the use of an iconic slogan in a poster may encourage people to define that poster as an iconic image. In the case of *Keep Calm and Carry On*, it seems that the multimedia repetition of the slogan has only increased the likelihood that the original poster is considered to be iconic.

Conversely, however, it is possible that overuse of a certain image or slogan in multiple media may reduce the iconicity of a specific image, due to its reduced uniqueness. The *Careless Talk Cost Lives* poster is perhaps the most interesting example of this issue. The poster was one of a set of eight posters designed by Fougasse, each of which shares a very similar design, tone and message, encompassing the main slogan, background colour and red border. It is indicated by participants that, while they considered the poster to be iconic, they often could not be sure whether they remembered this image or one of the other images in the set. This suggests, and is outlined specifically by some participants, that it is the overall design shared by all of the images, encompassing both the visual elements and the humorous intent of the message, that is considered iconic. One participant referred to the set of Fougasse posters collectively as iconic, saying ‘the whole series is iconic’ and, when asked what he meant by the term iconic in this context, he stated:

“The phrase, it's the phrase ‘Careless Talk Costs Lives’, combined with the border and it's the particular font they all have, that's why it's iconic, and then the phrase just enters society really doesn't it.”

*6208583948, Male, 1997, International, ‘Careless Talk Costs Lives’*

### 6.3.5 CONCLUSION

The interview responses have provided a rich source of data with which to address the research questions. The depth of the interview process enabled me to identify various remembering processes which occurred as participants viewed the MoI images. The data also reveals, in far more detail than was possible during the survey, how participants interpret the MoI images, the meanings they associate with them and why. By inquiring into the reasons why the images are recognised and remembered, the research has also enabled the identification of a set of criteria for defining what makes certain images iconic. In this section, these criteria are discussed with consideration of the degree to which they contribute to an image’s iconic nature. In the final digital phase of this

research, these criteria are considered in relation to the way the MoI images are actually used in online contexts. By studying the uses of the images, I can consider the relationship between the criteria that might define an image as iconic and the media in which an image is used and is encountered. This presents an opportunity to present a more well-rounded conclusion on the nature of iconic images and the role of MoI images in particular in British cultural memory.

## Chapter 7: Digital Phase

### 7.1 Introduction

The fourth phase of research was designed to extend understanding beyond responses to the Ministry of Information (MoI) images to the actual uses of the images. The completed survey and interview research collected a body of evidence relating to the public reception of ten MoI posters. The results reveal some of the remembering processes exhibited and interpretations made during encounters with images. Analysis of the interview data has also enabled more detailed engagement with the core research questions relating to why images are remembered and why some are considered to be iconic. A new definition of iconic has been outlined, proposing specific factors which contribute to an image's probability of being defined as iconic.

To explore further the reasons why images are remembered and considered iconic, it is important to not only examine how people interpret the images and communicate their thoughts, but also to examine how and why the images are chosen to be displayed in public, particularly in the multiple locations in which they appear online. Through this exploration, the conclusions and definitions reached in the interview phase can be tested in relation to actual usage of the images as well as just audience-based self-reporting. By conducting a contextual analysis of the images online, I assess the extent to which their online use corresponds to the interpretations of members of the public analysed in the survey and interview phases and how far my understanding of the nature of iconic images and cultural memory is substantiated in actual image use.

#### 7.1.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this phase of the research are to investigate the kinds of web pages in which digital images of MoI posters appear, how and why they are used on these web pages, and whether there have been any changes in the way they have been used over time. The analysis of the interviews identified factors contributing to images' memorability and their capacity to be considered iconic. As a brief summary, these factors relate to meaning, perceived audience, memory, aesthetics and reproduction. The research objectives in this phase aim to investigate these factors further in the context of image use. The key objectives are:

- To understand what kinds of web pages the MoI images appear on
- To investigate the purposes to which the images are put

- To understand how the images are interpreted by web authors and web users
- To explore the definition of ‘iconic’ in the context of online image use
- To examine any changes in the use of the images over time

The investigation of these factors is designed to address three questions:

1. How are MoI images used online?
2. How are MoI images interpreted when they are used online?
3. How and why are MoI images recognised and remembered?

By collecting data to answer these questions, this phase intends to address the final three of the overarching research questions posed for this study, first introduced in Chapter 1.

## 7.2 Method

A summary of the steps undertaken to address the research objectives above is as follows.

- Conduct a Google Reverse Image search on all ten MoI images and create a dataset from the results
- Categorise web pages in the dataset and create a sample for analysis
- Conduct a contextual analysis of the content of each web page in the sample
- Conduct a Wayback Machine search on the web pages in the sample and review any changes

### 7.2.1 PREPARATION

#### **Metadata**

The ten MoI images which were the subject of investigation in the survey and interview phases were also the focus for this phase. Before conducting Google searches using these images, it was important to ensure that the image files used did not include any metadata which might influence the Google search. For this reason, the image files were downloaded directly from the Imperial War Museum and National Army Museum websites and then all metadata was removed from each file. The files were then uploaded to my own website at <http://www.lovelyoldtree.com/> and the URLs for each image were saved.

### Research browser

In normal internet use, Google searches are influenced by a variety of personalisation settings on the browser used. To use Google for research purposes, I needed to ensure that my searches were not biased by any of these settings. Therefore, a research browser was used for all research purposes. This was created with a fresh install of Firefox. I deleted all web history and ensured that I was logged out of all Google services. I then visited <https://www.google.com/history/optout> and disabled the ‘Customization based on signed-out search activity’ option (Digital Methods Initiative 2018). This removes personalisation on web history and social networks. To remove personalisation based on geographical location, I also entered ‘about:config’ and disabled the geo.enabled option.

The searches were to be conducted using the Google Reverse Image scraper. Using this tool required the installation of the DMI toolbar browser extension for Firefox (Digital Methods Initiative 2015). Once all of these preparatory tasks were completed, the browser was ready for me to begin testing the search process.

### 7.2.2 TESTING

I tested the process of data collection using the Google Reverse Image scraper to discover how to use the settings to obtain the results I needed. The first search was conducted with each image one at a time. The option ‘hide duplicate results’ was ticked and the maximum results set to 100. The date range was set to January 1990 to December 2017 to encompass all images.

It was found that setting a date range limited the number of results because only those web pages with recorded dates would be included. By removing the date range option, I would be able to gather more results, even though many of them would have no date. It is more important to have a wide range of results than to have dated results.

Even with ‘hide duplicate results’ ticked, there were still duplicates found in the data. These could be removed manually but it meant that it was important to increase the maximum number of results, so that I would still be left with sufficient URLs to analyse once duplicates were removed.

The search tool is based on Google’s normal functioning, so it will only extract a maximum of 700 results per search. In setting the maximum results to a lower number (such as 100), this presented the problem of a lack of information on how Google was selecting those 100 from the potential 700 it could collect. It would be more appropriate to allow Google to collect as many results as it was technically capable of, and I could

subsequently create a sample from the whole dataset. Thus, I decided to set the maximum results option to a number above the maximum I know Google could pull, so it was set to 800.

When the searches were repeated, it was found that there were slight variations in the numbers of URLs collected in each search. This could be due to the changes in the websites indexed over the course of time. To ensure that my dataset included as comprehensive a list of URLs as possible, I decided to create the dataset by collating the data from five separate searches conducted over five days.

To summarise, the following settings were used for the search process:

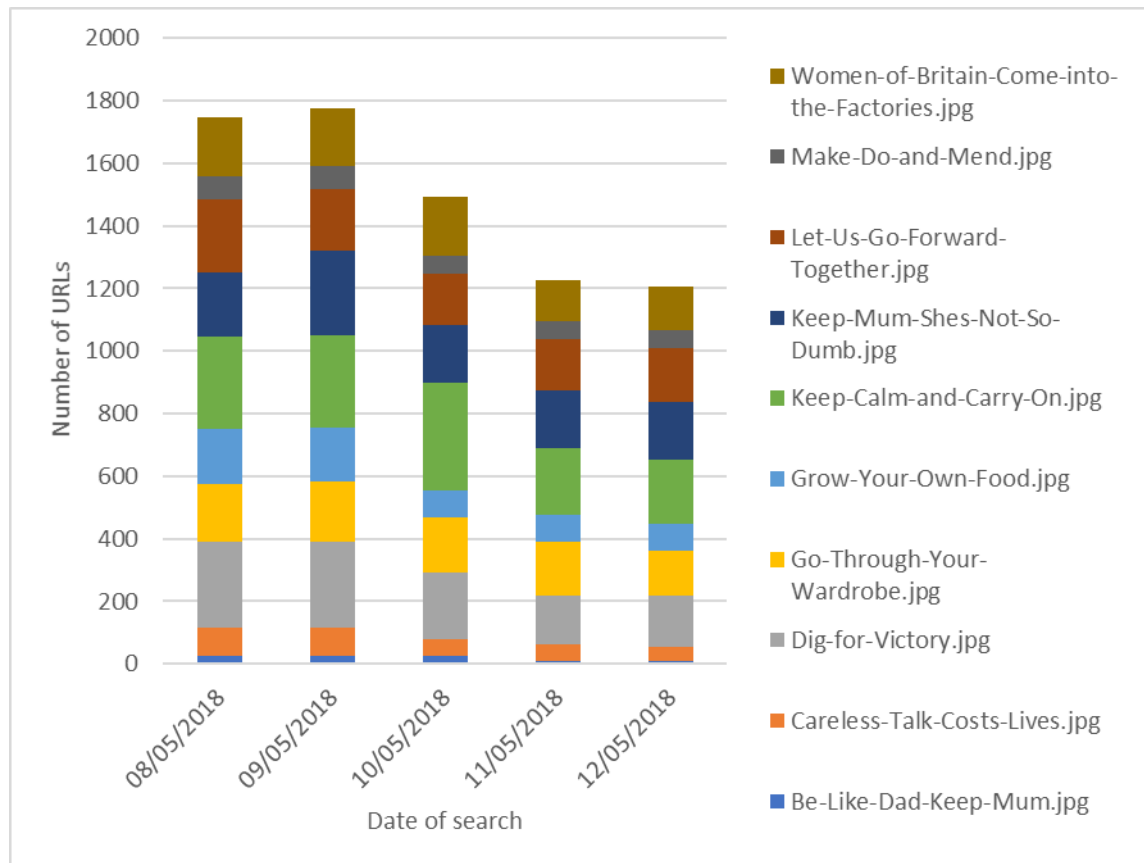
- Images searched one by one, repeated five times over five consecutive days
- Ticked 'hide duplicate results'
- Set to a maximum of 800 results
- No date range set

### 7.2.3 DATA COLLECTION

The data was collected in five batches between Tuesday 8 May and Saturday 12 May 2018. The chart below shows the number of URLs collected for each image on each of the five days. It is not known why the number of URLs is smaller in the searches that took place later in the week.



Figure 18 Number of URLs collected per day



Duplicates were found in the data and removed as below. These were expected duplicates, because the same data was collected repeatedly over the course of five days in order that, while many duplicates would be collected, as many unique values as possible would also be included.

If the image URL and the page URL were the same, then this was considered a duplicate i.e. it was an identical web page and image in question.

Table 25 Number of URLs collected and duplicates

Searched image	Number of URLs collected	Duplicates	Number of URLs left
Be-Like-Dad-Keep-Mum.jpg	92	63	29
Dig-for-Victory.jpg	1079	770	309
Go-Through-Your-Wardrobe.jpg	872	603	269
Grow-Your-Own-Food.jpg	605	410	195
Keep-Mum-Shes-Not-So-Dumb.jpg	1032	694	338
Let-Us-Go-Forward-Together.jpg	933	612	321

Make-Do-and-Mend.jpg	315	229	86
Women-of-Britain-Come-into-the-Factories.jpg	835	532	303
Careless-Talk-Costs-Lives.jpg	334	230	104
Keep-Calm-and-Carry-On.jpg	1349	929	420
Grand Total	7446	5072	2374

#### 7.2.4 CATEGORISATION

##### **Language detection**

The analysis of the web pages is based on the textual content of the web pages. Therefore, I only wished to include English-language web pages in the sample. To identify URLs which were non-English language, I used a tool created by the Digital Methods Initiative called Language Detection. This tool extracts the first 1000 characters on each web page and detects the language in which the text is written (Digital Methods Initiative 2014).

The results of this process were not comprehensive and there were many URLs where the language could not be detected, during the manual categorisation of each web page, however, I was able to identify and remove the remaining non-English language pages.

##### **Taxonomy for function**

The next step was the manual categorisation of each of the web pages in the dataset. The most important element of each web page that I wanted to categorise was its function. By function, I mean specifically what the web page was intended to achieve. Function was chosen as an important category as it enables me to understand the fundamental purpose to which the MoI image was put. For example, if an MoI image appeared on a web page with a retail function, it could be inferred that the page was designed to sell something for financial gain and the MoI image was assisting in some way in that function.

More precise detail regarding exactly how the image was assisting in the realisation of the function would be understood through the in-depth analysis, but categorisation of function at this stage would give me a useful overview. The other reason for categorising the whole dataset by function was that it enabled me to create a sample for in-depth analysis that contained a representative number of URLs for each function. A stratified sample could be created that took into account the proportion of URLs for each image and the proportion of URLs for each function.

I opened each URL and categorised it according to the following function taxonomy. Further discussion of these categories can be found in section 7.3.2.

*Table 26 Taxonomy for function of web pages*

<b>Function of web page</b>	<b>Description</b>
Information with comment	Information that is presented with a personal organisational comment, narrative or opinion.
Information without comment	Information that is presented without any comment - factual information, resources
Media	Page containing media for free use by visitors
News	Time-based information about events or new information
Retail	Page containing items for direct sale
Social network	Page to primarily facilitate social interaction

These six categories were devised gradually through several iterations. My initial categorisations include categories such as ‘blog’ and ‘business/service’ but it was decided that these categories tended to complicate and confuse the function of the web page with its format and its topic. It was important to keep these categories closely tied to the precise function of the web pages. Many pages had the function of disseminating information, but it was decided to break these down into ‘information with comment’ and ‘information without comment’ to distinguish between those pages which simply imparted information for its own sake, and those where the author wished to share some personal opinion, comment or narrative. These six categories allow the web pages to be categorised by their function with limited danger of overlap or confusion.

### **Taxonomy for topic**

In addition to categorising the web pages according to their function, which would determine how the sample would be formed, I also decided to add another level of categorisation which would be useful for the analysis. I wanted to understand what the primary topic of discussion was for each web page where the MoI images appeared. I reviewed those web pages which fell into the ‘information with comment’ and ‘information without comment’ categories and gave each of them an individual topic category. The taxonomy for the topics was devised gradually over the course of the process of categorisation. It was then reviewed to ensure that every kind of topic was covered, and it was consistently applied across the dataset. The final taxonomy was as follows.

Table 27 Taxonomy for topic of web pages

Topic
Academic research
Art and design
Books, music and the arts
Business and finance
Crafts
Crime, justice and espionage
Current affairs and politics
Economy, conservation and anti-waste
Education and teaching
Family history
Fan culture
Fashion
First World War
Food and cookery
Gardening
Health and self-help
History
Jobs and recruitment
Jokes and humour
Language and quotations
Lifestyle and relationships
Local and community history and information
Media and culture
Museums, heritage and tourism
No distinct topic
People and biography
Politics and current affairs
Propaganda posters
Religion
Science and technology
Second World War fashion and economy
Second World War food and gardening
Second World War general history

Second World War military and production
Second World War women and gender
Sports and leisure
Women and gender issues

### Categories for ineligibility

Webpages that fell into categories that made them ineligible for further analysis were also identified. Webpages were deemed ineligible for the sample if they met any of the following criteria.

- Non-English language
- Page error or redirect
- Pornography
- Image file only

### 7.2.5 SAMPLING

I aimed to create a sample of no more than 500 URLs from the dataset, which could then be analysed in more detail. The figure of 500 was selected as a suitable limit to ensure that I had sufficient time to devote to each URL in the sample. There should be a minimum of 20 URLs for each of the ten MoI images present in the sample. This was to ensure that my findings for each image were based on a significant quantity of data.

The sample was to be stratified so that it contained a proportional number of URLs for each of the ten MoI images (with a minimum of 20 URLs), and a proportional number of URLs for each function type.

First, the URLs deemed ineligible for further analysis were removed from the sample. The number of URLs removed is as shown in the table below.

*Table 28 Number of URLs ineligible for sampling*

Image	URLs	Ineligible URLs	URLs left
Be-Like-Dad-Keep-Mum.jpg	29	8	21
Careless-Talk-Costs-Lives.jpg	104	17	87
Dig-for-Victory.jpg	309	67	242
Go-Through-Your-Wardrobe.jpg	269	33	236
Grow-Your-Own-Food.jpg	195	41	154
Keep-Calm-and-Carry-On.jpg	420	114	306

Keep-Mum-Shes-Not-So-Dumb.jpg	338	112	226
Let-Us-Go-Forward-Together.jpg	321	69	252
Make-Do-and-Mend.jpg	86	7	79
Women-of-Britain-Come-into-the-Factories.jpg	303	56	247
TOTAL	2374	524	1850

### Manual sample size calculation

The sample sizes for the stratified sample were calculated using the following formula.

*Sample size of the strata = intended size of sample / size of entire dataset \* strata size*

The ‘intended size of the sample’ was 500, the ‘size of entire dataset’ was the number of URLs in the entire dataset (1850) and the strata size was the number of URLs in the particular strata in question (for example, URLs categorised both as *Dig for Victory* and retail = 73).

When this calculation was conducted, it was found that one image (*Be Like Dad Keep Mum*) had a sample size of just 6 URLs. This meant that the sample did not meet the requirement of a minimum of 20 URLs. To rectify this problem, this stratum was calculated separately to ensure the sample size was 20. The sample size for the remaining nine images was calculated together. The calculations are as below:

*[Be Like Dad Keep Mum] Sample size of the strata = 20 / 21 \* 21*

*[Other nine images] Sample size of the strata = 480 / 1829 \* strata size*

The results of this manual calculation can be seen in the table below. For *Be Like Dad Keep Mum*, just under 100% of the URLs were included in the sample. For the other nine images, an average of 26% of the URLs were included in the sample.

Table 29 Manual sample sizes

Strata	Strata size	Manual sample size
Careless-Talk-Costs-Lives.jpg	87	23
Information with comment	8	2
Information without comment	10	3
Media	20	5
Retail	30	8
Social network	19	5
Dig-for-Victory.jpg	242	64
Information with comment	64	17

Information without comment	47	12
Media	37	10
News	3	1
Retail	73	19
Social network	18	5
Go-Through-Your-Wardrobe.jpg	236	62
Information with comment	96	25
Information without comment	41	11
Media	13	3
News	7	2
Retail	45	12
Social network	34	9
Grow-Your-Own-Food.jpg	154	40
Information with comment	42	11
Information without comment	32	8
Media	20	5
News	1	0
Retail	34	9
Social network	25	7
Keep-Calm-and-Carry-On.jpg	306	80
Information with comment	142	37
Information without comment	18	5
Media	91	24
News	2	1
Retail	20	5
Social network	33	9
Keep-Mum-Shes-Not-So-Dumb.jpg	226	59
Information with comment	48	13
Information without comment	46	12
Media	28	7
Retail	45	12
Social network	59	15
Let-Us-Go-Forward-Together.jpg	252	66
Information with comment	36	9
Information without comment	23	6

Media	24	6
News	4	1
Retail	122	32
Social network	43	11
Make-Do-and-Mend.jpg	79	21
Information with comment	35	9
Information without comment	8	2
Media	13	3
News	1	0
Retail	8	2
Social network	14	4
Women-of-Britain-Come-into-the-Factories.jpg	247	65
Information with comment	44	12
Information without comment	28	7
Media	40	10
News	5	1
Retail	79	21
Social network	51	13
Be-Like-Dad-Keep-Mum.jpg	21	20
Information with comment	3	3
Information without comment	3	3
Media	1	1
Retail	10	10
Social network	4	3
TOTAL	1850	500

### Generating the sample

This process was then repeated using a Microsoft Excel tool called XLSTAT that would generate the random sample of URLs for each of the strata (Addinsoft 2017). The sample sizes generated were as follows.

*Table 30 Generated sample size*

Strata	Generated sample size
Careless-Talk-Costs-Lives.jpg	23
Information with comment	2
Information without comment	3



Media	5
Retail	8
Social network	5
Dig-for-Victory.jpg	64
Information with comment	17
Information without comment	12
Media	10
News	1
Retail	19
Social network	5
Go-Through-Your-Wardrobe.jpg	62
Information with comment	25
Information without comment	11
Media	3
News	2
Retail	12
Social network	9
Grow-Your-Own-Food.jpg	40
Information with comment	11
Information without comment	8
Media	5
Retail	9
Social network	7
Keep-Calm-and-Carry-On.jpg	81
Information with comment	37
Information without comment	5
Media	24
News	1
Retail	5
Social network	9
Keep-Mum-Shes-Not-So-Dumb.jpg	59
Information with comment	13
Information without comment	12
Media	7
Retail	12

Social network	15
Let-Us-Go-Forward-Together.jpg	65
Information with comment	9
Information without comment	6
Media	6
News	1
Retail	32
Social network	11
Make-Do-and-Mend.jpg	20
Information with comment	9
Information without comment	2
Media	3
Retail	2
Social network	4
Women-of-Britain-Come-into-the-Factories.jpg	66
Information with comment	12
Information without comment	7
Media	10
News	1
Retail	21
Social network	15
Be-Like-Dad-Keep-Mum.jpg	20
Information with comment	3
Information without comment	3
Media	1
Retail	10
Social network	3
TOTAL SAMPLE	500

The sample sizes generated using this tool were almost identical to the sizes calculated manually, which validated the process. This tool collated the final sample of 500 URLs into a spreadsheet ready for in-depth analysis.

## 7.2.6 ANALYSIS

### Contextual analysis

Each URL in the sample of 500 URLs was opened individually and carefully reviewed, with both the design and textual content considered. The analysis was conducted using a content analysis approach. Through close reading of the web pages, a set of categories of analysis was devised and is shown in the table below. The reasoning behind the creation of each category is indicated in the table. The approach was quite different from those used in the first three phases, due to the nature of the source material; however, the decision to include categories for ‘concepts’ and ‘reference to iconic’ were based on similar decisions made in the earlier phases.

*Table 31 Categories of analysis for web pages*

Category	Example notes	Reasoning behind category
General observations	Blog post discussing use of propaganda in historical and modern politics. Searched image is used to illustrate discussion of espionage.	This category allows me to record a summary of the content and function and any features that are interesting and useful to comment upon.
Image caption	Careless Talk Costs Lives	Recording the caption, where it is present and has been added by the web page author, enables me to see what information is presented directly with the image where it appears on the web page. This might give some indication of what level of information the page author thought was necessary for the image to be understood.
Reference to ‘iconic’	No	This category records whether the image is actually referred to as ‘iconic’ at any point. This should assist in uncovering which images are considered iconic and why.
Concept/s	Propaganda, caution, espionage, politics	These concepts are based on my interpretation of the use of the image in the web page and what concepts I believe the image is used to communicate. Where possible, these correspond to the concepts identified in the survey and interview phases.

Audience	Audiences interested in politics	The type of audience is based on my own interpretation of the audience for which the web page was intended.
Expected user knowledge	None	The expected user knowledge is based on my interpretation of the content present in the web page. I consider the quantity and kind of information present and whether this suggests the expectation of a certain amount or kind of existing knowledge on the part of the web page visitor, to enable them to fully engage with and understand the web page.
Used for aesthetic value	Yes	This is an indistinct and interpretive category, which enables me to identify when an image is clearly used primarily for aesthetic reasons, for example because its aesthetic value is being openly praised and/or it is being sold as a piece of artwork for display. Of course, aesthetic value may enter into decision making for all uses of the images, so for this category I am only identifying the clearest examples of aesthetic use with a 'yes' and leaving this category blank for all other pages.
Other images present	American and British posters	Here I identify the kinds of images which the MoI images are being displayed alongside, giving some insight into the way they are being used.
Alterations made to image	None	This category is to record any alterations made to the MoI images from the original, such as colour or word changes.

### Analysis using the Wayback Machine

The final stage of analysis involved the use of the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine and the Digital Methods Initiative's Wayback Machine Link Ripper to collect archived versions of the web pages in the sample and analyse these to see any changes in the content and design of the pages over time. The 500 URLs in the sample were entered into the Wayback Machine Link Ripper tool and the results were collected in a spreadsheet.

134 of the web pages in the sample were found to have archived versions in the Internet Archive and 1,018 distinct archived URLs were collected. The tool collected an average of eight archived pages for each URL that was present in the Internet Archive.

The archived pages for each of the 134 URLs were opened and reviewed together. I took qualitative notes for each URL on whether there were any observable differences between the archived pages and the current version of the page. This provided detailed information which could easily be reviewed to inform discussion of the results of the digital phase.

To provide more quantitative data regarding the changes observed, and to make it easier to find examples of different kinds of changes observed in the data, I categorised the URLs based on the notes taken. I wanted to quickly and easily identify whether or not changes had been observed and, if so, what kinds of changes. It was important to identify whether the changes were in the content or the design of the page and whether the changes appeared to be deliberate and made by an author or automated in some way. The following categories were devised and applied to each of the 134 URLs systematically.

*Table 32 Wayback Machine analysis categories*

<b>Category</b>
Automated content changes
Content and design changes
Content changes
Design and automated content changes
Design changes
No change
No searched image appearing
Web hosting change

This categorisation makes it possible to view the quantities of different kinds of changes over time in the web pages. It also makes it easier to locate examples of specific kinds of changes in the data to review and present in the results and discussion.

## 7.3 Findings and discussion

### 7.3.1 PROCESS SUMMARY

The digital phase was designed to expand on the findings of the first three phases. In these phases, through surveys and interviews, information was uncovered relating to the way MoI images are remembered and interpreted by people today. The digital phase was

devised to move the analysis beyond self-reported interpretation and towards usage of MoI images. The objectives of this phase were to understand how MoI images are used in online contexts, why they are used in these ways, and what this reveals about the way they are remembered and interpreted.

The digital phase involved the collection of data using Google Reverse Image Search. The data consisted of web pages in which versions of the MoI images appear. The tool enabled searches to be conducted based on the visual properties of each of the ten MoI images in turn. Using this process, 2,374 unique URLs were collected in total, each of which contained an MoI image, detected by Google. These web pages were subsequently categorised according to their function and topic, giving some insight into the uses of MoI images on the web pages. Web pages deemed ineligible for analysis (due to non-English content and/or technical website errors) were removed, leaving 1,850 web pages. The categorisation information on the function of the pages was then used to create a stratified sample of 500 web pages to analyse in depth.

Each of the 500 web pages was opened individually and notes were taken to record general observations on the content and structure of the web page. A content analysis was conducted, which involved systematically categorising the content of the web pages according to criteria devised to address the research objectives. These criteria are explained in detail in section 7.2.

The final element of this phase involved the use of the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine to investigate any changes and trends in the uses of the MoI images on individual web pages. The 500 URLs in the sample were entered into the Wayback Machine and results were collected on archived versions of these web pages. 134 of the 500 web pages in the sample were located in the Internet Archive and a total of 1,018 individual archived versions were collected. Each of the Internet Archive URLs was subsequently opened and notes were taken on differences observed between the different versions of the same web page.

The data from the analysis are discussed below in relation to the three research objectives for this phase. The research in this phase provides some insight into the uses of MoI images online, the potential reasons for these uses and the way the images are remembered and interpreted by web authors and web users.

### 7.3.2 HOW ARE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION IMAGES USED ONLINE?

This section explores the different ways in which the MoI images are used when they appear on web pages. The ways they are used relate both to their specific function, and to the thematic topics to which they relate. The reasons behind their uses are explored in detail in section 7.3.3.

#### **Functions of web pages containing MoI images**

Pages were categorised according to their function, to give insight into how they are used. The ‘function’ refers to my own interpretation of the primary purpose which the page was designed to fulfil. Hence, when a page contained products for sale, it was categorised as ‘retail’. Six categories were devised and are explained briefly below.

##### *Information with comment*

This category refers to web pages with the primary goal of presenting information to readers. The information could be on any topic, but this category requires the information to be presented with some form of personal comment, narrative or opinion. Hence, for example, a blog post exploring a certain aspect of history with some personal comment or explanation of how the information relates to the author’s life or experience would be categorised as ‘information with comment’. A blog post containing only factual information would not come under this category.

##### *Information without comment*

This category also refers to web pages with the primary goal of presenting information to readers, but does not contain any comment, narrative or personal opinion. Hence, information that is presented dispassionately as statements of facts, figures or other details would fall under this category.

##### *Media*

Pages categorised under ‘media’ have the primary goal of offering media content, in the form of image, audio or video files for viewing or download by users. Media files must be offered for no direct financial gain, or else the page would be categorised under ‘retail’.

##### *News*

Pages under this category contain information that is presented as a piece of news with a clear date of publication. The information must relate to specific announcements or events whose relevance depends on the time that the page is published.

*Retail*

Retail pages are those with the primary function of selling products to users.

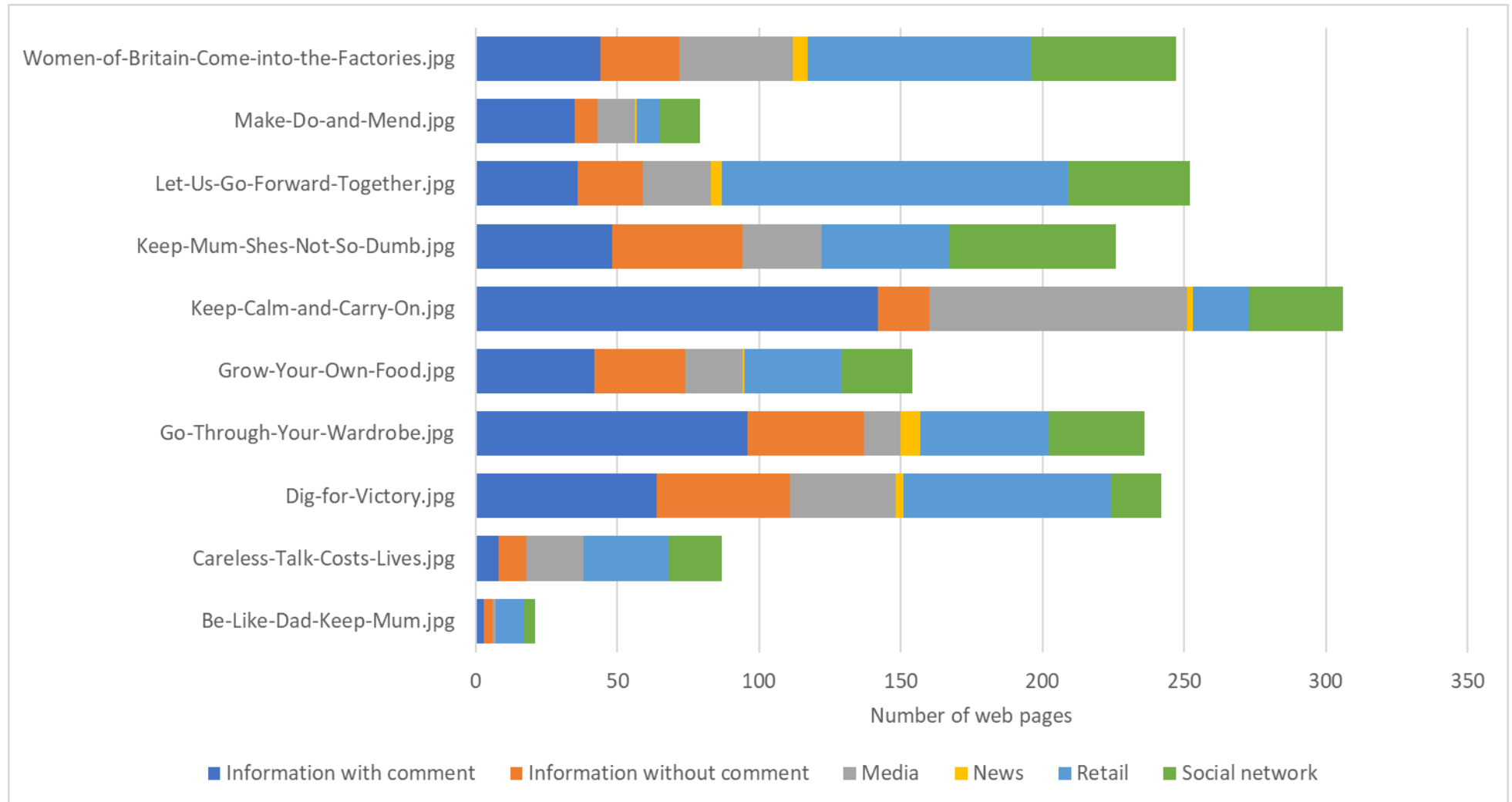
*Social Network*

Pages under this category are those designed to facilitate social interaction and networking among users.

The chart below shows the percentage of web pages in each category which contained each of the ten MoI images. There is some clear variation between the different MoI images and the kinds of purposes they are used for.



Figure 19 Functions of web pages containing MoI images



The images that appear in large numbers of web pages categorised as ‘information with comment’ are *Keep Calm and Carry On* and *Go Through Your Wardrobe*. This suggests that these images are commonly used as part of personal narratives and opinion pieces, such as blogs. The potential reasons for this are described in section 7.3.3.

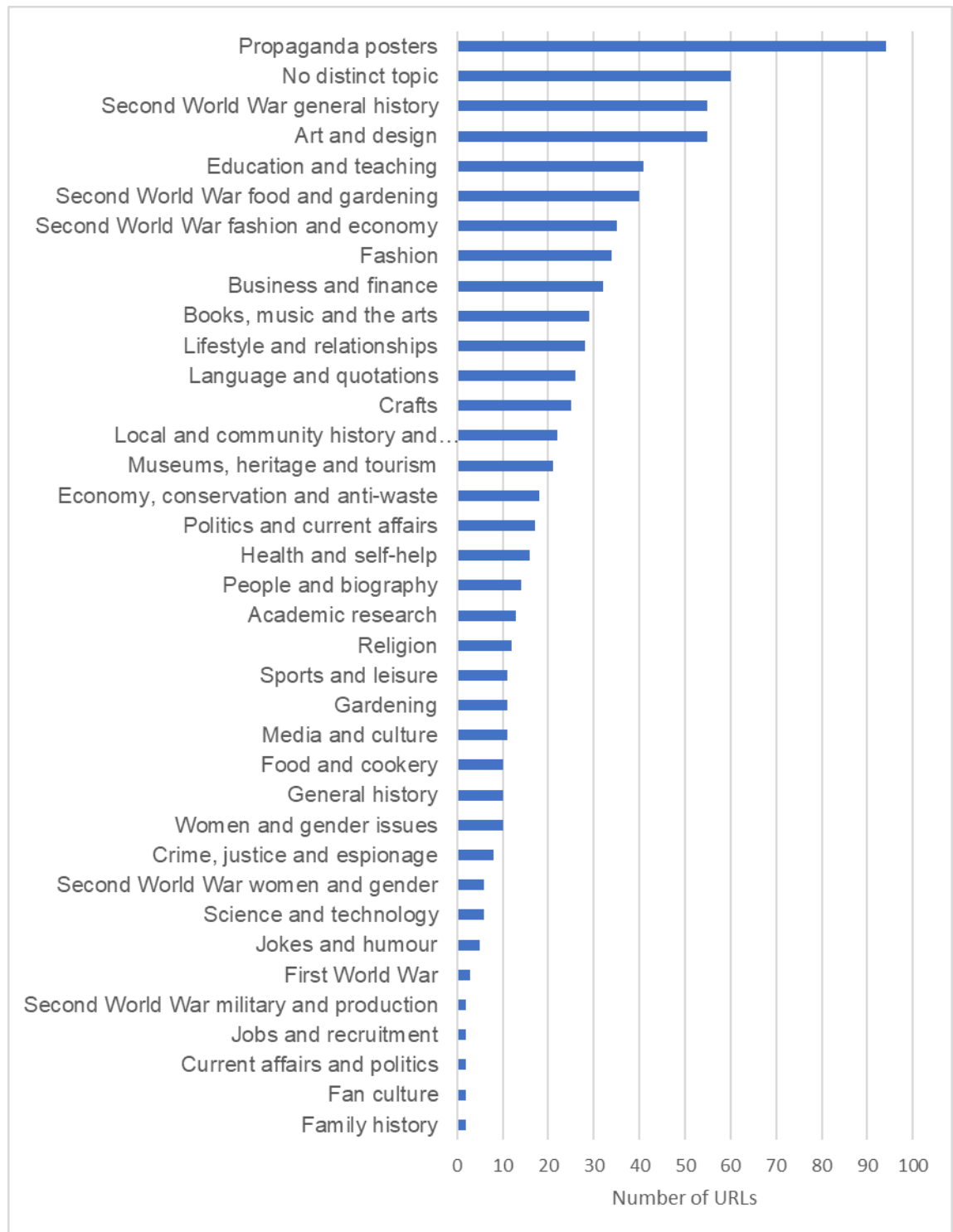
Those images used frequently on retail web pages include *Let Us Go Forward Together*, *Dig for Victory* and *Women of Britain Come into the Factories*. This might indicate that these images are considered to be more aesthetically pleasing and so appropriate to be purchased and kept as a product or image to be displayed. It may also mean that the slogans in the images are considered to be pleasing to be displayed and read multiple times as motivational slogans. However, retail websites can often include automated functions, as images are syndicated and offered as print options, potentially without any human decision-making involved. This issue complicates the results and more careful consideration is needed to fully understand the meaning of this data.

The higher number of instances of *Keep Mum She’s Not So Dumb* being used on social networks also raises interesting questions. The striking and controversial nature of the image may make it more popular for sharing on social media, but a deeper understanding can again be gained from the in-depth analysis. These numbers raise interesting questions, but they are only indicative of potential trends which require further investigation.

### **Topics covered in web pages containing MoI images**

For each web page under the ‘information without comment’ and ‘information with comment’ categories in the whole dataset, the content of the page was reviewed, and the overarching topic of the web page was categorised (see section 7.2.4). The chart below shows the number of web pages in the dataset on each topic.

Figure 20 Number of web pages on each topic



### *Propaganda posters*

The main topic of most web pages containing MoI images is 'propaganda posters'. These pages contain information primarily about government posters designed for propaganda purposes. They discuss the history, context, purpose and/or effects of the posters, focusing specifically on one or two posters or discussing many posters in a generalised way. This

demonstrates that the content which surrounds the MoI images on the internet is generally quite closely bound to the posters themselves and their contexts.

#### *Art and design*

Art and design is also a frequently discussed topic for web pages containing MoI images, although less so than propaganda posters. There are two images, *Grow Your Own Food* and *Careless Talk Costs Lives*, that appear in web pages discussing art and design more than those discussing propaganda posters. For these two posters, this indicates that audiences and authors are more interested in their design features than their history or any other feature. The importance of art and design as a topic of discussion for all the posters suggests that the images are often of interest to internet users due to their aesthetic qualities.

#### *Second World War history*

Pages which discuss the general history of the Second World War in some way also contain many of the MoI images. This indicates that in these contexts, the MoI images might be located in a special section of their own, relating to the campaign to which they belong, or are being used as illustrative material for the more general discussion of the Second World War experience. This supports the idea that the images are able to visually illustrate and represent a broader topic than their own specific context.

### 7.3.3 HOW ARE MOI IMAGES INTERPRETED WHEN THEY ARE USED ONLINE?

#### **Web pages designed to share information**

##### *Images as specific points of interest*

I will begin with those pages which give the most specific contextual information about the images. In the sample, six pages present the image as a catalogue item inside a museum, archive or library (URL0381, URL0783, URL0787, URL0788, URL0380, URL0784). These give some limited contextual information about the image presented. These are the pages where the information is most relevant to that particular image. There are also several pages which tell the story of *Keep Calm and Carry On* specifically (URL0765, URL0219, URL1721) and these are also pages where the information is closely related to the poster itself.

Blogs and other websites which are intended to share information about history, the Second World War or art and design are those which provide the most contextual information regarding the images. One web page is a specific blog post (URL1713) titled

‘Sh-Sh-Sh-Sh’ in a blog which is stated to focus on ‘British post war posters and graphics’ and contains among others an image of *Be Like Dad Keep Mum* in a discussion of the work of designer Freddie Reeves. This is an example of a page with a specific area of interest where specific detail is given about the poster’s history and design.

### *Images as illustrations of a topic*

In the pages referenced above, the interpretation of the images by the page author is usually narrow. They are artefacts with specific historical and design contexts and features which are communicated as points of interest in themselves. However, in the majority of instances where pages communicate information alongside an image, the image is used as an illustrative example of broader information. The information does not concern the specific image, but about the topic that the image is an example of. For example, one design blog post (URL0005) titled ‘Key Designs in Typography History’ contains a section on ‘1940’s Poster Typography’ where the poster, *Let Us Go Forward Together*, is displayed alongside other wartime posters. The posters are introduced with the sentence ‘With Typography being a bold part of poster design throughout Wartime in Britain and America, I found a number of bold examples of type’ and the style and typeface of the posters are discussed in general. In this example, the image is used to contribute to a body of visual material which helps to communicate the author’s understanding of the design conventions of a particular era. It is used as an example of its era and context but is not interpreted in its own right in any way.

Many web pages in the sample demonstrate how the images are used to illustrate and introduce discussion of the campaign for which they were designed but are not directly commented on or interpreted in any way. In one blog post (URL0578), which discusses a potential ‘return to ration days’, *Dig for Victory* is displayed within the text of the post, along with other posters, where the Dig for Victory campaign is referred to. The posters here help to visually illustrate discussion of the campaign, even though they are not themselves referred to. They are communicating to the user the concept of rationing and the Dig for Victory campaign or particular aspects of these concepts.

Other web pages show how the images serve as illustrative examples for more general themes than ‘Dig for Victory’ or ‘1940’s Poster Typography’. One blog (URL0023) titled ‘All you need is less’ discusses efforts to resist consumerism and reduce the number of material goods owned. It begins with a photograph of a framed poster *Go Through Your Wardrobe* leaning against a wall and surrounded by spools of cotton and sewing equipment (figure 21). Neither the poster nor the campaign is mentioned in the text of the

blog post. In this context, the poster is used simply to communicate the concept of anti-consumerism. No information relevant to the original context of the poster is presented, but only the overall meaning of the poster as interpreted by the author.

Figure 21 Image displayed on URL0023



It is also used to communicate the slogan of the poster in a visual way, directly encouraging readers to go through their wardrobes, a suggestion which is supported by the textual content of the blog post. The importance of the slogan is also reinforced by the fact that the only other image in the blog post is another photograph of a framed modern poster stating, 'all you need is less'. Posters, both historical and modern, are treated equally as effective tools to quickly and directly communicate a broad concept, such as anti-consumerism, and a command to reinforce the argument of the author.

## Emotion and meme culture

### *Images as communicators of emotion*

The use of *Go Through Your Wardrobe* to communicate a simple concept and command in the example above leads on to another important way in which some of the MoI posters are used: to communicate an emotion. The visual and textual content of *Go Through Your Wardrobe* ensures that interpretations of the poster are closely linked to the concepts of clothing, fashion, economy and so the way it is used in this web page, to communicate the idea of anti-consumerism, perhaps demonstrates the simplest and broadest

interpretation possible for this image. Other images, such as *Keep Calm and Carry On* in particular, have far fewer visual and textual links to specific concepts, and so the way *Keep Calm and Carry On* is used in online contexts is very often as a visual statement of emotion.

One clear example is a blog post titled ‘An Outrageous Start to 2013’ (URL0071) which discusses specific media controversies at the beginning of 2013. *Keep Calm and Carry On* appears without caption or any reference to it in the text amidst a discussion of misogyny in television. It appears to communicate the idea of trying to remain calm despite feelings of anger. Another similar use is found in a blog post (URL0166) written by a teacher preaching the virtues of speaking with a soft voice in the classroom to command attention. *Keep Calm and Carry On* appears at the end of the blog post, with the words ‘Maybe I should pick up one of these signs for my classroom’. The image is again communicating a feeling of calm in the face of stress. An article on a letting agent website (URL0248) titled ‘Student accommodation guide: When should I start looking?’ gives advice for students seeking accommodation in Cardiff. The article demonstrates most clearly how *Keep Calm and Carry On* is used as a visual emotional communicator. Just before the image is the line ‘Deep breath. Keep breathing. Yes, you. Breathe in, breathe out. Do it!’ and afterwards ‘Feeling better? Good.’ The image serves as a visual tool to communicate the idea of ‘don’t panic’ or ‘keep calm’ in the face of stress. It communicates in a simple and engaging visual way an emotion and an idea that is less effectively communicated through simple text.

### *Images as internet memes*

The use of MoI posters in this way shows clear parallels with meme culture, where images are used as rhetorical tools to communicate emotions, opinions, reactions and ideas in a more effective way than words alone can achieve. *Keep Calm and Carry On* can serve as a tool for an author to use when they wish to communicate their own feeling of contained anger or stress in reaction to the subject being discussed. The effect of the image, however, is more than the sum of its words; typing the phrase ‘keep calm and carry on’ would not have the same effect. It is the fact that the image itself is already known and imbued with emotional significance by author and internet user which makes it more effective at communicating the emotional state. It is this recognition and emotional significance that leads to comparison with internet memes. In his discussion of the function of internet memes, Patrick Davison explores how emoticons ‘contribute emotional meaning to a text’ and ‘represent the intent or emotional state of the person

transmitting them' (Davison 2012, 124). The particular nature of each image, however, renders it potentially more powerful and complex than simply communicating emotions to compensate for the lack of face-to-face contact. Davison argues that 'emoicons also add the possibility of a new level of meaning—a level impossible without them' (Davison 2012, 124). *Keep Calm and Carry On* can communicate more than the words present within it. Its existing popularity and the diverse ways in which it has been interpreted in the past by different people ensure that it is a more effective rhetorical tool for authors to use when they wish to communicate a subtle set of feelings.

*Keep Calm and Carry On* is used in this way in a large proportion of information web pages. There is only one web page in the sample which exhibits a different MoI image being used in this way. In a blog post titled 'London to Hastings this April' (URL0888), the author gives some details of a proposed bike ride from London to Hastings, illustrated with some humorous images. The MoI poster *Let Us Go Forward Together* opens the post, followed by the line 'Saturday April 16th or 30th, tbd. 82 miles. It'll take all day'. The image serves to communicate a sense of determination, a call to arms, a request more complex than the words in the image alone. The image of Churchill adds a certain level of meaning and emotional resonance, that make the image a more effective tool for communication in this case than any text the author might have included.

The MoI images differ in the degree to which the content they contain links them to specific times and places. They vary, therefore, in how useful they are to authors attempting to communicate broader concepts. *Keep Calm and Carry On* is the most detached from its context and is the most useful rhetorical tool to communicate emotion. Others including *Go Through Your Wardrobe* serve to communicate more specific concepts, such as anti-consumerism, but are still relatively detached from their contexts when used by authors of information web pages. Pages that actually include contextual information about the MoI images, beyond their being war posters, are relatively few. They are more useful as illustrative examples of broad ideas and trends and as communicative tools than they are as historically and culturally-specific artefacts.

## **Retail and media web pages**

### *Images as aesthetic pieces*

Web pages which have the primary function of selling products or sharing media files contain very little contextual information about the images they contain. Retail pages which are selling the MoI images in the form of art prints or other products give the title of the image and information about the quality of the print and the practical details



regarding its size and format. Very few pages give any information at all about the date of creation, the creator or any interpretation of the image. It is, therefore, impossible to understand how the buyers or sellers interpret the images. It seems likely that sellers collect a range of images of all kinds which they think might sell. This suggests that the seller probably does not consider each image in any depth. Buyers, however, will each have their own interpretation of the image that they consider buying and this cannot be gleaned from the retail web pages themselves.

It is, however, interesting in itself that so little contextual detail or interpretive information is included in the web pages. What it does perhaps reveal is that sellers do not believe that additional information is necessary to convince potential customers to make a purchase. There are several possible reasons for this. Firstly, sellers may not wish to impose any external interpretation or contextual information on the images, because they want potential customers to be free to make their own interpretations. If a seller gives too much detail about the context of an image, it may undermine the existing interpretation of a potential buyer and therefore discourage them from buying. Sellers might also consider the images to speak for themselves in the sense that they are so well-known by visitors to their web page, that no additional information is required. Another consideration is that sellers view the images as aesthetic pieces first and foremost. Sellers consider them to be aesthetically pleasing images to display and this is the main reason why they promote them to buyers, who they believe will agree with them and make the purchase. If the aesthetic value of an image is most important, then contextual or interpretive information will only detract from the main selling point. This is supported by the fact that the text on these web pages focuses primarily on the quality of the print rather than the image itself.

It is important to consider that much of the content and structure of retail web pages may be generated automatically. Particularly with the sale of art prints, it is the case that products are printed to order, so any image could be printed on the canvas or paper. The products visible on the retail page may, therefore, be generated automatically from a database of available images owned by the company. Consequently, it must be remembered that very little active thought and decision-making may be present in the creation of a page selling a print of an MoI image. Other elements of the page can also be automated based on the structure of the retail website itself, such as the 'related products' or 'Customers who viewed this item also viewed' sections which can automatically change to show different images. Even though elements of the pages may be automated,

it does not mean that analysis of the pages is ineffective, as the impact on the user is still the same. It is just important to realise that features of the page may not be due to the active decisions of a single author, as might be the case with other categories of web page.

### **Concepts associated with the images**

During the analysis of each web page in the sample of 500 web pages, I recorded the concepts with which the images were associated, based on the text surrounding the images. These concepts were identified and organised so that they would be comparable to the concepts recorded in the interview transcripts in the interview phase.

The ten most frequently identified concepts for the interview and digital phases respectively are outlined below. There are clear parallels between the two phases in the concepts referred to. Economy, femininity and Britishness are mentioned frequently in both the interviews and on the web pages in reference to the MoI posters.

*Table 33 Concepts associated with images in interview and digital phases*

<b>Interview phase concepts</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Digital phase concepts</b>	<b>Number</b>
Sexism	29	Economy	49
Caution	26	Food	30
Femininity	25	Femininity	26
Economy	23	Gardening	24
Britishness	19	Creativity	18
Class	19	Propaganda	16
Espionage	17	Britishness	16
Modernity	15	Calm	16
Patriotism	15	Design	15
Command	12	Fashion	14

### *Breadth of interpretation*

The figures do suggest that when used online, the MoI posters are associated more with broader concepts beyond the Second World War itself, such as food, gardening and fashion, whereas when they are discussed in the interviews, the concepts referred to are more closely tied to the images themselves. This is something to be expected because interviewees were being asked to discuss the images directly, whereas the text on the web pages often discusses broader topics (such as fashion and food) with the MoI images used for illustrative purposes, as discussed above.

### *Gender and class*

Another interesting difference is that the concept of sexism, which appears 29 times in the interview transcripts, is only clearly observed twice in the web pages analysed. This may indicate a level of acceptance on the part of web page authors of the sexist nature of historical images, meaning that they do not feel it is necessary to comment upon. It might also indicate, however, that the nature of the interview process, which required interviewees to describe their emotional reaction to the images, ensured that the sexism would be noted. The potential influence of the interviewer being female must also be taken into account in this case.

The concept of class was referenced frequently in the interviews but was not found in the text of the web pages. Like the issue of sexism, this could be due to the fact that the authors were not being asked to judge and respond directly to the images, as the interviewees were. The international nature of the web audiences might also have a role in the relegation of class as an issue to be discussed online.

The figures indicate these differences, but cannot be used to draw any definite conclusions, due to the obvious differences between the nature of the interview transcripts and the nature of the web page data.

### 7.3.4 HOW AND WHY ARE MOI IMAGES RECOGNISED AND REMEMBERED?

#### **Sharing and reuse**

Studying the uses of the MoI images on web pages cannot directly reveal the reasons why a user or web page author might recognise an image. However, it does reveal how the structure and operation of the internet can impact how people encounter MoI images and, therefore, how they might remember them.

MoI images appear in image search results pages and in collections of images designed for social media users and designers to use and share. In these contexts, the images they appear alongside are only related by a search term, which is often quite broad. For example, in the sample, MoI images appear in web pages under search terms ‘make do’ (URL1488), ‘careless careless’ (URL0001), ‘mend’ (URL0158), ‘calm’ and ‘pearl harbor attack’ (URL1491). This demonstrates how easily MoI images might be encountered by users searching for images with broad search terms and who have no specific intention to find wartime images or posters. Sixty-two Pinterest pages are also present in the sample, where MoI images sometimes appear among other propaganda posters and sometimes

among other less related images. Images on Pinterest are shared easily among users, often with little contextual information included in the caption.

Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that MoI images are discovered and shared easily online, through image collections and social media and can therefore be easily encountered by people without particular knowledge or interest in the specific historical context of the images. Some internet users may be discovering these MoI images for the first time online, with no existing familiarity with British culture or history, and learn about them in the context of social media and meme culture. The long-term effect of encountering the images primarily in this way, as opposed to encountering them at school, in books or on television, is difficult to determine based on this research data.

### **The use and meaning of ‘iconic’**

A key research objective for this study is to better understand what causes certain images to be considered iconic and why others are not perceived in this way. Definitions of ‘icon’ and ‘iconic images’ are explored in detail in section 2.2.4. For an image to be considered iconic, it must be recognised and remembered. The data from this phase contributes to my understanding of how ‘iconic’ should be defined and what the features are that contribute to the iconic-ness of an image.

#### *Use of the term*

The term ‘iconic’ is hardly used by authors of web pages in the sample. Only seven pages out of 500 mention the word. One clear reason for this may be that relatively few pages concentrate on discussing the images themselves, but, as discussed above, instead use them as rhetorical tools or as illustrative examples for discussion of other topics. For the term ‘iconic’ to be used by authors to describe the images, they need to be discussing the images directly in some way.

Two articles from the Daily Mail refer to images being iconic, one reporting the discovery of a photographic guide demonstrating war-time horticulture (URL0347) and the other reporting that an original *Keep Calm and Carry On* poster had been sold at auction (URL0348). In these cases, the writers are discussing the popularity of the images in themselves and so the use of the term ‘iconic’ makes sense. However, for most of the web pages where the MoI images appear within texts, they are serving as an active part of the communication itself and are not being self-referentially examined.

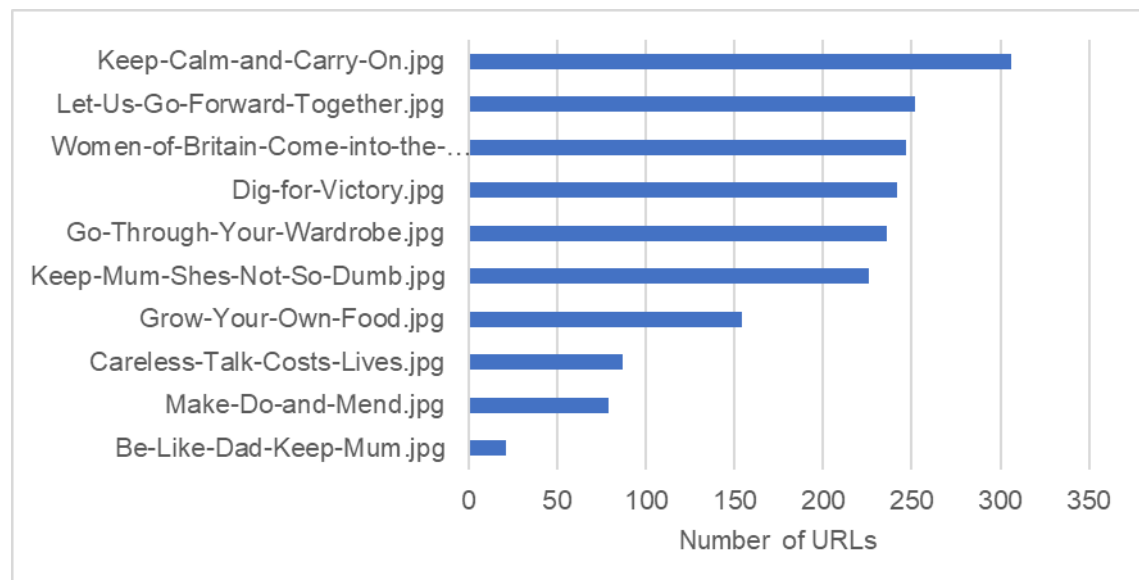
### *Iconic factors*

Regardless of whether or not the actual term ‘iconic’ is used, the data from this phase still helps to define what is meant by the term. In the previous phase, five factors were identified which help to determine why images are remembered and considered to be iconic. These are frequency of reproduction, aesthetics, memory, speed of interpretation and perceived audience.

### *Frequency of reproduction*

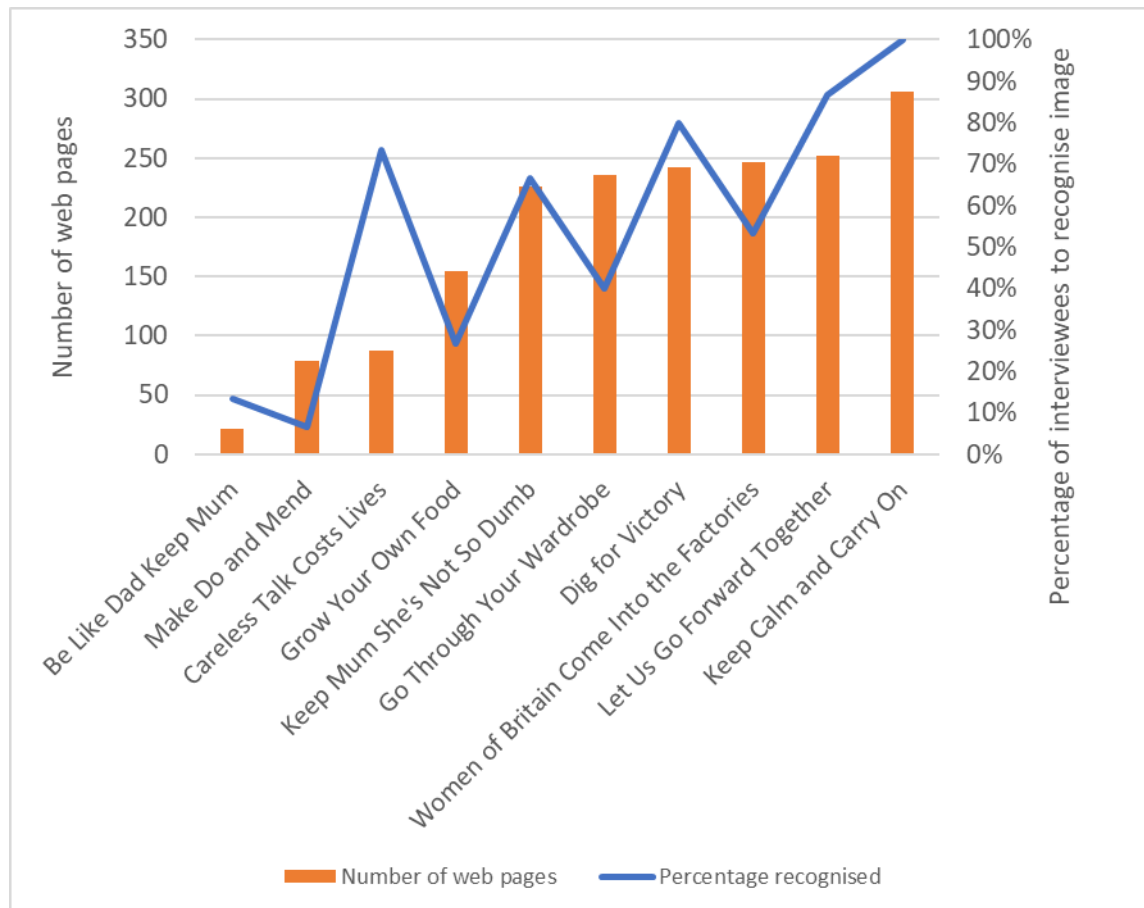
The data from this phase indicates that those images which are most frequently reproduced online are *Keep Calm and Carry On*, *Let Us Go Forward Together* and *Women of Britain Come into the Factories*. The chart below shows the numbers of web pages found which contain each of the ten MoI images.

Figure 22 Number of web pages containing each image



This generally correlates to those images which were most easily remembered by interviewees in the previous phase, but there are clear variations. The chart below shows the number of web pages collected for each image and the percentage of interviewees who recognised each of the ten images.

Figure 23 Number of web pages and percentage of interviewees who recognised each image



Images that are recognised more by members of the public are more likely to appear in a greater number of web pages online. This is most likely a two-way relationship; the more well-known the image, the more likely authors are to use it on their web pages and the more often an image is encountered online, the more easily it might enter the memory of web users. Frequency of reproduction is both a contributing factor to the memorability of an image and a result of that memorability.

#### *Aesthetic value*

In the interview phase, the aesthetic value of images was raised as a reason why they were memorable and iconic. In this phase, nothing definitive can be concluded from the data, because it is difficult to determine when images are being used or enjoyed for their aesthetic attributes and when they are not without communicating with authors and web users. However, I can tentatively suggest that the aesthetic value of an image does relate to the frequency of its appearance online, particularly in retail web pages. All of the ten images appear in web pages with a retail function, indicating that they are viewed as appropriate visual materials to be displayed in some way. The importance of the 'art and design' topic, as one which is discussed on pages containing the MoI images (see section

7.3.2), does also indicate that the images are viewed as artistic and design examples, appreciated for their aesthetic value.

#### *Recognition and memory*

Another feature of the definition of iconic is the extent to which images can be easily recognised and remembered by people. This phase of the research cannot provide any insight into this factor, because it does not involve any communication with users or authors of web pages, who could give information about which images they recognise and remember. This factor is discussed in some depth in relation to the data from the survey and interview phases (see sections 5.3 and 6.3).

#### *Speed of interpretation and perceived audience*

Analysis of the interviews led me to identify two new factors which I believe to be integral to the iconic definition and have not been noted by other scholars writing about the nature of iconic images. As well as frequency of reproduction, aesthetics and memory, the speed of interpretation and perceived audience for an image are also important factors. When a person views an image and the meaning is transmitted very quickly, allowing them to make their interpretation rapidly, then that image is more likely to be iconic. In addition, for an image to be iconic, those who use it need to believe that an audience for that image exists which will share their interpretation of the image.

From the data obtained during this phase, it is clear to see that some of the most frequently used images do exhibit these factors. Some of the images are used as rhetorical tools as part of written language to communicate emotions in reactions or to represent and illustrate simple concepts. In these cases, the author clearly expects the audience reading the content to understand the meaning of the image in the same way they do, and also to understand the image very quickly. The images are used as fast-acting visual containers of meaning to communicate concepts and ideas to readers more quickly than would be possible using words alone. This is discussed in more detail in section 7.3.3. Their use in this way does support the suggestion that speed of interpretation and perceived audience are important factors for determining the memorability of images and their likelihood of being defined as iconic.

#### **Changes in the use of MoI images over time**

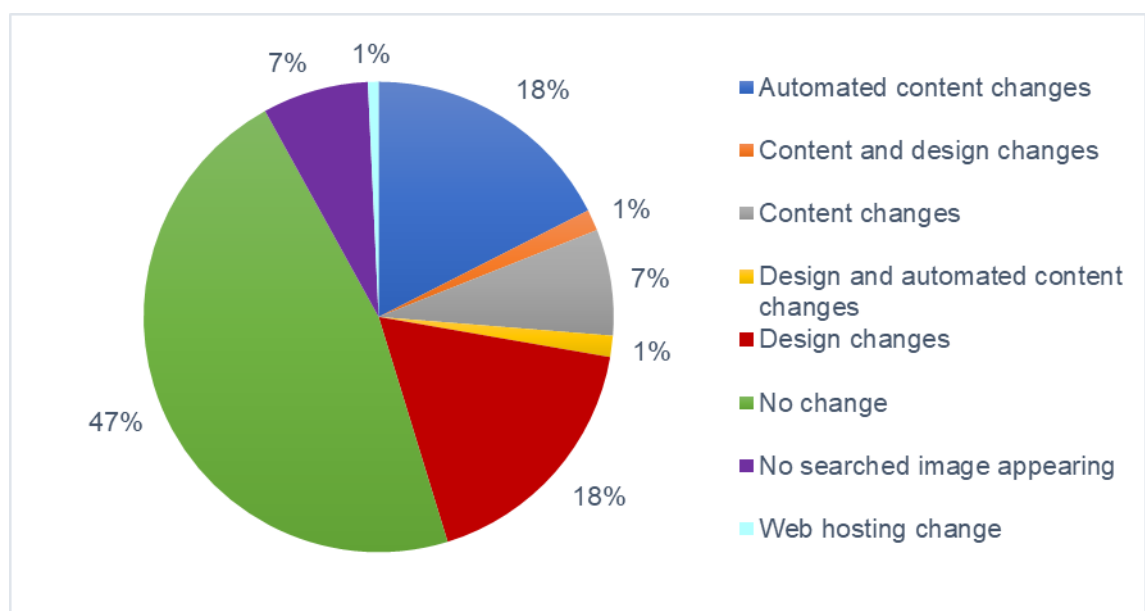
A key objective for this research was to understand how MoI images have been used and interpreted over time. It was, therefore, important to understand whether the nature of the use of the images on the web pages was a static phenomenon or something that had

changed since they were first published. Through the analysis in this step, I also aimed to gain a better understanding of the issues surrounding the study of digital images online.

The final stage of the process was to explore how the web pages in the sample have changed over time, using the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine to collect archived versions of the pages. The 500 URLs were entered into the Digital Methods Initiative's Wayback Machine Link Ripper. 134 of the web pages in the sample were found to have archived versions in the Internet Archive and 1,018 distinct archived URLs were collected.

Analysis of the archived versions of the 134 web pages revealed that the majority of web pages exhibited no changes over time. Of those pages where changes were observed, the majority were changes in the design of the web page, and automated changes in content. Automated changes include those changes which occurred due to changes in the contents of the database that populates the page. For example, pages which display blog posts under a certain tag change over time simply because new blog posts are created, and older posts are automatically pushed off the list of posts on the page. Additionally, in pages which exist to display images or products under a certain search term, the images or products visible change automatically as new images or products are added, and old ones become unavailable. These automated changes in content, therefore, are not due to any deliberate choice by a page author.

*Figure 24 Changes identified in the sample of web pages*





### *Design and automated content changes*

Although changes in the design of web pages and automated content changes are not necessarily made to deliberately affect the display of images, they still can have an impact on how the MoI images are viewed or not viewed by users. Blogs are redesigned giving more prominence to featured images, resulting in images being visible more often. These redesigns can sometimes result in images being displayed in different ways. For example, one Imperial War Museum (IWM) blog post (URL0789) demonstrates the effect of the redesign of the IWM website on the visibility of images.

Figure 25 URL0789, in 2015

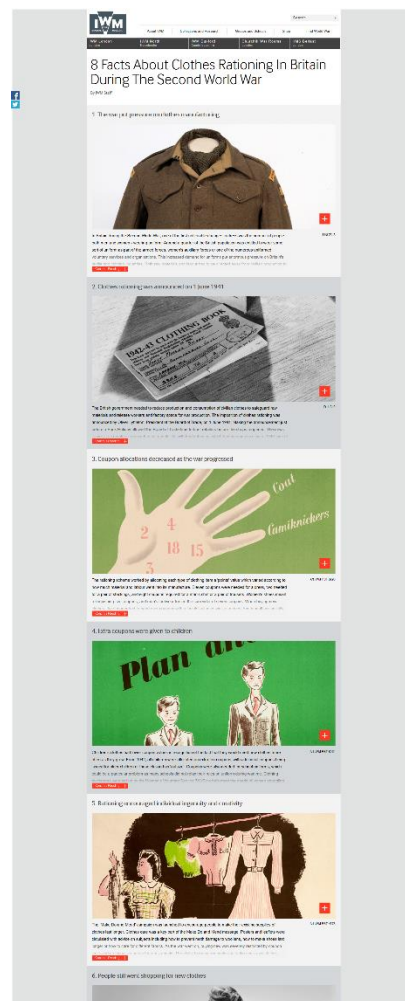


Figure 26 URL0789, in 2018



The post is titled ‘8 Facts About Clothes Rationing In Britain During The Second World War’ and subtitled as a ‘photo story’ in 2017 (see figures 25 and 26). The subtitle was dropped at a later date but was initially used because the post focuses on eight images from the museum’s collection which illustrate the eight facts presented. In 2015, the images were displayed such that they are cropped to be the same size and fit into a neat grid. This means that each image is only displayed partially and in the case of *Go Through*

*Your Wardrobe*, the text of the poster is cropped out and only the image of the woman's upper body and the clothes rail appears. This design choice would have affected all blog post images and impacted the contextual information that the user would be able to gather from reading the blog post. By 2018, the design of the page changed to include the entirety of all images, ensuring that no details were lost. What is unknown is whether the cropping of images was a consideration in the redesign of the page or whether other issues took precedence.

In retail web pages, automatic changes in the content in 'related images' or 'customers also bought' sections can give indications of changes in the way the MoI images are interpreted and considered. For example, a website called POPARTUK (URL1372) displays posters and prints for sale and demonstrated clear changes between 2013 and 2018 (see figures 27 and 28). In 2013, the page selling a print of *Come into the Factories* included a sidebar showing other IWM images. The images displayed are other propaganda posters. By 2018, this sidebar had been removed. This could be a deliberate decision by the designers of the website to give more prominence to the main image being sold on the page.

Figure 27 URL1372 in 2013

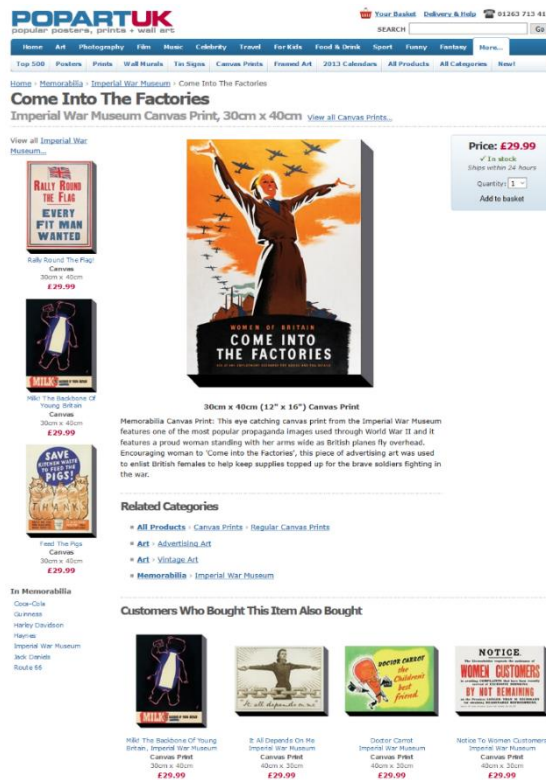
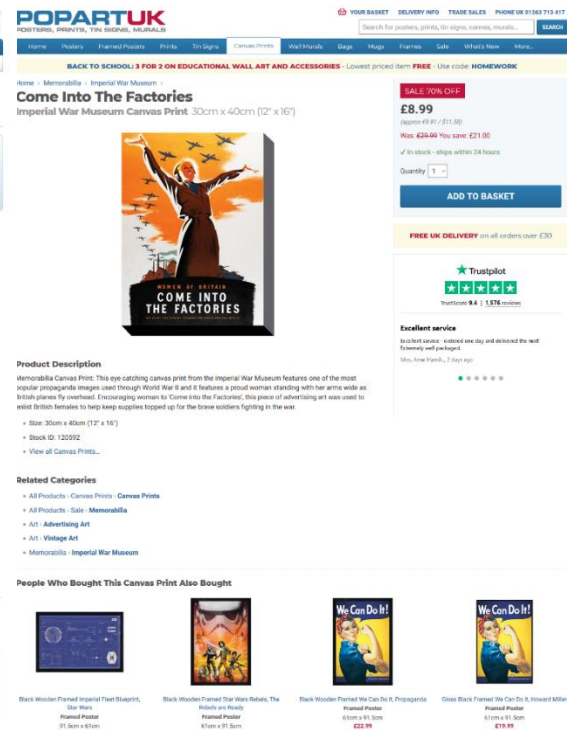


Figure 28 URL1372 in 2018



A section at the bottom of the page, 'Customers who bought this item also bought', does remain in place; however, the images included in the section are markedly different between 2013 and 2018. In 2013, the images are similar to those in the IWM section in

that they are all original printed material from the Second World War. In 2018, the images in this section include two Star Wars posters and two images of Rosie the Riveter. This change could indicate that the *Come into the Factories* poster has become increasingly associated with the concepts of women's liberation and empowerment that connect it to Rosie the Riveter. It might also suggest that the poster has come to be considered as a piece of popular culture, less connected to the specific context of the Second World War than it was in 2013.

Whilst these alterations indicate potential trends in the use of the MoI images online over time, the limited data means that these trends are not conclusive. Automated changes in retail pages occur quickly and so it may be that these pages need to be analysed separately from other web pages in order to track the changes in a more systematic way.

#### *Other content changes*

Changes in textual content in the web pages are even more limited. In the sample, there are just three examples where the MoI image is added along with new content at a specific point in the past. One website (URL0009) presents information about the Second World War based on personal experience. The page is titled '“Making do and mending’ in war-time Britain and the aftermath’ and over time new information and images were added to the page. Between November 2011 and March 2012, a new section was added titled 'New clothes for old' with a small paragraph on mending clothes. Between October 2012 and April 2013, an image of *Go Through Your Wardrobe* was uploaded and displayed for the first time (see figure 29).

Figure 29 URL0009, in April 2013

HOME SOURCES HOUSING EVERYDAY LIFE WAR SHOPS STREET SCENES PLACES CONTACT

by Pat Cryer (webmaster) a child at the time

'Make do and mend' in war-time Britain and the aftermath

Based on experiences in Edgware, north London in the 1940s

In general, people on the British home front during World War Two were innovative in the face of rationing and shortages. The mottoes were 'make do and mend', 'Be thankful and never grumble' - and 'Never leave any food on your plate'. This page gives some of the best known examples, but there were many, many more.

**RATIONING & SHORTAGES mid 1900s**  
how rationing worked  
COPING  
food rationing ...  
clothes rationing  
**shortages**  
petrol rationing ...  
luxuries & treats  
creative houseplants  
SEE ALSO  
the home front in World War Two

**CARDBOARD CAKE COVERS, ICED TO LOOK LIKE WEDDING CAKES**

A well-known example of cunning creativity, which I knew about as a child, but never actually saw, was the cardboard covers decorated with plaster and painted to look like wedding cakes. The reality was very different - see the photos. These cardboard covers were passed around from one wedding to another.

Above: Cardboard cover decorated to look like a luxury wedding cake.  
Top right: The cover lifted showing that it is hollow.  
Bottom right: The smaller cake is revealed.  
Photographed in Bushey Lincolnsfields Centre.

**FURNITURE FROM SCRAP WOOD**

As an example of making do, my early childhood bedside cabinet was an 'orange box' from the greengrocer. It was made of coarsely cut unvarnished white-wood slats which gave one splinters, hammered together with a few nails, like the one in the photograph. I doubt if it had ever contained oranges, so the name was not at all appropriate. 'Vegetable box' would have been a better name as all vegetables arrived at greengrocers in these boxes and were often displayed in them too. There were no plastic crates.

A typical upturned vegetable box, generally known as an 'orange box', used by greengrocers in the 1940s and which probably served as many a piece of furniture in the shortages of wartime Britain. One was my bedside cabinet.

**NEW CLOTHES FOR OLD**

Women became expert dressmakers and tailors. It was quite normal to 'decorate' tears and holes attractively from parts of other worn-out clothes and to cut down adults clothes to make clothes for children.

**SWAPPING AND BARTERING**

Although selling rationed things for money was classed as **Black Market** for which there could be a prison sentence, swapping was legal. So bartering came into its own in this time of rationing and shortages. People would swap things, most shops had postcards in their windows saying things like:

Swap two rabbits for a wedding dress.  
Babies cot swap for men's trousers.  
Peter Johnson

**WHY SHORTAGES CONTINUED AFTER THE WAR**

Shortages continued for several years after the war. Rationing did not end until 1954 and was actually more severe in the immediate aftermath of the war than in the war itself. Microbiologists have argued retrospectively over all this because this

Go through your wardrobe  
Make-do and Mend  
Make do and mend poster.  
Photographed in Swansea Bay 1940s Museum.

If you can add anything to this page or provide a photo, I would be pleased to hear from you.  
Pat Cryer webmaster

The image had the caption 'Make-do and Mend poster. Photographed in Swansea Bay 1940s Museum'. Over time, this section was expanded, and a new image added. The caption for *Go Through Your Wardrobe* indicates that it was a photograph taken by the website author at a museum and this encounter may have been the event that encouraged the author to include the image. This gives some insight into the relationship between museum objects (and the decisions of museum workers to display particular objects) and the authors of personal websites. A museum's decision to start displaying MoI images can directly affect their appearance online and the likelihood of users encountering them online.

*Lack of change*

Whilst a small number of individual examples of change exist in the sample, the majority of URLs have not changed over the course of time. What this does reveal is that Google Image Searches for MoI images rely heavily on images that were uploaded on websites many years ago. When a person searches for an MoI image, or for related topics such as Second World War propaganda, they will be presented with a range of similar images from a range of different websites which they can download easily without entering the website. In these cases, it matters little how old the surrounding content is on the web page so long as the image itself is visible and able to be reused. A small number of images need to be uploaded in the first instance and the reuse and sharing of images can then occur without new images being actively uploaded.

## Chapter 8: Conclusions

The research conducted in this study intended to investigate the role of Ministry of Information (MoI) images in British cultural memory. It was designed to investigate this area by gathering information on what occurs in the minds of British people when they look at MoI images. This approach was based on an understanding of cultural memory which assumes that cultural memory consists of a wide range of personal memories, family memories, memories of texts and artefacts and wider information which converge in the mind of the individual. The approach was also based on the idea that images consist of a combination of signs from which individuals could interpret meaning and to which individuals could attach memories and significance, thus influencing cultural memory and personal identity. These theoretical underpinnings informed the design of the research around the importance of inquiring directly into individual remembering processes by engaging with people in the moment they encountered the MoI images. Four research questions were developed to direct the investigation along these lines:

1. What remembering processes are revealed when individuals encounter MoI images?
2. How and why are MoI images recognised and remembered?
3. How are MoI images interpreted?
4. What causes some MoI images to be defined as iconic?

The selection of the main methods was therefore based on this theoretical understanding and these research questions and included semiotic content analysis, surveys and oral history interviews. Theoretical considerations of the importance of media to memory informed the decision to include a phase of research which involved investigation of the uses of MoI images online using digital methods.

The research was conducted in four distinct phases: the exploratory phase, the survey phase, the interview phase and the digital phase. The exploratory phase involved a content analysis of the responses to a 2009 Mass Observation (MO) Directive to reveal initial information about which MoI images are remembered and the remembering processes that were reported in response to questions about the Second World War. This phase informed the design of the survey phase. In the survey phase, five MoI posters were presented to 301 participants in a survey which asked whether they recognised the images, asked for the thoughts and memories that came to mind as they looked at them and asked why they believed the images might be memorable. This provided insights addressing the

research questions and was extended in the interview phase. In the interview phase, ten MoI images were shown to sixteen interviewees and similar questions asked to the survey but in more depth, revealing detailed information relating to the research questions. In the digital phase, the uses of the ten MoI images online were investigated using Google's reverse image lookup functionality and the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine. 2,374 unique URLs were categorised and a sample of 500 URLs were analysed in depth. This research expanded some of the findings from the other phases relating to the research questions.

The research findings addressed the first research question effectively by offering many examples, from the survey and interview data, of the kinds of remembering processes which occur when a participant views and responds to a MoI image. These are discussed in detail in sections 5.3.3 and 6.3.1. These revealed thought processes also offered fruitful information on the main reasons why some of the MoI images have entered and remained in the cultural memory of participants, addressing the second research question. This information in turn informs our understanding of why certain images are referred to as 'iconic' and what this term means. This survey and interview research, when considered with the findings from the digital phase, has allowed for specific criteria to be identified which assess an image's likelihood of being defined as 'iconic', thus addressing the fourth research question. The research conducted in the survey, interview and digital phases has all contributed to a more nuanced understanding of how the MoI images are interpreted by people who view and use them and, in turn, how these images fit into cultural memory and the construction of identity, thus addressing the third research question.

In the following section, each of the four research questions is addressed in turn with a summary of the findings from all phases of research. Following this, the methodological conclusions, limitations of the research and a summary of its original contribution are presented and discussed. Finally, potential applications of the research findings and areas of future research are proposed.

## **8.1 What remembering processes are revealed when individuals encounter Ministry of Information images?**

The responses from participants in the survey and interviews demonstrate several remembering processes which fit into the conception of cultural memory outlined in section 2.3. Participants demonstrate how they extrapolate from their semantic memory, through the interpretation of meaning from specific signs in the images, to episodic

memory, as they remember and relate specific related experiences from their lives. They then expand the discussion to draw in a wider range of memories, including memories communicated from other people and memories of other cultural objects. This process is explained in more detail related to the survey responses in section 5.3.3 and in relation to the interview data in section 6.3.1. These processes support the conception that cultural memory consists of the coalescence of different kinds of memory including episodic and semantic memory and memories communicated socially and through media.

There is also evidence in the surveys and interviews relating to the way the MoI images function as anchors of memory. Due to the reproduction of the same images over time throughout the lives of participants, memories can be connected to the image and built up over time. Then on encountering an image again, they are able to trigger these memories again and encourage deep reflection in the mind of a participant on their cultural memory. This process is also discussed in detail in sections 5.3.3 and 6.3.1.

The temporal context in which surveys and interviews were conducted had some demonstrable impact on the thought processes of participants. There is evidence of current events and concerns, relating to politics and terrorism, influencing the way people think about the past and also recent media, specifically film, informing visions of events of the Second World War. These observations are discussed in sections 5.3.3 and 6.3.1.

## **8.2 How and why are Ministry of Information images recognised and remembered?**

This research question was concerned with the reasons why MoI images have entered and remained in the memories of people in Britain. The findings in relation to this question give some initial insight into the role of the MoI images in British cultural memory and also contribute to the conclusions drawn about the definition of the term ‘iconic’ discussed in more detail in section 8.4. To summarise the findings in relation to this question, certain MoI images entered the memories of British people when they were seen multiple times and/or made a sufficient emotional and cultural impact on those who viewed them. The two key factors, identified in this research, that contribute to an image’s ability to be recognised and remembered by participants are the frequency of an image’s reproduction and an image’s emotional and cultural impact. These two key reasons are discussed in more detail below.



### 8.2.1 FREQUENCY OF REPRODUCTION

This research has found that the frequency of the reproduction of MoI images contributes directly to their likelihood of being recognised and remembered by people in Britain. The findings from this research indicate that those MoI images that are most commonly recognised and remembered by participants are encountered more frequently by them than those images which are less commonly recognised and remembered. Frequency of reproduction is referenced often by survey and interview participants as a reason for the MoI images being remembered (see sections 5.3.1, 6.3.2). In addition, the survey and interview data indicate which of the MoI images are recognised most by participants and this correlates with which images are most frequently reproduced online (see section 7.3.4). These findings support the supposition that those images which are frequently reproduced, and therefore encountered more frequently by people in Britain, are more easily recognised and remembered by those people.

It does not necessarily matter how long an image has been in media circulation for it to enter and remain in British cultural memory. *Keep Calm and Carry On* was only displayed widely within the last decade, while the display of other posters has been narrower but more consistent over many decades. However, the findings of this research prove that *Keep Calm and Carry On* is highly recognised and remembered and so has entered cultural memory (5.3.1) and there is no evidence from this research that the level of recognition of an image is impacted by the duration of its display.

This research demonstrates that MoI images usually enter people's memories in a subtle way, as part of a broad background of visual media. The research findings suggest that most research participants could not remember where they had first seen the MoI images or even give specific examples of places and times where they remember seeing them (6.3.2). MoI images have entered people's memories gradually and subtly, through a steady stream of unremarkable encounters with the images in daily life which, through a process of accretion, build up to create a cultural memory of the images. The concept of accretion is drawn from the work of David Rumelhart and Donald Norman on 'modes of learning' (Rumelhart and Norman 1976). This process involves the accretion of episodic memories of seeing the images to form a semantic memory of what the images are. The episodic memories may be forgotten or confused over time, but the semantic memory, or cultural memory of the images still remains. The nature of this process is indicated from the findings from the interview phase (6.3.2), in the way that participants demonstrate uncertainty about their memories of specific encounters with images but certainty about

their cultural memory of those images. This conclusion supports the concept of cultural memory already proposed which involves the convergence of multiple memories in an individual's mind.

### 8.2.2 EMOTIONAL AND CULTURAL IMPACT

While the frequency of an image's display is a critical factor for its capacity to enter and remain in people's memories, based on the findings of the research it is clear that the emotional and cultural impact of the image itself also plays a role. The findings from the interviews suggest that the MoI images, and particular signs within the images, trigger memories for participants (discussed in section 8.1) and the personal significance of these memories to the participants make those images more likely to be recognised and remembered.

This thesis strongly suggests that when the memories and ideas triggered by viewing the images are strong and significant to the person, perhaps because they relate to emotions, personal relationships, identity and history, the person may attach significance to the image. This means that the image is much more likely to be remembered and recognised again. This is discussed in more detail in 6.3.2. This impact is, of course, entirely dependent on personal circumstances and will differ from person to person and from moment to moment. Although it is a phenomenon that is difficult to examine, it is still an important factor in determining why certain images enter and remain in the memory and others do not.

This is where the MoI images may differ from other visual materials produced for advertising and promotional purposes. While some of the factors that cause these materials to enter memory are the same—frequent repetition in different media for example—the MoI images have a generally larger capacity to impact emotion, identity and cultural memory due to their connection with a national historical moment and the wider cultural memory of the Second World War. They therefore may be recognised and remembered more easily than the average piece of advertising.

## 8.3 How are Ministry of Information images interpreted?

This question was designed to investigate the different ways in which people in Britain interpret meaning from the MoI images, and in turn what relationship these images have with people's cultural memory, historical consciousness and identity. The question was addressed by considering the thought processes revealed through the surveys and

interviews when participants viewed the MoI images and the ways in which the images were used in online contexts. These approaches enabled the interpreted meanings and associations made with the images to be identified, thus enabling conclusions to be drawn about the relationship between the images and cultural memory, historical consciousness and identity. The main conclusions are explained below, first in relation to cultural memory and historical consciousness, then in relation to identity formation.

### 8.3.1 CULTURAL MEMORY AND HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

My thesis strongly suggests that British cultural memory of the Second World War is not a static phenomenon but develops with the influence of personal memories of individuals, including memories of encounters with cultural artefacts. Memory is individually experienced but collectively shared such that there can never be a singular British cultural memory of the war. The personal versions of cultural memory held by different people may be similar and share characteristics when those people are tied together by similar experiences and national identity, however each one is unique because it is influenced by the personal experience of each individual. This personal experience is made up of memories of people, stories and artefacts encountered during the course of a life. This conception of cultural memory is supported by the interview findings, in that individual participants exhibit slightly different forms of cultural memory, built up from different personal memories of experiences, stories and artefacts, and the individual cultural memories show similarities with one another (6.3.1 and 6.3.3).

The research also demonstrates that MoI images are examples of these artefacts that, when encountered, recognised and remembered, can contribute to cultural memory. When a person encounters one, they interpret it in light of their own existing historical consciousness, their own existing cultural memory of the Second World War and other personal memories and opinions. These memories do not all have to be direct personal (episodic) memories and do not have to be directly related to the Second World War; they can include memories of family stories, other artefacts and media, and information learned. This means that those with no direct memory of the Second World War still accumulate a cultural memory of this national event unique to them (see section 2.3.5). Whoever encounters an MoI image, their interpretation of the image is influenced by their existing ideas, but in turn their encounter with the image influences the development of their historical consciousness and cultural memory. MoI images, like other artefacts, have the potential to influence a person's cultural memory of the Second World War.

Exactly what kind of influence a particular MoI image has on cultural memory depends on the particular characteristics of the image, its content and context. The research reveals that each MoI image can influence cultural memory in a different way. The way people respond to the images gives an indication of how they are incorporating the image into their cultural memory and so what impact it might be having. Below this is discussed in relation to each of the four MoI campaign topics focused on in this study.

### **Dig for Victory**

This research showed that participants consistently interpreted meaning from the *Dig for Victory* poster (fig. A1) through a small number of associations. Each participant in the survey and interviews drew on their own individual cultural memory to interpret the image, and a wide range of associations were recorded, but the associations most frequently connected with the image were common to multiple participants (see sections 5.3.2 and 6.3.3). These include ideas of self-sufficiency, economy, hard work and solidarity. From this, I conclude that *Dig for Victory* has the capacity to unify disparate cultural memories of different people by encouraging them to make associations with the image that are common to a large number of people in Britain and that relate to common aspects of their cultural memory of the Second World War and British history.

*Dig for Victory* is also interpreted in a way that corresponds to a commonly held conception of the Second World War as a ‘good war’ and a positive part of British history. The poster triggers positive thoughts about people working together for the common good, fresh air and physical exertion and specific memories of family members gardening (6.3.3). These ideas encourage positive and sometimes nostalgic feelings about the image and about the Second World War, relating closely to existing cultural myths of the People’s War explored in section 2.4. This thesis strongly indicates that encounters with *Dig for Victory* can serve to promote positive, nostalgic and patriotic elements of cultural memory which are commonly held by many British people.

The simplicity of the signs within *Dig for Victory* influence the level to which participants are in agreement over the meaning of the image. Because the signs are few and simple, the associations are fewer and more unanimously interpreted by participants, contributing to the unification of their cultural memories. These associations derive from the phrase ‘Dig for Victory’ and also to the objects within the *Dig for Victory* poster. The sky and ground generally trigger positive thoughts about nature, the boot and spade often encourage people to think of individuals they knew—usually family members—who wore and used similar items. The lack of personal identifying features in the image enable

viewers to more easily associate their own memories and ideas with the image. The other *Dig for Victory* poster considered in the interview phase, *Grow Your Own Food* (fig. A2), contained a more complex set of symbols that confused the meaning for some interviewees. It took longer for people to interpret meaning and the interpretation was more diverse and less positive, as people criticised the design and wondered about the meaning of particular symbols. These elements blocked the remembering processes of interviewees, meaning they concluded that the image had little resonance for them. This is discussed in section 6.3.3.

The ideas associated with the Dig for Victory campaign and the *Dig for Victory* poster correspond to ideas inherent to an existing positive British cultural memory of the Second World War home front. Participants' interpretation of the image draws on this existing cultural memory, including their own unique personal memories and cultural knowledge. At the same time, their active interpretation of the image and communication of this interpretation contributes to the strengthening of this cultural memory. Those images which present symbols and design elements that are less easily incorporated into the cultural memory, such as the *Grow Your Own Food* poster, are viewed more negatively and are less likely to be remembered (see section 6.3.3).

### **Make-do and Mend**

The research showed that interpretations of the Make-do and Mend campaign exhibited similarities with *Dig for Victory*. Both Make-do and Mend campaign images were associated with broad ideas of self-sufficiency and anti-waste, integral to the dominant positive myth of the Second World War home front. As with *Dig for Victory*, the Make-do and Mend campaign images encourage participants to draw on positive elements of their cultural memory of the Second World War that unite them.

Participants also relate the campaign to ideas of creativity and fashion, particularly in response to the *Go Through Your Wardrobe* poster (fig. A3). As with Dig for Victory, the Make-do and Mend campaign is viewed positively and nostalgically, as representative of a movement which should be revived in the modern day (6.3.3). This demonstrates how the signs within the *Go Through Your Wardrobe* image are able to represent broader concepts for participants beyond the specific context of the Second World War home front.

The *Go Through Your Wardrobe* poster triggers thoughts relating to the role of women during the Second World War, and memories of family members, fashion and clothes from the past. It is also often associated with modern efforts to reuse and recycle clothing,

as it contains few symbols relating it directly to the Second World War. *The Make-do and Mend* poster (fig. A4) confuses participants with its imagery and triggers ideas and emotions unrelated to the Second World War, but instead related to the image of the doll (6.3.3). The design of the poster means that it is not associated so strongly with the Second World War period, with fashion or with recycling and reuse.

### **Anti-gossip**

The MoI's anti-gossip campaign posters demonstrate the complexity and individuality of cultural memory. The campaign posters analysed in this research tap into several different areas of memory and interpretation for participants, including negative ideas of espionage, danger and fear, and more positive nostalgic ideas of movies, glamour and humour. The Fougasse poster (fig. A5) is generally viewed positively by participants, as they remember and appreciate the cartoon design and the humour. The poster has a high degree of aesthetic interest for participants. However, there is also an element of discomfort displayed by participants in viewing the image, as their minds are drawn by the Hitler symbols within the image to more negative fearful ideas of Second World War espionage and violence. Despite the conflicted interpretation, the signs in the poster are able to represent broader concepts than the specific war context, allowing participants memories to be triggered beyond the Second World War (5.3.2 and 6.3.3).

*Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb* (fig. A6) is interpreted with more ambivalence than the Fougasse poster. Participants sometimes appreciate the design, are amused by the humour and speak nostalgically about the glamour of the period and the 1940s movies they remember. However, they also express anger or discomfort at the sexism they interpret from the image (5.3.2 and 6.3.3).

*Be Like Dad, Keep Mum* (fig. A7) demonstrates how visual elements in an image can confuse viewers and repel them from the image, making them less able to interpret a meaning from it and less likely to remember it. The image causes confusion among some participants as they question the design and meaning of the symbols in the image and words in the slogan. In some cases, participants also communicate their discomfort at the sexism of the slogan (6.3.3).

The images do not however fit easily into a simplistic positive cultural memory of the Second World War, as the Dig for Victory and Make-do and Mend campaigns are able to do. The complexity and variety of the thoughts and feelings anti-gossip campaign posters provoke make them less able to assimilate into and reinforce the existing cultural memory. The images are troubling, triggering ideas about gender inequality, fear and

disunity that can contest and alter the existing cultural memory of the Second World War home front as a period of unity, courage and empowerment.

### **Morale and recruitment**

The two posters designed to improve public morale during the war, *Keep Calm and Carry On* (fig. A8) and *Let Us Go Forward Together* (fig. A10), fit every easily into the existing cultural memory of the Second World War. For some participants however, their interpretation of the posters presents challenges to this dominant memory. *Keep Calm and Carry On* is in generally interpreted positively by participants as being a symbol of Britishness and resilience and courage in the face of hardship (5.3.2 and 6.3.3). They associate the poster both with the Second World War and with modern events and personal difficulties and stress. The clear concepts with which the poster is associated are dominant aspects of the prevailing positive British cultural memory of the Second World War, as a period of stoicism and community despite danger and fear.

When people view *Keep Calm and Carry On*, their minds are drawn to various memories but overwhelmingly they think of other times when they have seen the poster. The frequent repetition of the poster is often commented upon and leaves many participants with a clear sense of exhaustion and irritation with the image, even if they objectively approve of the image and the positive concepts they interpret from it (6.3.3).

While the majority of participants accept that the poster effectively communicates the key concepts of courage, stoicism and Britishness, inherent to the British cultural memory of the Second World War, at the same time they communicate discomfort with the jingoistic connotations of this interpretation. Many participants challenge the existing British cultural memory of the Second World War, acknowledging its existence but also implying it should be adapted or reconsidered (6.3.3).

*Let Us Go Forward Together* presents very similar issues. The image of Churchill and the slogan is associated clearly with ideas of courage, strength and unity in war and the idea of Churchill as the hero of the British war narrative. These ideas all contribute to the existing cultural memory of the Second World War. Some participants interpret these concepts from the image, but also challenge them openly, expressing discomfort with the veneration of Churchill in light of their own wider cultural and historical knowledge of the man himself. In discussing their interpretation of the image, these participants reconsider and develop their own cultural memory of the Second World War, drawing on the image, their understanding of dominant narratives and wider cultural and historical knowledge (6.3.3).

*Women of Britain Come into the Factories* (fig. A9) is the one poster relating to wartime recruitment and is associated strongly with female empowerment by interview participants (6.3.3). Participants interpret the image as symbolising a positive story about women and this allows them to fit the image into their existing cultural memory of the role of women in the Second World War as a time of increased freedom and autonomy. The simplicity of the symbolism in the image makes it easier for participants to appropriate the image to reinforce existing cultural memory.

### 8.3.2 IDENTITIES

Cultural memory is inextricably linked to the construction and development of personal and group identities, as is discussed in section 2.3. Viewing and talking about images and related cultural memory can allow people to develop, clarify and articulate their identities. The findings from the interview phase reveal the process by which participants construct their identities (discussed in section 6.3.3). Participants have an existing conception of their own often socially-assigned identity (such as British, female or working-class) when they encounter an image. They then interpret the signs in the image and use these interpretations to reflect on this existing identity and their own position in society. By considering these meanings and social constructions of identity, participants are able to define their own personal identity with more clarity.

#### **Nation**

Looking at some of the MoI images and discussing their meanings help some participants to define themselves as part of a national group. *Dig for Victory* and *Keep Calm and Carry On* are associated by participants with ideas of Britishness and some use the opportunity to define their own identity in relation to these ideas. They present their own interpretation of the image, discuss their own memory and situate themselves as part of a wider group of British people who will share their interpretation and share their cultural memory.

As well as defining themselves in accordance with a dominant national identity due to their sharing the dominant cultural memory of the Second World War, some participants define themselves in reaction to this dominant national identity. By explaining their feelings of discomfort with the prevailing cultural memory of the Second World War, which they interpret from images such as *Keep Calm and Carry On* and *Let Us Go Forward Together*, they define their own identity as distinct from what they perceive to



be the dominant British national identity. This is discussed further in sections 5.3.2 and 6.3.3

### **Gender**

Gender is an important aspect of the British cultural memory of the Second World War. The British home front has been seen as a time of female liberation and this is an idea that is raised by participants as they view some of the MoI images, specifically *Go Through Your Wardrobe, Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb, Careless Talk Costs Lives* and *Women of Britain Come into the Factories*. In interpreting the meanings of the posters, drawing on their own memory and discussing gender issues, participants have the opportunity to define their own identities. Participants who interpret sexism in the images, take the opportunity of the discussion to situate their own identities as against this sexism. When discussing the ideas of women's liberation interpreted from the *Women of Britain* poster, participants can define themselves as members of that liberated female group and celebrate this identity in their response to the image. This is discussed in detail in section 6.3.3.

### **Class**

Many of the MoI images include symbols which participants interpret as referring to class difference. These trigger memories of participants relating to class and the changes in class structure and class identities over time. Participants are prompted to discuss these memories and their opinions about the class identities they interpret from the images, and in doing this they often take the opportunity to consider their own class identity, and the class identity of their relatives, and define themselves as a member of a particular class. This is discussed in detail in section 6.3.3.

## **8.4 What causes some Ministry of Information images to be defined as iconic?**

To fully understand the role of MoI images in British cultural memory, a key objective for this research study was to reveal why some of the MoI images become well-known and defined as 'iconic' and others had not, and what did the term 'iconic' actually mean in relation to these images. The research question was designed with the intention that information gleaned from the survey phase, the interview phase and the digital phase could shed light on the factors that might contribute to the 'iconic definition'. Each of the MoI images studied could then be considered in light of these reasons, to more fully understand what made each of the iconic or not iconic. In this section, first the definition

of the term ‘iconic’ is discussed in relation to a proposed new set of iconic criteria based on the evidence collected through the research. Then each of the MoI images is discussed in relation to these criteria.

#### 8.4.1 DEFINING THE TERM ‘ICONIC’

My thesis proposes that the definition of an image as an iconic image depends on six core factors described below.

- Frequency of reproduction
  - The frequency or extent to which the image is reproduced in the public sphere in any media.
- Recognition
  - The degree to which people are able to recognise the image and believe they have seen it before.
- Aesthetic interest
  - The degree to which people appreciate the aesthetics of the image, even if it is not considered beautiful but may be considered ‘striking’ or ‘powerful’. The degree to which people are attracted to rather than repelled from the image.
- Ability to represent broader concepts
  - The degree to which an image can be associated with broader and more universal concepts beyond the particular historical and cultural context of the image.
- Speed of interpretation
  - The speed at which people are able to interpret meaning from the image.
- Perceived audience
  - The degree to which a person is able to believe there exists an audience which shares their recognition of and interpretation of the image.

The criteria proposed here are interconnecting; each one has some influence over the others. The importance of the frequency of reproduction for images to be recognised was proven through analysis of the survey, interview and digital data and discussed in section

8.2.1. For a person to consider an image to be iconic, the image must be reproduced regularly and publicly in some form of media.

In turn, for an image to be defined as iconic by a person, they need to personally recognise and remember it and so they must believe they have seen it before. These two factors are directly linked. If an image is frequently reproduced, it is more likely to be seen, and seen multiple times and so it is more likely to be remembered and recognised when seen again. This is also discussed in relation to the interview findings in section 6.3.4.

The aesthetics of the image is also an important factor for the definition of iconic images. An image must have some form of visual appeal that attracts a person to look at it rather than look away. This may not be simply some form of positive aesthetic beauty but could just be aesthetic interest, as a person perceives the image as ‘striking’, ‘strong’ or ‘powerful’, even if they do not particularly like the image. For an image to be iconic, an image must have enough aesthetic interest so that a person wishes to look at it. If it contains aesthetic elements that deter a person from looking, then it is very unlikely to be considered iconic. The importance of aesthetic interest as a defining factor for iconic images is discussed in sections 5.3.1, 6.3.2 and 7.3.4.

The fourth factor refers to the ability of an image to represent broader concepts beyond its own particular context. Images that contain simple signs that can easily be associated with broad concepts like ‘Britain’ or ‘strength’, and which do not have their meaning complicated by the appearance of other more contextually- and temporally-specific signs, are more likely to be considered iconic. This directly relates to the simplicity of the collection of signs within the image and is discussed in sections 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 6.3.3, 7.3.3 and 7.4.4.

The speed at which a person is able to interpret the meaning of an image is also a key factor and again related closely to the simplicity of the signs in an image. Images that contain many complex signs that require additional time to consider, in order for a person to come to a conclusion about the meaning of the image, are less likely to be considered to be iconic. Those that contain signs which are few, simple and do not require specialist knowledge to interpret, are much more likely to be considered iconic.

Finally, perceived audience is a fundamental factor influencing an image’s iconic status. For a person to believe an image is iconic, they must have the impression that there exists an audience for the image, an ‘imagined community’ of people (Anderson 1991), who share their recognition and interpretation of the image. Again, this factor is linked closely

with some of the others. If a person does not recognise an image themselves, it will be difficult for them to imagine that anyone else would. If an image is not frequently produced, this may also make it less likely that a person can imagine an audience of people who would know the image. Defining an image as iconic is therefore something done by an individual and depends on that person's idea of what others around them—in their community, class, nation or other group—think about the image. The issue of perceived audience is discussed in relation to the research findings in sections 6.3.4 and 7.3.4.

I propose that these factors exist in degrees, rather than as binary criteria. Images are reproduced in different quantities and they have different levels of recognition. Each image will have a different level for each factor and, by considering these levels together, one can come to a determination about how iconic the image might be. The levels would also be different depending on the particular person or group of people under consideration. The levels of the six factors for a MoI image when considered in relation to a British person would be very different when considered in relation to an American, for example.

There are some differences between these factors in the way they should be considered in relation to images. Aesthetic interest, the ability to represent broader concepts and the speed of interpretation are all closely related to the design and content of the image itself: the quantity and nature of the signs it contains. If an image contains design elements that attract attention and some signs that are simple enough to be associated reasonably quickly with generalised concepts, then the image would fit the basic criteria to achieve iconic potential. This iconic potential could then only be realised if the image fulfilled the other three user-based criteria which relate to the way images are used and viewed by people; if it was reproduced frequently enough and in such a way as to ensure the image was recognised by people and those people believed others would also recognise it (frequency of reproduction, recognition and perceived audience).

Returning to the three image-based factors—*aesthetic interest*, the ability to represent broader concepts and the speed of interpretation—it is also apparent that the design of an image may contain an element that blocks these factors entirely. If an image contains a design element that repels the viewer, the image fails to meet the criteria of *aesthetic interest*. Equally, if the image contains one sign that links the image too closely to its specific context, making it impossible to associate the image with broad or universal concepts, then it fails to meet the criteria of representing broader concepts. Finally, if the

image contains a sign that deeply confuses the viewer and slows interpretation substantially or block it entirely, then the image fails to meet the criteria of speed of interpretation. These three criteria must be fulfilled at the outset, in order for the impact of the other three to be taken into account in determining the likelihood of an image being iconic.

#### 8.4.2 ICONIC MINISTRY OF INFORMATION POSTERS

Those images that are most frequently considered by research participants to be iconic include *Keep Calm and Carry On*, *Let Us Go Forward Together*, *Dig for Victory*, *Careless Talk Costs Lives* and *Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb*. The reasons given by participants for why they believe the images to be iconic vary greatly between the different images, but the iconic factors described above are manifested in the responses of the interview participants (see section 6.3.4). The relevance of the iconic factors is also revealed in the analysis of the uses of the MoI images online in the digital phase (see section 7.3.4). These five images are the most easily recognised by participants, indicating that they have been remembered. They are also reproduced frequently, in online contexts as well as offline. They are in general considered to be aesthetically interesting by participants. Their aesthetic value is also demonstrated by their adaptation for use as art prints and other products in online retail platforms.

As discussed above, to varying degrees these images can communicate to viewers wider concepts beyond their own specific contexts, so, when viewing the images, people's minds are drawn to wider ideas such as the Second World War, strength or self-sufficiency. MoI images that are associated with a wide range of mixed concepts and/or are associated only with ideas related to their own specific context, are less likely to be considered to be iconic. The broader the concept which an image is able to represent, the more iconic it may be. The most iconic images also tend to be the simplest in terms of the symbols they contain, so that the person looking at the image can make their interpretation very quickly, such as in the case of *Keep Calm and Carry On* and *Dig for Victory*. Those images that take longer to make sense of, such as *Grow Your Own Food* and *Be Like Dad Keep Mum*, may be less likely to be defined as iconic. The final factor is revealed clearly in the interviews when participants refer to how they perceive others would respond to and interpret the images. When participants make assumptions about others in Britain sharing their view about an image, this supports their belief that the image is iconic.

The research reveals that some practices in publishing and displaying the MoI images serve to elevate some of the iconic factors outlined above. Authors of web pages use MoI images to illustrate ideas about which they are writing, and they use them in a way designed to make them more able to illustrate these ideas. By displaying without any contextual information about an image, authors attempt to reduce the amount of contextual specificity of the image and remove elements that cause confusion or diversity of interpretation, allowing it to represent wider concepts than it might have been able to without these methods of display. This is discussed in more depth in sections 7.3.3 and 7.3.4.

## 8.5 Methodological conclusions

This research has demonstrated the effectiveness of using a combination of qualitative and quantitative social research methods, including survey and interview, to study cultural memory and images. Encounters between individuals and cultural images are personal and the cultural memory that can be revealed is also personal in nature. This research demonstrates the importance of looking at how each individual remembers separately, and not making generalised assumptions about the way images are interpreted or remembered by people as a homogenous social group. This does not mean however that research into individual cultural memory is not useful because it cannot be generalised. The remembering processes of multiple individuals can be studied to reveal their cultural memory and where there are similarities between the cultural memories of individuals, these common elements can be discussed collectively. Equally where there are clear differences between individuals' cultural memories due to unique experiences, these can be analysed. The research simply highlights that we should not overlook the uniqueness of individual cultural memory or avoid inquiry into the experience of the individual in order to make sweeping statements about the cultural memory of an entire nation, race, class or gender.

To analyse the factors which contribute to images being defined as iconic, one needs to consider not only the self-reported thoughts of individual people in an interview setting, but also the way images are actually used in a more neutral non-research setting. The use of digital research methods in this study to assess how the MoI images have been used in online contexts has proved to be useful and presents avenues for potential further exploration. The use of reverse image lookup enabled a relatively comprehensive dataset of web pages where the MoI images actually appeared to be created. This dataset was free from the influence of the researcher, and to some degree of the publishers, in its creation,

in that similar images were located based on their visual content rather than textual search terms, titles and tags. The method of observing and analysing the content on each web page and the analysing the role of the MoI image in each web page also meant that the researcher was in no way influencing the way users decided to use and publish images. I could observe and consider decisions already made by web users and publishers to display and write about the MoI images, without requiring users to self-report their thinking and without influencing their decisions or responses. Studying how people decided to use the images provided information to augment the findings based on the self-reported responses of participants viewing the images in a research setting. The use of digital methods in this approach complemented the survey and interview research, which relied more heavily on self-reporting and the intervention of the researcher.

## 8.6 Limitations of the research

The methods used in this research present some limitations. The survey and interview phases of the research both rely on self-selection of interested participants, introducing biases into the research data. Only those people who had a significant interest in the subject of the research would agree to fill in a survey and take part in an interview. Additionally, the nature of the online and in-person recruitment methods for the survey meant that those recruited disproportionately came from certain geographical and demographic groups and from those using the internet and following news sources and social media related to history and education. The voluntary nature of the research and the need for significant time and engagement made this problem to some extent inevitable and the research data is still useful and indicative of broad trends. A larger and more representative sample of participants for future research in this area would mitigate this problem.

The findings of this study rely heavily on self-reported cultural memory. This means that we are only ever able to see a partial version of the thought processes that occur as a person views one of the MoI images. This problem was anticipated with the design of the survey and interview methods and it was determined that there was no suitable alternative method that could address the research questions as effectively as these methods. The problem was mitigated by the design of the interview method, making it as open-ended and unstructured as possible.

The images studied in this research were also limited in scope. Only ten images were focused on and they were all popular MoI posters. While there was no intention to create

a representative sample of images, the research could be expanded by focusing on a larger and more varied range of MoI images, including other formats of image and images with lower levels of popularity.

The research only analysed in depth the uses of MoI images in online media. The reasoning for this is explained in section 3.3.4. This decision means that the findings of the study only relate to this small snapshot in time and media in terms of the way the images are used. To expand the research, a comprehensive study of the uses of the image could be embarked upon which would cover the full range of media in which the MoI images have been used since their original creation.

## 8.7 Original contribution

The findings of this study offer a detailed insight into the role of MoI images in the cultural memory of people in Britain, based directly on evidence of the remembering processes of individuals. The research demonstrates that these images have had a persistent influence on the development of cultural memory in some individuals, long after their original display, and demonstrates how this influence manifests itself. This result can be considered in relation to other cultural and historical images as many of the processes of cultural memory explored in this thesis may apply to other images.

The research demonstrates how historical images exert influence within the developing cultural memory of individuals. Through close engagement with self-reported remembering processes in the MO content analysis, survey and interview research, the findings illuminate the nature of cultural memory as defined in section 2.3. The survey and interview research in particular offer unique insights into the connections between visual media and cultural memory. In this thesis I have demonstrated how cultural memory is developed through the convergence of a broad range of different memories in the mind of the individual and the influences between memories and media objects are reciprocal.

My research indicates that close investigation of a small case study of individual images used as part of a direct inquiry into the memories of individuals is a fruitful method for investigating the nuances of cultural memory. The research involved the successful and original use of quantitative and qualitative methods implemented in tension, to provide both numerical data to illuminate broad trends and detailed, subjective data on individual experience. By considering these different kinds of data together, this thesis provides a



more exhaustive insight into British cultural memory and demonstrates the value of this multi-method approach.

I have proposed in this thesis six factors to determine whether an image is iconic or has the potential to become iconic. This proposal contributes to our theoretical understanding of iconic images and in particular broadens the discussion on iconic images beyond photographs to art and design. The factors may also be effectively applied in non-academic settings to assist in categorising cultural images collections and identifying images which have and do not have iconic potential.

My investigation into the uses of MoI images online is the first of its kind and, while partially experimental and limited in scope, it has extended our understanding of how the cultural role of images of this kind can and should be considered and studied in online media. This study contributes to a framework for potential future research in this area of visual culture and online research.

## **8.8 Application of research findings**

This research contributes to our understanding of the nature of cultural memory. More specifically, it contributes to our understanding of the relationship between cultural memory and images and the relationship between British cultural memory and the Second World War. The research also presents new perspectives on how we should think about and apply the term ‘iconic’ to cultural images. Academics and others writing about images should be cautious in applying the term ‘iconic’ in a definitive way as it may mask generalised assumptions about fundamentally individual remembering and interpretation processes. The term is still useful to apply to images but should not be considered a synonym for ‘popular’ and should not be used with the assumption that any image is universally iconic.

As well as impacts on scholarly discussions about these issues, this research also has potential impacts on those outside academia who work directly with cultural and historical images. These include publishers, product developers, graphic designers, museums, archivists and teachers. Those working to promote existing cultural images could use the set of iconic factors proposed here to assess image collections and identify images that have particular potential to become iconic. Those involved in the design and production of images may also be interested to apply these factors to their own work to assess the impact their images may have on viewers. These factors can be adopted in the advertising and marketing fields to assess the success or possible success of visual

materials for commercial purposes, depending on the precise objectives of the organisation in question. Using these potential iconic factors as a resource to be considered alongside market research, advertisers may be able to design new ways of influencing consumers to think in certain ways and impact their cultural memory, which could be an effective approach. Particularly for brands wishing to retain a place in cultural memory by communicating a sense of history and nostalgia to consumers, a specific measure to assess an image's likelihood of being considered iconic could be commercially valuable.

Any person who uses cultural images, such as the MoI images discussed in this study, for commercial, artistic or educational purposes should be aware of the impact their decisions may make on the way people view, remember and interpret cultural images and therefore the impact on cultural memory and historical consciousness. Those who select images for digitisation, publication or display are influencing which images are seen and which are forgotten. By reproducing existing selection and display conventions, one is reinforcing the existing cultural memory and the prominence of certain images over others. By editing cultural images in certain ways, for example by removing text or cropping out certain elements, one is having an impact on the way that image will be interpreted by the audience. There is a potential danger—in the way images are selected, edited and displayed—that elements of the past that could be communicated are silenced and that the cultural memories of particular groups are silenced. Future generations may have visual material omitted from the development of their cultural memory or distorted in their cultural memory and the impact of this is hard to measure but potentially problematic. While I am not making any direct recommendations for changes in the ways these decisions have so far been made, the findings of this study demonstrate that it is important for those working with images to consider their own role in the process of cultural image reproduction.

## **8.9 Areas for future research**

The role of MoI images in British culture could be explored further with a broader systematic study of the uses of the images in a range of different media, not only online media. This could include study of the uses of images in printed media, advertising and television. This would provide a more comprehensive picture of the role of the images in British culture and offer a clearer understanding of which media are important in influencing how images are encountered and remembered.

The research could also be extended to cover a wider range of MoI images beyond only posters, and beyond only the small selection studying in this research. This would help to highlight whether or not the findings presented here are applicable also to other kinds of images. A wider range of research participants would also extend the effectiveness of the research. Extending the research to non-British participants could enable some comparisons to be made between different countries in terms of cultural memory.

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## Appendix A: Ministry of Information posters

### MINISTRY OF INFORMATION POSTERS

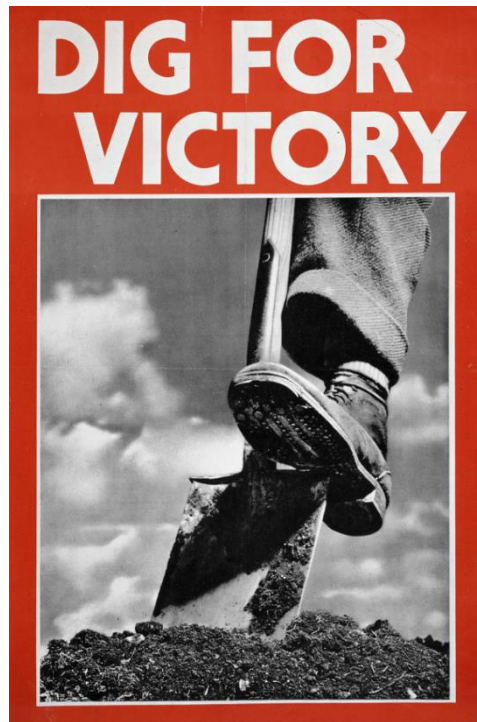


Figure A1 Dig for Victory, 1941, © IWM (Art.IWM PST 0059)

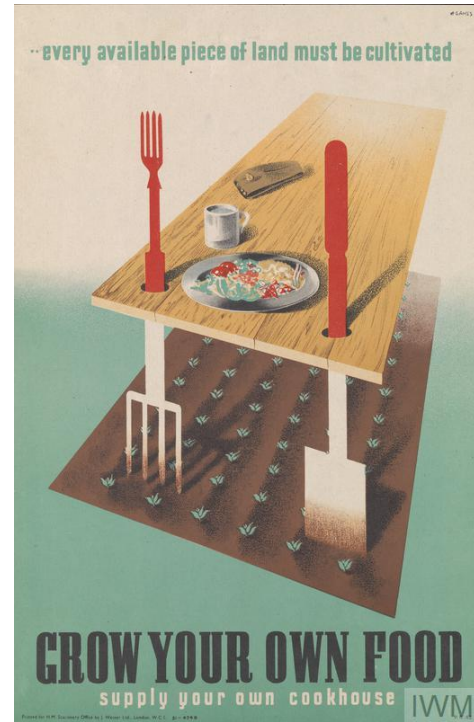


Figure A2 Grow Your Own Food, 1942, © IWM (Art.IWM PST 2893)



Figure A3 Go Through Your Wardrobe, 1942, © IWM (Art.IWM PST 4773)



Figure A4 Make-do and Mend, 1943, © IWM

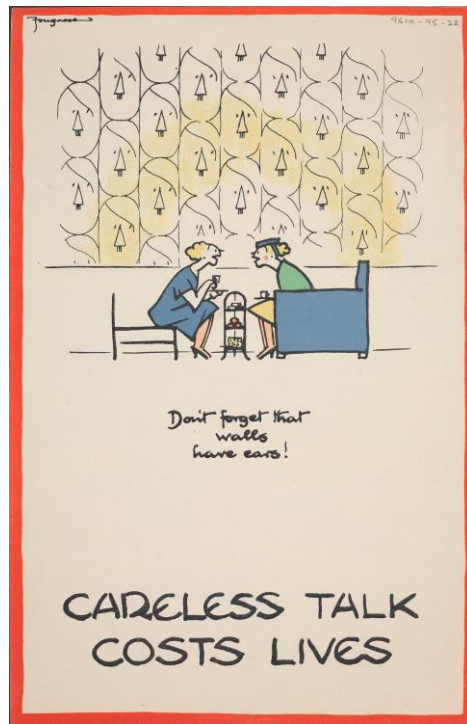


Figure A5 Careless Talk Cost Lives, 1940,  
© National Army Museum, London



Figure A6 Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb,  
1941, © IWM (Art.IWM PST 4095)



Figure A7 Be Like Dad – Keep Mum!,  
1940, © IWM (Art.IWM PST 13946)



Figure A8 Keep Calm and Carry On, 1939, public  
domain (Wikimedia)





Figure A9 Women of Britain Come into the Factories, 1941, © IWM (Art.IWM PST 3645)



Figure A10 Let Us Go Forward Together, 1940, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

## EMAILS TO V&A IMAGES

---

**From:** Howells, Katherine  
**Sent:** 13 February 2018 16:24  
**To:** Nicholas Smith; Steve Woodhouse  
**Cc:** Zorian Clayton  
**Subject:** RE: Information on image licensing for research

Dear Steve and Nicholas,

Thank you very much for looking into these details for me. The dates of the colour photography for these posters is particularly useful to me.

I really appreciate all your help.

Best wishes,  
 Katherine

---

**From:** [Nicholas Smith](#)  
**Sent:** 12 February 2018 09:35  
**To:** [Steve Woodhouse](#); [Howells, Katherine](#)  
**Cc:** [Zorian Clayton](#)  
**Subject:** RE: Information on image licensing for research

Dear Katherine Howells

Further to Steve's reply, I have checked the card index and regret to report that it does not add anything to the information already provided.

I am sorry that I could not be of more assistance on this occasion.

Yours sincerely

Nicholas Smith  
 Archivist – V&A Archive

---

**From:** Steve Woodhouse  
**Sent:** 07 February 2018 11:40  
**To:** Howells, Katherine <[katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk)>  
**Cc:** Zorian Clayton <[z.clayton@vam.ac.uk](mailto:z.clayton@vam.ac.uk)>; Nicholas Smith <[n.smith@vam.ac.uk](mailto:n.smith@vam.ac.uk)>  
**Subject:** RE: Information on image licensing for research

The best way is to ask Zorian, to ask Nicholas Smith our Registry Archivist, to look in the B&W Negative card index files at Blythe House, for the said posters, The poster E.997-2004 won't be in this archive, as it ceased use in 1996, when we transferred to electronic ones.

E.997-2004 has been photographed in colour once, 14<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

E.2145-1946, has been photographed in colour once in 1994 – 95 (no exact date), the card index file will say if there are any other earlier ones.

E.2167-1946 – has been photographed in colour twice, on its own, and in a group of 4, 21<sup>st</sup> November 1996. Once again, the card index files will show if any earlier ones in B&W were done.

E.135-1973 – Has been photographed in colour twice, 21<sup>st</sup> July 1975, and 1993 – 94 (no exact date), and also done in black & white, 28<sup>th</sup> July 1975, once again the card index file may show any earlier B&W.

As for licencing there is no way of knowing, as sales records before the 80s were probably never kept.

[Hope this helps.](#)

---

**From:** Howells, Katherine [<mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk>]

**Sent:** 07 February 2018 10:15

**To:** Zorian Clayton <[z.clayton@vam.ac.uk](mailto:z.clayton@vam.ac.uk)>; Steve Woodhouse <[s.woodhouse@vam.ac.uk](mailto:s.woodhouse@vam.ac.uk)>

**Subject:** [EXTERNAL EMAIL] RE: Information on image licensing for research

Dear Zorian,

Thank you so much for all this information, this just the detail I was hoping for. I understand the issue regarding image licensing information as there is the commercial element to it.

Hello Steve – I wonder whether you have any additional information on these four images relating to their earlier history at the V&A before the current database? In particular, is there any log of when the images were first photographed (as I would guess this would be the point when the images would first start appearing in print)? Or is it normal practice to photograph images soon after they enter the museum? Any information you could offer on this would be greatly appreciated.

Thanks again for your help!

Best wishes,  
Katherine

---

**From:** [Zorian Clayton](#)

**Sent:** 01 February 2018 12:12

**To:** [Howells, Katherine](#); [Steve Woodhouse](#)

**Subject:** Re: Information on image licensing for research

Dear Katherine,

Your enquiry has been passed on to me about various Second World War images in the V&A collection. V&A Images have informed me that we cannot give out information about how many individual times these images have been licensed in the past. I am not sure if this is because they do not keep those kind of object-by-object statistics over long periods of time, or if it is something to do with data protection.

I can partly answer your first two questions and have copied in our Image Asset Manager, Steve Woodhouse, who more of an expert on our digital asset management over time than I, so he may be able to provide you with more accurate information. I can only see when assets were created on the latest incarnation of our collections management system (CMS) and not what went before it you see.

E.2145-1946 and E.2167-1946 both entered the Museum in 1946 as a gift from the Ministry of Information with a number of other war posters at the time. It was photographed and put onto our current collections management system in 2006 and the current online text records both objects are now linked to were created in 2009.

E.997-2004 is part of the Leslie, Judith and Gabri Schreyer gift of several hundred posters to the Museum in 2004. It was photographed and put onto our current collections management system in 2006, with the current online text record it links to having been created in 2004.

E.135-1973 was also a given to the Museum by the Ministry of Information but in 1973. It was photographed and put onto our current collections management system in 2006. The current online text record for this object was created in 2003.

Our current database is called CMS. Before this, we had one called CIS, and before this, one called Modes. All the data that was on Modes was pulled across to CIS and subsequently pulled across to CMS as far as I understand. The dates given above are what the dates this data went onto the latest system which is all I can see but as I say, Steve may have more accurate data pertaining to their photography and online availability on the systems that existed before CMS.

Best wishes,

Zorian Clayton

Assistant Curator of Prints

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**From:** Jackson Pearce White  
**Sent:** 25 January 2018 15:17:39  
**To:** Zorian Clayton  
**Subject:** RE: Information on image licensing for research

Dear Zorian,

Can I leave this enquiry with you?

We can't give out the licensing information she has requested.

That's it.

Best,

Jackson

---

**From:** Howells, Katherine [<mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk>]  
**Sent:** 24 January 2018 16:39  
**To:** VA Images <[VAImages@vam.ac.uk](mailto:VAImages@vam.ac.uk)>  
**Subject:** [EXTERNAL EMAIL] Information on image licensing for research

Hi,



My name is Katherine Howells and I am a PhD candidate in the department of Digital Humanities at King's College London. I am conducting research into the reception and reuse of Second World War images in modern times. I know that you hold some of the images I am focusing on in your collection (specifically E.2145-1946, E.2167-1946, E.997-2004, E.135-1973) and I was wondering whether you could provide me with some contextual information on these images. Do you have any information on the following:

- When and how did these images first enter your collection?
- When were these images first digitized and made available online?
- How many times have these images been licensed for publication in the past?

Any information you could offer on these points would be greatly appreciated.

Thanks and best wishes,

Katherine Howells

Katherine Howells

PhD Candidate, Department of Digital Humanities, King's College London

Email: [katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk)

Phone: +44(0)7749705024

# FREEDOM OF INFORMATION RESPONSE FROM THE IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUM

**IWM LONDON**

Lambeth Road  
London SE1 6HZ  
  
iwm.org.uk

T 020 7416 5000  
F 020 7416 5216  
E [foi@iwm.org.uk](mailto:foi@iwm.org.uk)

K Howells  
[request-464965-3430cadb@whatdotheyknow.com](mailto:request-464965-3430cadb@whatdotheyknow.com)



15 March 2018

Dear K Howells

Thank you for your enquiry. Your questions, together with the Museum's responses, are given below.

**Can you please provide information relating to the following seven images in your collection:**

- Art.IWM PST 0059
- Art.IWM PST 2893
- Art.IWM PST 4773
- Art.IWM PST 4095
- Art.IWM PST 13946
- Art.IWM PST 3645
- Art.IWM PST 0761

**I would like information addressing the following questions for these images:**

**1. When and from where did each image first enter your collection?**

Information on the source of each poster is not recorded on IWM's collections management system. To search through the accession registers from 1939 for the source of each poster to locate and extract the information required is likely to cost more than the £450 (around 2.5 days' work) currently allowed in the Fees Regulations. I regret that this information cannot, therefore be provided to you.

However as most are Government Issue posters it is likely that they were deposited in bulk during wartime and the information on each individual poster would not have been recorded.

**2. When was each image first digitized and made available online?**

Object number	Approx date image taken	Approx date image added to current collections management system	Approx date object information was published online on current web setup
Art.IWM PST 0059	23/09/2008	19/05/2010	November 2012. Not currently online.
Art.IWM PST 2893	30/03/2006	13/05/2010	October 2012

Art.IWM PST 4773	08/07/2007	13/05/2010	October 2012
Art.IWM PST 4095	05/07/2005	13/05/2010	October 2012
Art.IWM PST 13946	05/07/2005	26/07/2010	October 2012
Art.IWM PST 3645	02/03/2005	13/05/2010	October 2012
Art.IWM PST 0761	n/a	n/a	November 2012. No image online currently.

**3. How many times has each image been licensed for publication/broadcast in the past?  
Or, on average, how many times per year is each image licensed for publication/broadcast?**

Figures are only available from 2011 and they are as follows:

Object number	Times licensed
Art.IWM PST 0059	9
Art.IWM PST 2893	4
Art.IWM PST 4773	4
Art.IWM PST 4095	3
Art.IWM PST 13946	1
Art.IWM PST 3645	7
Art.IWM PST 0761	3

If you are unhappy with the way your request has been handled, you should contact the Museum's Director General, Diane Lees, at the above address. Any appeal will be considered and replied to within 20 working days of receipt unless otherwise notified. Should you be dissatisfied with her response, you can then take the matter up with the Information Commissioner, who can be contacted at Wycliffe House, Water Lane, Wilmslow, Cheshire, SK9 5AF.

Yours sincerely

Sarah Henning  
Freedom of Information Team

## Appendix B: Mass Observation Content Analysis

### DEMOGRAPHICS OF MASS OBSERVATION WRITERS

See Microsoft Excel file, [DATA1 Demographics of Mass Observation writers](#), which is openly available at <https://doi.org/10.18742/rdm01-483>

#### **Description**

This file contains demographic details about those Mass Observation writers who responded to the 2009 Directive on the subject of memories of the Second World War. This data comes directly from the Mass Observation Archive Writers Database ([http://database.massobs.org.uk/projects\\_database/mass\\_observation/](http://database.massobs.org.uk/projects_database/mass_observation/)) and supplements the demographic data recorded during the content analysis, which relied entirely on those details written down in the responses by the MO writers.

## MASS OBSERVATION CONTENT ANALYSIS

See Microsoft Excel file, [DATA2 Mass Observation Content Analysis](https://doi.org/10.18742/rdm01-483), which is openly available at <https://doi.org/10.18742/rdm01-483>

### Description

This file contains the raw data collected during the content analysis of responses to the 2009 Mass Observation Directive, discussed in detail in Chapter 4. The spreadsheet contains one column for each person who responded. For each person, their unique code created by Mass Observation is recorded, followed by the demographic details provided in the response. In the following rows, data is recorded for the categories specified in section 4.2: references to images, web resources, Ministry of Information sources, concepts and emotions. Each source reference is recorded with its format, description, text location and context. Each concept or emotion is recorded with the object it is associated with, the text location and context. These elements are described in detail in section 4.2.

### Key to field names

Field name	Description
Response code	Unique code for each writer assigned by the Mass Observation Project
Date logged	Date the response was received by the project
Age	Age of MO writer
Gender	Gender of MO writer
Occupation	Occupation of MO writer
Marital status	Marital status of MO writer
Location	Location where MO writer lived
Wartime occupation	Occupation of MO writer during the Second World War
Wartime location	Location where MO writer lived during the Second World War
Handwritten/typed	Whether the response was handwritten or typed
Order of questions answered	The order in which the MO writer answered the questions in the directive
Words and phrases	The response of the MO writer to the first question in the Directive (A), listing ten words and phrases that they think of

	relating to the Second World War (see section 4.1.2).
No. MoI reference	Number of references to the Ministry of Information recorded
No. Image reference	Number of references to images recorded
No. Web/Digital reference	Number of references to web resources recorded
Format	Format of the image, Ministry of Information source or web resource
Description	Description of the specific image, Ministry of Information source or web resource
Location in response text	Location of the reference in the text - defined by the location code
Context	Text surrounding the reference
What with	The thing with which the concept/association is associated
Response to	The thing which the emotion is in response to

## Appendix C: Survey documents

### ETHICAL APPROVAL LETTER

Research Ethics  
Office

Franklin Wilkins Building  
5-9 Waterloo Bridge Wing  
Waterloo Road  
London SE1 9NH  
Telephone 020 7848 4020/4070/4077  
reo@kcl.ac.uk



Katherine Howells

21 March 2017

Dear Katherine

LRS-16/17-4214 - Exploring British cultural memory and its relation to iconic images created by the Ministry of Information - Phase Two

I am pleased to inform you that full approval for your project has been granted by the A&H Research Ethics Panel

- Ethical approval is granted for a period of **three years** from 21 March 2017. You will not receive a reminder that your approval is about to lapse. It is your responsibility to apply for an extension prior to the project lapsing.
- You should report any untoward events or unforeseen ethical problems to the panel Chair, via the Research Ethics Office, within a week of occurrence. Information about the panel may be accessed at: <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/committees/ssh/rep/index.aspx>
- If you wish to change your project or request an extension of approval, please complete and submit a Modification Request to [crec-lowrisk@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:crec-lowrisk@kcl.ac.uk). Please quote your ethics reference number, found at the top of this letter, in all correspondence with the Research Ethics Office. Details of how to complete a modification request can be found at: <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/modifications.aspx>
- All research should be conducted in accordance with the King's College London *Guidelines on Good Practice in Academic Research* available at: <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/college/policyzone/assets/files/research/good%20practice%20Sept%2009%20FINAL.pdf>

Please note that we may, for auditing purposes, contact you to ascertain the status of your research.

We wish you every success with your research.

Best wishes,

A&H Research Ethics Panel REP Reviewers

## INFORMATION SHEET

### Research Project: Cultural memory of Second World War images Survey Information Sheet



Please read this information sheet carefully before completing the survey.  
If you have any questions about the survey, please ask the researcher.

#### What is the research about?

This research project aims to reveal whether people recognise images produced by the government during the Second World War and how people think about these images today. Some images from this period are reproduced frequently in popular culture so it is important to understand how individuals respond to these images and what role they serve in British cultural memory.

The research is being undertaken by Katherine Howells, research student at King's College London, and is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. This study was approved by the King's College London Arts & Humanities Research Ethics Panel on 21 March 2017 – Reference LRS-16/17-4214.

#### Why should I take part?

Completing this short survey will give you the opportunity to consider your own memory and interpretations connected to images and slogans from the Second World War and make a valuable contribution to this vital area of research into British culture and memory.

#### How does the survey work?

This survey is designed to reveal your spontaneous memory of and reaction to the images presented. We do not wish participants to spend too long considering the questions and analysing the images, but rather we would prefer participants to write down whatever comes to mind as naturally and openly as possible.

#### How much time will it take?

The survey contains six sections (A to F) and should take no longer than 10 minutes to complete.

#### What will happen to the data collected?

All data collected will be anonymised and stored securely at the Department of Digital Humanities, King's College London. If you give your consent, we may invite you to a follow-up interview at a later date, in order to discuss your memories and opinions in more depth.

#### Can I withdraw from the research?

Participation in this survey is entirely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw from the research up to one week after you complete the survey, by emailing [katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk). Although we think it is very unlikely, if you suffer any harm as a direct result of taking part in this study you can apply for compensation under King's College London's 'No Fault Compensation Schemes'.

#### How do I take part?

Please look at each image and answer the questions opposite. Do not worry about how you answer the questions, but just quickly write down whatever comes to mind in a way that makes sense to you.

By completing and returning the survey you agree for your data to be used in the research project.

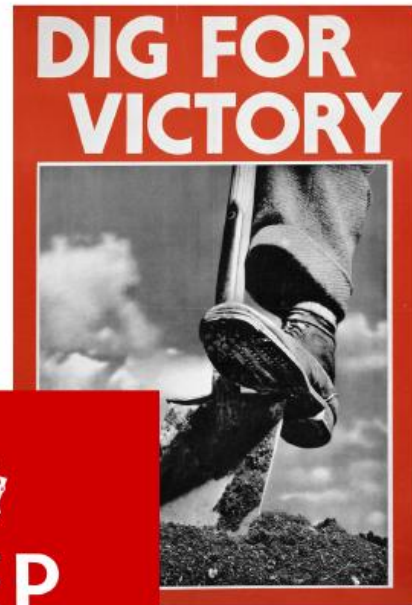
#### Contact details

Katherine Howells – Researcher  
Email: [katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk)

Professor Simon Tanner – Supervisor  
Email: [simon.tanner@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:simon.tanner@kcl.ac.uk)



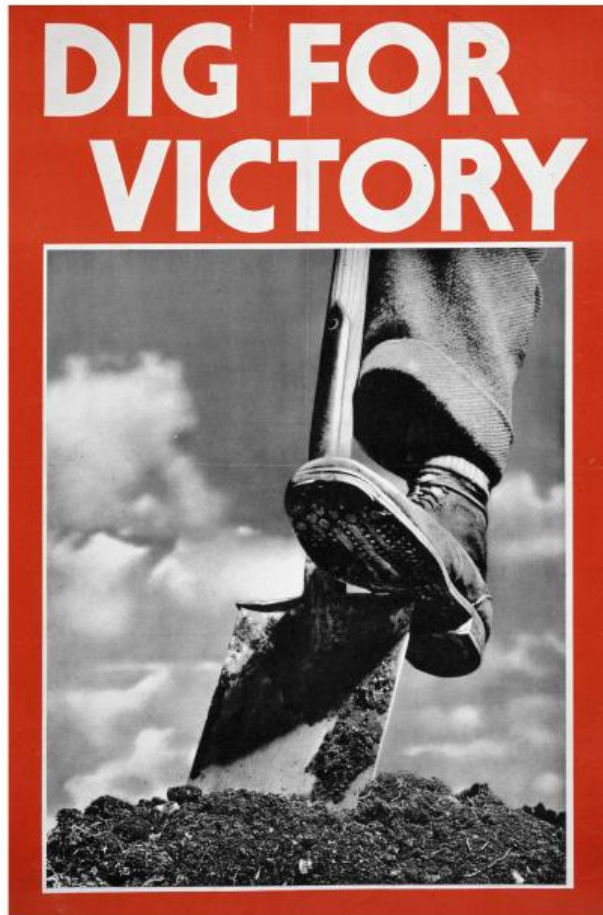
## PRINTED SURVEY



**KEEP  
CALM  
AND  
CARRY  
ON**



## SECTION A



1. Do you recognise this image?

- ☐ Yes – Please answer questions 2, 3 and 4  
☐ No – Please answer questions 3 and 5

2. If you recognise the image, why do you think you know it? If you think you have ever seen this image before, please explain when you think that was and in what circumstances – whether it was just once or many times. If you think you might have seen it before but you are not sure where or when, please make a guess and describe any memories you have.

3. What thoughts come to mind when you look at this image? These may be memories, emotions you feel or ideas you associate with it. Please describe anything you can think of.

4. If you do know this image, why do you think it is so well-known? Do you think it is memorable to other people?

5. If you do not know this image, why do you think it might be memorable to other people? What elements of the image are most striking? Do you think you might remember it now?

## SECTION B



1. Do you recognise this image?

- ☐ Yes – Please answer questions 2, 3 and 4  
☐ No – Please answer questions 3 and 5

2. If you recognise the image, why do you think you know it? If you think you have ever seen this image before, please explain when you think that was and in what circumstances – whether it was just once or many times. If you think you might have seen it before but you are not sure where or when, please make a guess and describe any memories you have.

3. What thoughts come to mind when you look at this image? These may be memories, emotions you feel or ideas you associate with it. Please describe anything you can think of.

4. If you do know this image, why do you think it is so well-known? Do you think it is memorable to other people?

5. If you do not know this image, why do you think it might be memorable to other people? What elements of the image are most striking? Do you think you might remember it now?





## SECTION D



1. Do you recognise this image?

- ☐ Yes – Please answer questions 2, 3 and 4  
☐ No – Please answer questions 3 and 5

2. If you recognise the image, why do you think you know it? If you think you have ever seen this image before, please explain when you think that was and in what circumstances – whether it was just once or many times. If you think you might have seen it before but you are not sure where or when, please make a guess and describe any memories you have.

3. What thoughts come to mind when you look at this image? These may be memories, emotions you feel or ideas you associate with it. Please describe anything you can think of.

4. If you do know this image, why do you think it is so well-known? Do you think it is memorable to other people?

5. If you do not know this image, why do you think it might be memorable to other people? What elements of the image are most striking? Do you think you might remember it now?

## SECTION E



1. Do you recognise this image?

- ☐ Yes – Please answer questions 2, 3 and 4  
☐ No – Please answer questions 3 and 5

2. If you recognise the image, why do you think you know it? If you think you have ever seen this image before, please explain when you think that was and in what circumstances – whether it was just once or many times. If you think you might have seen it before but you are not sure where or when, please make a guess and describe any memories you have.

3. What thoughts come to mind when you look at this image? These may be memories, emotions you feel or ideas you associate with it. Please describe anything you can think of.

4. If you do know this image, why do you think it is so well-known? Do you think it is memorable to other people? Please give any thoughts on what it is about this image that makes it famous or iconic.

5. If you do not know this image, why do you think it might be memorable to other people? What elements of the image are most striking? Do you think you might remember it now?

## SECTION F

1. What is your year of birth?

2. Please indicate your gender identity.

3. Which level/s of education have you attained?

*This information is only requested in order for us to make sure our data is as representative of the population as possible.*

- ☐ Primary School
- ☐ Secondary School
- ☐ Some College or Further Education
- ☐ Bachelor's Degree
- ☐ Master's Degree
- ☐ Advanced Graduate work or PhD
- ☐ Prefer not to say

4. Where were you born? (Please provide country and town or area)

5. If you live in the United Kingdom, how long have you lived here?

*These questions help us to identify your cultural background to assist us in understanding your memory of the cultural objects presented below.*

- ☐ More than ten years
- ☐ Less than ten years
- ☐ I don't live in the United Kingdom

6. Would you be interested in taking part in an interview to follow up on your participation in this survey?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe

7. If you would be interested in taking part in an interview, please provide contact details:


Name:

Email address:  Phone number:

## SCREENSHOTS OF ONLINE SURVEY

Research Project: Cultural memory of Second World War Images

Information for participants



Please read this information sheet carefully before completing the survey. If you have any questions about the survey, please email [katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk).

**What is the research about?**  
This research project aims to reveal whether people recognise images produced by the government during the Second World War and how people think about these images today. Some images from this period are reproduced frequently in popular culture so it is important to understand how individuals respond to these images and what role they serve in British cultural memory.

The research is being undertaken by Katherine Howells, research student at King's College London, and is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. This study was approved by the King's College London Arts & Humanities Research Ethics Panel on 21 March 2017 - Reference LRS-16/17-4214.

**Why should I take part?**  
Completing this short survey will give you the opportunity to consider your own memory and interpretations connected to images and slogans from the Second World War and make a valuable contribution to this vital area of research into British culture and memory.

**How does the survey work?**  
This survey is designed to reveal your spontaneous memory of and reaction to the images presented. We do not wish participants to spend too long considering the questions and analysing the images, but rather we would prefer participants to type in whatever comes to mind as naturally and openly as possible.

**How much time will it take?**  
The survey contains six sections (A to F) and should take no longer than 10 minutes to complete.

**What will happen to the data collected?**  
All data collected will be anonymised and stored securely at the Department of Digital Humanities, King's College London. If you exit the survey before it is complete and partial data is collected, this data will be deleted. If you give your consent, we may invite you to a follow-up interview at a later date, in order to discuss your memories and opinions in more depth.

**Can I withdraw from the research?**  
Participation in this survey is entirely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw from the research up to one week after you complete the survey, by emailing [katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk).

Although we think it is very unlikely, if you suffer any harm as a direct result of taking part in this study you can apply for compensation under King's College London's 'No Fault Compensation Schemes'.

**How do I take part?**  
Please look at each image and answer the questions included with each one. Do not worry about how you answer the questions, but just quickly type whatever comes to mind in a way that makes sense to you.

**Contact details**

Katherine Howells – Researcher  
Email: [katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk)

Professor Simon Tanner – Supervisor  
Email: [simon.tanner@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:simon.tanner@kcl.ac.uk)

1. I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained above. I understand that such information will be treated in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998.


☐ Yes  
☐ No

2. I confirm that I have read and understood the information above and I agree to participate in the survey.

☐ Yes  
☐ No

6%

Next

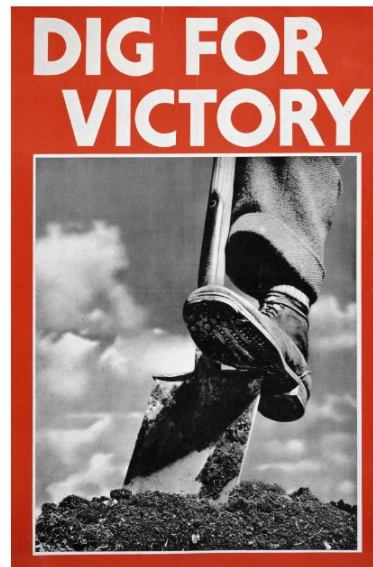
Powered by  
  
See how easy it is to [create a survey](#).

Privacy & Cookie Policy



**Research Project: Cultural memory of Second World War images**

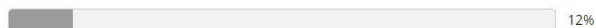
## SECTION A1



1. Do you recognise this image?

☐ Yes

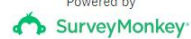
☐ No



Prev

Next

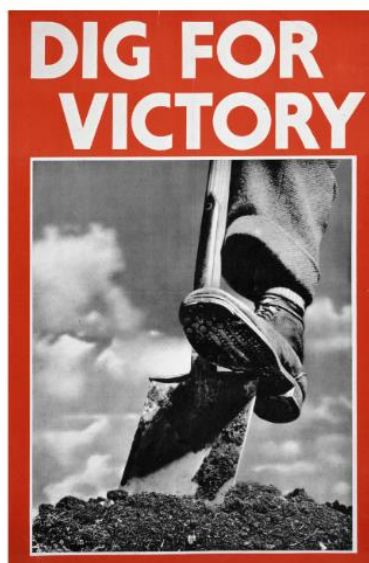
Powered by



See how easy it is to [create a survey](#).

## Research Project: Cultural memory of Second World War images

## SECTION A2



1. **Why do you think you recognise this image?** If you think you have ever seen this image before, please explain when you think that was and in what circumstances – whether it was just once or many times. If you think you might have seen it before but you are not sure where or when, please make a guess and describe any memories you have.

2. **What thoughts come to mind when you look at this image?** These may be memories, emotions you feel or ideas you associate with it. Please describe anything you can think of.

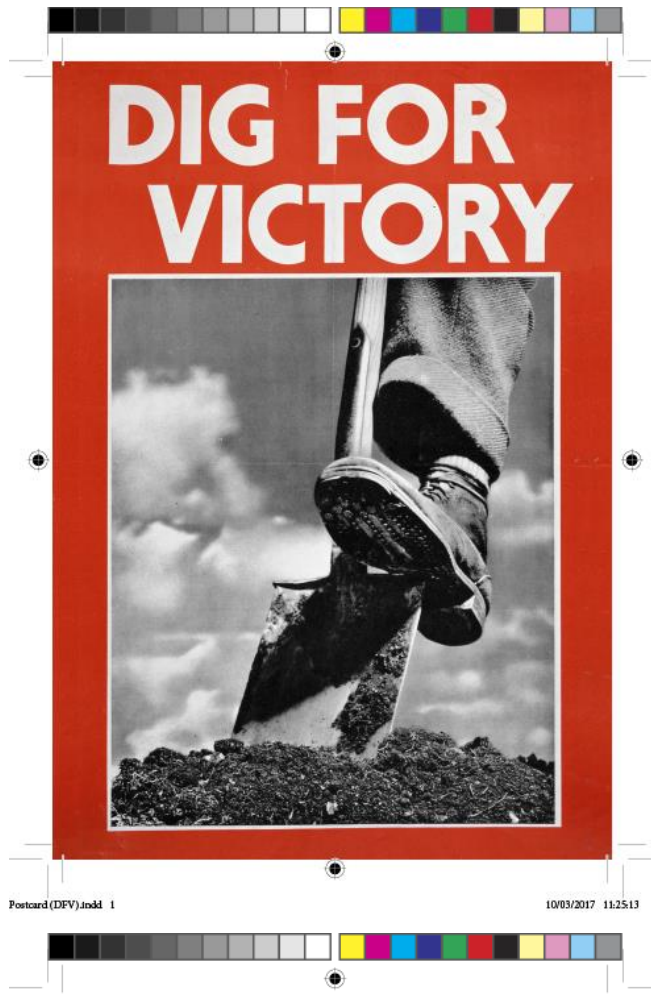
3. **Why do you think this image is so well-known?** Do you think it is memorable to other people?

18%

Prev

Next

## SURVEY PROMOTION FLYERS



### Do you recognise this image?

This poster was produced by the Ministry of Information in 1941 to promote self-sufficiency and domestic food production in response to Germany's blockade during the Second World War.

The slogan and poster are well-known by people today due to their frequent repetition in printed media, on television and on the internet.

### Please share your thoughts on this image!

I am conducting a research project to reveal whether people recognise and remember images produced by the government during the Second World War and how people think about these images today.

You could contribute to the research by sharing your memories and opinions on this and other images. If you'd like to take part:

- visit: [www.lovelyoldtree.com/warimages](http://www.lovelyoldtree.com/warimages)
- email: [katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk)

**KING'S**  
*College*  
**LONDON**

The research is being undertaken by Katherine Howells, research student at King's College London. The research is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.



## Do you recognise this image?

This poster was created by the Ministry of Information in 1939 but was never officially issued during the Second World War.

The slogan and poster are well-known by people today due to their frequent repetition in printed media, on television and on the internet.

## Please share your thoughts on this image!

I am conducting a research project to reveal whether people recognise and remember images produced by the government during the Second World War and how people think about these images today.

You could contribute to the research by sharing your memories and opinions on this and other images.

If you'd like to take part:

- visit: [www.lovelyoldtree.com/warimages](http://www.lovelyoldtree.com/warimages)
- email: [katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk)

**KING'S**  
*College*  
**LONDON**

The research is being undertaken by Katherine Howells, research student at King's College London. The research is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.



## Do you recognise this image?

This poster was produced by the Ministry of Information in 1942 as part of the 'Careless Talk Cost Lives' campaign in order to warn British servicemen about revealing sensitive military information.

The slogan and poster are well-known by people today due to their frequent repetition in printed media, on television and on the internet.

## Please share your thoughts on this image!

I am conducting a research project to reveal whether people recognise and remember images produced by the government during the Second World War and how people think about these images today.

You could contribute to the research by sharing your memories and opinions on this and other images. If you'd like to take part:

- visit: [www.lovelyoldtree.com/warimages](http://www.lovelyoldtree.com/warimages)
- email: [katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk)

**KING'S**  
*College*  
**LONDON**

The research is being undertaken by Katherine Howells, research student at King's College London. The research is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

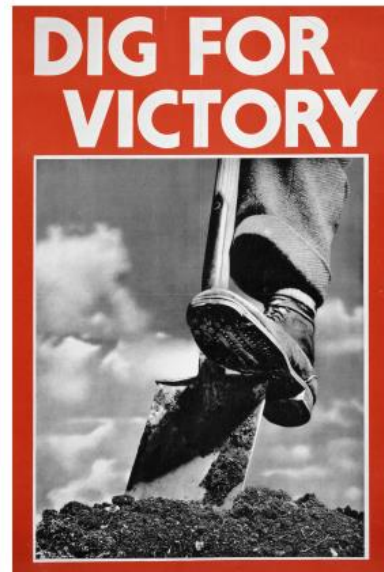


## BANNER STANDS

Do you recognise  
these images?



Do you recognise  
these images?



## EMAILS TO SURVEY LOCATION CONTACTS

Dear [Name],

My name is Katherine Howells and I am a PhD Candidate at King's College London. My supervisor, Professor Simon Tanner, suggested I get in touch with you to discuss the possibility of working with the British Library on a public engagement activity which is part of my project. I am researching propaganda materials produced by the Ministry of Information and their role in British cultural memory of the Second World War. This work is part of the [MoI Digital project](#).

As part of the research I wish to conduct a survey to ask members of the public about their own memories and opinions related to the materials. Do you think it would be possible for me to run a small information stand inside the entrance hall or in the courtyard of the British Library to engage with visitors and encourage them to share their memories and thoughts on the Second World War and the Ministry's propaganda materials?

I feel this area of research would be of interest to visitors to the British Library and would provide a stimulating and entertaining public engagement opportunity. Would you be able to meet for a coffee to discuss this idea in a little more detail? I'd really appreciate any thoughts or suggestions you could offer.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Best wishes,

Katherine

Dear \_\_\_\_,

My name is Katherine Howells and I am a PhD Candidate at King's College London. I am conducting a research project about memories of Second World War posters (such as 'Keep Calm and Carry On' and 'Dig for Victory') and I'm writing to enquire about the possibility of running a small information stand in the public area in the centre of Ealing Broadway shopping centre.

I would like to engage with members of the public and encourage them to share their memories and opinions about these famous wartime materials. I feel this would be of interest to visitors to the shopping centre and would offer a fun and stimulating activity to complement their shopping experience.

Would it be possible to secure permission to set up a stand like this early next year? I'd really appreciate the opportunity to discuss the idea further with you.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Best wishes,

Katherine Howells

## PHOTOGRAPHS OF SURVEY STANDS

*Survey stand at Ealing Broadway Shopping Centre, 12 May 2017 (Source: Howells 2017)*



*Survey stand at Croydon Clocktower, 19 April 2017 (Source: Howells 2017)*





*Survey stand at The National Archives, 12 April 2017 (Source: Howells 2017)*



*Survey stand at Nottingham Library, 28 April 2017 (Source: Howells 2017)*



## SURVEY DISTRIBUTION SCRIPT

### Survey Pitch

- Hello - I'm conducting research [for a PhD project / on Second World War posters] and I'd like to ask...
  - Would you be interested in completing a quick survey?
  - Would you be able to spare ten minutes to complete a survey?
- It's about posters of the Second World War and how people respond to them.
- **[AGREEMENT]** Thank you very much.
- As you can see there are five images here and the survey asks you to comment on as many as you can.
- Please read this information here before you start.
- If you have any questions, please let me know. It should only take about ten minutes.
- **[DISAGREEMENT]** Please take a postcard. It has a link to the survey online so you can complete it if you get time later.

### Supplemental script

#### What are these images?

- These are posters that were created in Britain during the Second World War to change the behaviour of the public.
- They were created by the Ministry of Information.
- They were created for various different publicity campaigns, for example Dig for Victory was to encourage people to grow their own food, and Make-do and Mend was to encourage people to mend and reuse their clothes.

#### What is the Ministry of Information?

- The Ministry of Information was an organisation set up by the British government during the Second World War. It was designed to produce materials to influence the attitudes and behaviour of the British public. It created campaigns to encourage people to contribute to the war effort on the home front.

#### Can you tell me more about...

- Dig for Victory
  - The Dig for Victory campaign was started in 1939 to encourage domestic food production in response to German blockades
  - This poster was printed around 4 million times between 1941 and 1945
  - The foot in the poster is thought to be that of an allotment holder from Acton! - William Henry McKie, who was a senior member of the Acton Gardening Association.
- Keep Mum, She's Not So Dumb
  - This poster was created in 1941 as part of the Careless Talk Costs Lives campaign.
  - It was designed to warn British servicemen against revealing sensitive military information to women.
- Go Through Your Wardrobe - Make-do and Mend
  - The Make-do and Mend campaign was created to help people deal with textile shortages and the introduction of clothes rationing in June 1941.
  - The Ministry of Information initiated the campaign on behalf of The Board of Trade to organise exhibitions and produce leaflets and posters.
- Careless Talk Costs Lives
  - This poster is one of a set created by cartoonist Cyril Kenneth Bird known as Fougasse, as part of the Careless Talk Costs Lives campaign.
  - These were designed to be funny and stop people gossiping and spreading rumours.
  - These posters were very popular among members of the public.
- Keep Calm and Carry On
  - This poster was never actually officially used during the war as it was only considered appropriate in the event of an invasion.

- some 2.45m copies of the poster had been passed to local distribution centres by early autumn 1939, but entire campaign was scrapped after just four weeks and posters were pulped.
- Only a few copies survived, including the one discovered in Alnwick in 2000 - the poster then became really popular after 2008.

## Appendix D: Survey analysis data

### SURVEY RESPONSE DATA

See Microsoft Excel file, [DATA3 Survey Response Data](https://doi.org/10.18742/rdm01-483), which is openly available at <https://doi.org/10.18742/rdm01-483>

### Description

This spreadsheet contains the data collected during the survey phase, including the paper surveys and the online survey.

### Key to field names

Field name	Description
Unique ID	Unique ID assigned by SurveyMonkey for online surveys and manually by research for paper surveys
Survey type	Whether the survey was online or offline
Survey location	For offline surveys, where the survey was completed
Completion date	The date that the survey was completed
Birth year	The year of birth of the participant
Age bracket	The age bracket which the participant falls into (see section 5.3.1)
Gender	Gender of participant
Education level	Highest level of education achieved by participant
Birthplace	Birthplace of participant
Birth region	Region of birth of participant
Length of time in UK	Whether the participant has lived in the UK for more or less than ten years
Interview?	Whether the participant is willing to take part in a follow-up interview
A1 – E5	Participant's response to each survey question (see section 5.2.2)

## DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

*Table D1 Birth years of participants*

<b>Birth year</b>	<b>Number of survey participants</b>
1925-1930	4
1931-1939	11
1940-1945	10
1946-1955	47
1956-1965	40
1966-1975	38
1976-1985	31
1986-1995	55
1996-2001	16
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>252</b>

*Table D2 Birth regions of participants*

<b>Birth region</b>	<b>Number of survey participants</b>
East Midlands	11
East of England	9
International	36
London	73
North East	9
North West	19
Scotland	7
South East	31
South West	12
Wales	9
West Midlands	16
Yorkshire and the Humber	15
Unknown	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>252</b>

*Table D3 Gender of participants*

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Number of survey participants</b>
Female	129
Male	120
Genderqueer	1
Prefer not to say	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>252</b>

*Table D4 Highest level of education of participants*

<b>Highest level of education</b>	<b>Number of survey participants</b>
Secondary School	16
Some College or Further Education	56
Bachelor's Degree	61
Master's Degree	66
Advanced Graduate work or PhD	46
Prefer not to say	7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>252</b>

## CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SURVEY RESPONSE DATA

See Microsoft Excel file, [DATA4 Content Analysis of Survey Response Data](https://doi.org/10.18742/rdm01-483), which is openly available at <https://doi.org/10.18742/rdm01-483>

### Description

This spreadsheet contains the data from the content analysis of the responses to the survey. The spreadsheet contains five tabs: one for each of the five images included in the survey. In each tab, details about responses from each participant are recorded, including the unique ID of the participant and whether they recognise the image and slogan. The manual coding of the responses is then recorded, with the categories of sign and connotation, memory, association and emotion.

### Key to field names

Field name	Description
Recognised	How the participant answered the first question in each section ‘do you recognise this image?’
Slogan known	Where this could be interpreted, whether the participant reported that they knew the slogan specifically.
Image known	Where this could be interpreted, whether the participant reported that they knew the image specifically, rather than the slogan.
When/where seen	Any contexts reported where the participant remembers seeing the image
Sign	Visual sign within the image mentioned by the participant
Connotation	Connotation which the participant associates with the sign
Survey location	Location in the survey text, indicated by a location code (A-E)
Memory 1	Memory described by participant
Triggered by 1	The thing which is reported to trigger the memory
Association 1	Concept mentioned by the participant and associated with something other than the image in question
With 1	The thing with which the concept is associated
Emotion 1	Emotion expressed by the participant

Towards 1	The thing towards which the emotion is expressed
Well-known to others	Whether the participant considers the image to be well-known to other people
Reason for fame	Any reasons for the image's fame or memorability described by the participant
Notes	Any additional notes.



## Appendix E: Interview documents

### ETHICAL APPROVAL LETTER

Research Ethics  
Office

Franklin Wilkins Building  
5-9 Waterloo Bridge Wing  
Waterloo Road  
London SE1 9NH  
Telephone 020 7848 4020/4070/4077  
reo@kcl.ac.uk



Katherine Howells

14 June 2017

Dear Katherine

LRS-16/17-4718

I am pleased to inform you that full approval for your project has been granted by the A&H Research Ethics Panel

- Ethical approval is granted for a period of **three years** from 14 June 2017. You will not receive a reminder that your approval is about to lapse. It is your responsibility to apply for an extension prior to the project lapsing.
- You should report any untoward events or unforeseen ethical problems to the panel Chair, via the Research Ethics Office, within a week of occurrence. Information about the panel may be accessed at: <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/committees/ssh/reps/index.aspx>
- If you wish to change your project or request an extension of approval, please complete and submit a Modification Request to [crec-lowrisk@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:crec-lowrisk@kcl.ac.uk). Please quote your ethics reference number, found at the top of this letter, in all correspondence with the Research Ethics Office. Details of how to complete a modification request can be found at: <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/modifications.aspx>
- All research should be conducted in accordance with the King's College London *Guidelines on Good Practice in Academic Research* available at: <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/college/policyzone/assets/files/research/good%20practice%20Sept%2009%20FINAL.pdf>

Please note that we may, for auditing purposes, contact you to ascertain the status of your research.

We wish you every success with your research.

Best wishes,

Miss Annah Whyton

Senior Research Ethics Officer

For and on behalf of:  
A&H Research Ethics Panel

## INFORMATION SHEET

### Research Project: Cultural memory of Second World War images Interview Information Sheet



Please read this Information Sheet carefully before completing the consent form. If you have any questions about the interview process, please ask the researcher.

#### What is the research about?

This research project aims to reveal whether people recognise images produced by the government during the Second World War and how people think about these images today. Some images from this period are reproduced frequently in popular culture so it is important to understand how individuals respond to these images and what role they serve in British cultural memory.

The research is being undertaken by Katherine Howells, research student at King's College London, and is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. This study was approved by the King's College London Arts & Humanities Research Ethics Panel on 14 June 2017 - Ref. LRS-16/17-4718.

#### Why should I take part?

Taking part in this interview will give you the opportunity to consider your own memory and interpretations connected to images and slogans from the Second World War and make a valuable contribution to this vital area of research into British culture and memory.

#### How will the interview work?

This interview is designed to uncover your memories and ideas relating to the Second World War and also reveal your spontaneous reactions to particular images. You will be asked broad questions about your own life and you will also be presented with some printed images and asked to comment upon them. The interview will be audio recorded and the recording will be transcribed after the interview.

#### How much time will it take?

The interview process will take between 30 minutes and 1 hour.

#### Where will it take place?

The interview will take place in a public location convenient to you. The exact arrangements should be discussed with the researcher in detail before the interview.

#### What will happen to the data collected?

The audio recording, transcript and notes will be anonymised and stored securely at the Department of Digital Humanities, King's College London. On completion of the research project, the audio file will be destroyed.

#### Can I withdraw from the research?

Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw from the research up to two weeks after the interview date, by emailing [katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk). Although we think it is very unlikely, if you suffer any harm as a direct result of taking part in this study you can apply for compensation under King's College London's 'No Fault Compensation Schemes'.

#### How do I take part?

If you are happy to take part in the interview, please read and complete the consent form and return it to the researcher. The researcher will then discuss with you the location, date and time of the interview.

#### Contact details

Katherine Howells – Researcher  
Email: [katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:katherine.howells@kcl.ac.uk)

Professor Simon Tanner – Supervisor  
Email: [simon.tanner@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:simon.tanner@kcl.ac.uk)

## CONSENT FORM

### Research Project: Cultural memory of Second World War images Interview Consent Form



Please read the Information Sheet carefully before completing this consent form.

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

1. I confirm that I understand that by ticking each box I am consenting to this element of the study. I understand that it will be assumed that unticked boxes mean that I **DO NOT** consent to that part of the study. I understand that by not giving consent for any one element I may be deemed ineligible for the study.

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2. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information and asked questions which have been answered satisfactorily.

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3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to 2 weeks after my interview date.

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4. I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the UK Data Protection Act 1998.

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5. I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from the College for monitoring and audit purposes.

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6. I understand that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify me in any publications

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7. I consent to my interview being audio recorded.

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Name of Participant

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Date

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Signature

## INTERVIEW TOPIC PLAN

Topic	Model question	Sub question
The Second World War	First, I'd like to understand how the Second World War features in your own life. What does it mean to you?	[What are your <b>own memories</b> of the war, or life just after the war?] (Age-specific)
		Were there any experiences or memories of the war shared in your <b>family</b> ? Give some examples.
		Did you learn about the Second World War at <b>school</b> ? If so what do you remember?
		Are you interested in the Second World War more generally? Do you notice references to it in wider <b>culture</b> ?

Topic	Model question	Sub question
Recognition	Do you recognise this image?	Do you have any <b>memories</b> of seeing it before? If so, <b>where</b> and <b>when</b> ?
		Which do you recognise most? The <b>image</b> or the <b>slogan</b> ?
		In your opinion, what is this image?
Reason for recognition	(If recognised) I'd like you to think about why you know this image.	Do you have an idea of when you might have <b>first</b> become aware of it?
		What is it about it that makes it <b>memorable</b> to you?
Meaning and interpretation	What does this image mean to you?	What <b>thoughts or memories</b> come to mind when you look at it?
		How does the image make you <b>feel</b> ?
		Circle the <b>part</b> of the image that draws your eye. Why are you drawn to that? What do you <b>associate</b> that with?

Well-known and iconic	Do you think this image is <b>well known</b> by others in <b>Britain</b> ? If so, why?	Do you think this image is <b>well known</b> by others in <b>Britain</b> ? If so, why?
		(If they use the term ' <b>iconic</b> ') What do you mean by that term?
		(If they do not use the term ' <b>iconic</b> ') Would you describe it as ' <b>iconic</b> '? If so, why? If not, why not?

## TEMPLATE EMAIL TO POTENTIAL INTERVIEWEES

**Subject line: Invitation to participate in research on Second World War posters**

Dear [Name]

Recently you were kind enough to complete a research survey [Online/at Location] and I sincerely thank you for taking the time to contribute to the research.

Please will you help me with the next stage of this research? Out of the 300 people who participated in the survey, I would like to follow up with you in more depth. Could you spare an hour to take part in a face-to-face interview with me in the next few months?

[My name is Katherine Howells and I am a PhD student with King's College London working on a project about Second World War posters.]

When we meet I would show you some printed images and we'd talk about your reactions and opinions when looking at them. Our discussion would give you the opportunity to consider your memories of the Second World War and once we've finished our interview I'd be very happy to share with you some of my results so far and discuss any questions you have.

It'd be great to meet you in a public location near to you, such as a public library or café. I'd be happy to buy you a cup of coffee and cake! The timing and location are flexible so please let me know your preferences. Just to note, I would record the interview to enable us to have a free conversation without taking notes.

If you are interested in taking part and/or would like to know more, please email me and I can send you full details of what will be involved. I really appreciate you taking the time to consider this invitation.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Best wishes,

Katherine Howells

## Appendix F: Interview analysis data

### DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS OF INTERVIEWEES

*Table F1 Birth years of participants*

<b>Birth year</b>	<b>Number of interviewees</b>
1925-1930	2
1931-1939	1
1940-1945	3
1946-1955	2
1956-1965	1
1966-1975	2
1976-1985	1
1986-1995	2
1996-2001	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>

*Table F2 Birth regions of participants*

<b>Birth region</b>	<b>Number of interviewees</b>
East Midlands	1
East of England	2
International	2
London	2
North East	2
North West	1
Scotland	1
South East	1
South West	1
Wales	1
West Midlands	1
Yorkshire and the Humber	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>

*Table F3 Gender of participants*

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Number of interviewees</b>
Female	9
Male	7
Prefer not to say	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>

*Table F4 Highest level of education of participants*

<b>Highest level of education</b>	<b>Number of interviewees</b>
Secondary School	2
Some College or Further Education	4
Bachelor's Degree	5
Master's Degree	3
Advanced Graduate work or PhD	2
Prefer not to say	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>



## TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEWS

**Interview 1: 6165997579**

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant 6165997579 on 20 July 2017 at Cost Coffee, BFI IMAX, 1 Charlie Chaplin Walk, London SE1 8XR.

- Year of birth: 1965
- Age bracket: 1956-1965
- Gender: Female
- Highest level of education: Bachelor's Degree
- Birth region: North East

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 0:43.4	<b>To start off, I'd just like to ask you some basic questions, for me to understand how the Second World War features in your life, so what does it mean to you. So, to start with, are there any memories, family memories, that you have, that were passed down?</b>
2	0:43.4 - 2:19.6	Um, my parents were children during, World War Two, umm I suppose as my Dad's got old and quite ill, his memories have become more important to him, not so much now as he's too frail now but he started to write them down and he had them quite vividly about things that happened to him during the war umm bombs going overhead, soldiers being on the streets umm so I think— neither of my grandfathers um served, they both had reserved occupations so neither of them had direct memories like that. Actually my husband's grandfather was a soldier and took part in the D Day landings and umm err was a dispatch rider for Montgomery and he used to talk about that so I think that generation of course it was a very important part of their life and their memories so obviously I, growing up around them, you just absorb it don't you, so they've talked about it a lot my mum very specifically about her reaction she was probably ten when the war ended to images of the holocaust and that sort of thing— things about the home front, things about, you know it's been sort of constant maybe, you know it was a very important event in their lives even though they were children at the time, formed them and their personality and their attitudes to things and clearly that's come down to me.
3	2:19.6 - 3:49.7	<b>And where did they live?</b> They lived in the north east. Yeah, so, it was a heavily industrialised area so there were was a lot of um military activity in that area yeah, Hartlepool, and um Stockton. <b>And, what about at school, did you learn about the Second World War at school?</b> Err yeah actually my earliest memories of that were that my mum used to— you know the World at War the TV series, used to be shown at lunchtime on a Sunday and there wasn't anything else to do on a Sunday. We'd all end up being around while it was one, so that was a really vivid memory. That TV series. Ummm we didn't go to museums, we never did anything like that. At school, I don't remember doing anything about it at primary school, secondary school, no I don't think we did. I think when I did my degree, I did some Second World War stuff, but it wasn't part of the curriculum then, I know it definitely is part of the curriculum now as all three of my kinds have done the home front at primary school.

		<p><b>So was your degree History?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Ok so you don't specifically remember doing it at school?</b></p> <p>No, I don't remember doing it at school.</p>
4	3:49.7 - 4:47.9	<p><b>And then, more generally, in recent years have you had any interest in it particularly - going to museums and things like that?</b></p> <p>Yeah, yeah we go to the Imperial War Museum, fairly regularly, I've got three sons to that's always been a standard thing. I'm interested in history generally Ummm, each time they've gone through the home front in primary school obviously they've done that there we've backed that up by doing the 1940s house they had that was at the Imperial War Museums wasn't it. We've just been to Churchill War Rooms. Yeah, so umm err we travel to Germany quite a lot so it comes up in conversation, you know, just about the Cold War as well but also about the Second World War. Err yeah. And we don't constantly go on about it or constantly watch war films but it's just around isn't it, yeah, it's just around.</p>
5	4:47.9 - 7:28.5	<p><b>Great, OK well then I'll start with the images. Half of these images, you've seen before in the survey, so you can repeat yourself if you want or just refer to what you've said.</b></p> <p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Yes</p> <p><b>And what memories do you have of seeing it before? Do you have any specific memories?</b></p> <p>No I think it'll have been in, umm, you know the Imperial War Museum, they've done things about the home front or maybe kids' homework, that sort of thing.</p> <p><b>And do you recognise the image or the slogan?</b></p> <p>Both. Err, probably the slogan more, maybe this slogan was used on different images. It's definitely a home front sort of slogan.</p> <p><b>Do you think that you may have heard the slogan from family, or cultural things like TV?</b></p> <p>Probably— cultural things like TV and films and that sort of thing, rather than family.</p> <p><b>And then in your opinion, what is this image to you?</b></p> <p>It's a— it represents the fact that umm, everybody could do their bit. It feels like it's about— very much a working-class image, that everybody— I mean it's quite paternalistic, I think it was at the time wasn't it, the ministry you know was preparing. But it— so it doesn't, it doesn't feel like a propaganda image or anything like that it feels very much like we're all in this together. Umm yeah, appealing directly to, you know, very ordinary people or people who couldn't because of the occupations I suppose my grandad had an allotment, or no he didn't he had a very big garden around his, they lived on a corner - very big garden, so he, you know, that's what they did, they did what they could when they weren't working, doing other things they were doing.</p> <p><b>So you see it not as propaganda, not in a negative sense.</b></p> <p>No, no. More of a positive thing.</p>
6	7:28.5 - 8:31.1	<p><b>Why do you think you know it? Is it just that it is repeated in various places? Why do you think it has become memorable to you?</b></p>

		<p>I think because the kids have each done the home front and there's the home front stuff in the Imperial War Museum. The home front, you know in other places I've been to, there's a museum on the Second World War in the north east that I've been to a couple of times and I think the home front is err, especially more recently I think there's been a lot more emphasis on the home front as being something worthy of— the war is not just about people fighting it's about the people who don't fight, mainly the women, the effect on families and the effect on women, and that's all part of the same interest isn't it I suppose, you know, what happened at home. So all those museums have quite a big emphasis on the home front and that's where I've seen it, yep, that's where you see it.</p>
7	8:31.1 - 9:34.4	<p><b>OK, and then how does it make you feel? Are there any emotions that come to mind?</b></p> <p>Umm.— Yeah, not directly I suppose, I mean it makes you feel a little bit, you know, that whole thing about the sense of community, everybody, you know, that that represents, that idea of World War Two, so you know that is that, everybody was working together and you know actually after the blackout a lot of awful things happened, but that that represents I suppose we're all at war, but it represents, you know compared with what we're all like at the moment, where everybody's tense and angry with each other, that feels a little bit more like we were all a bit more, you know, there was something to get behind, that sort of thing. So maybe it feels a little bit of a simpler time, even though there was a massive struggle for survival going on. If that's not too controversial.</p> <p><b>No that makes sense.</b></p>
8	9:34.4 - 10:01.2	<p><b>When you look at it, what draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>It's the boot I think. The boot, yeah.</p> <p><b>And you've kind of said what that might represent.</b></p> <p>Yeah, yeah the working class, yeah, sort of maybe that's what it would represent, yeah.</p>
9	10:01.2 - 11:37.3	<p><b>I'm going to move on to another one from the same campaign. Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>Um, I don't know I can't remember if I've said I had done. It's not as familiar as that one. I don't think I've seen this particular one, and I don't remember that Grow Your Own Food, supply your own cookhouse. I don't remember having seen this one.</p> <p><b>And, same question, what is this image to you? Do you see it in a similar way to this one?</b></p> <p>It's a bit more umm— complicated— it's a bit more umm— overdesigned, probably. Yeah it's probably why you don't see it, do you, you don't remember it.</p> <p><b>So you mean the meaning doesn't jump out at you in the same way?</b></p> <p>Yeah, presumably what, you know, yeah, if you look at it you know obviously it's fairly obvious what it is, but it's a little bit over fussy. Yeah I don't remember having seen it.</p>
10	11:37.3 - 13:21.9	<p><b>What thoughts come to mind when you look at this?</b></p> <p>Umm, I suppose, um, I quite like the supply your own cookhouse, err, you know the link between the very small piece of land, the size of the table and your, umm, but yeah the message isn't anywhere near as clear as that one, although you know</p>

		<p>it's an important message obviously you can grow vegetables in any available plot, but umm, it's not...</p> <p><b>It doesn't have the...</b></p> <p>It doesn't have the impact or the power of that one, yeah.</p> <p><b>And I presume from what you're saying that there are no emotions that come with this one?</b></p> <p>No, no.</p> <p><b>Is there a particular bit that jumps out at you when you look at it?</b></p> <p>Maybe the— these being red look a bit odd don't they, they look like weapons, rather than knife and fork, and you know the soldier's hat I suppose, it's a nice touch— but umm, and every available piece of land must be cultivated, I mean it might not be as powerful as that but it's more of an instruction thing isn't it, it's more about getting a piece of information over rather than inspiring people. So I mean, it might inspire me to think, oh actually I have go a little bit of scrap of land that size, you know, so although yeah it's not as powerful it's—</p> <p><b>It's more specific...</b></p> <p>yeah, it's giving you a bit more information.</p>
11	13:21.9 - 14:31.5	<p><b>And just to return to this one for a moment and ask this question for both of them. Some people refer to this one as 'iconic'. What do you think they would mean by that?</b></p> <p>Actually probably, you know, just show that and people would know what it was referring to. You'd know, even just showing a part of that, you'd know what that means and what it refers to. You know, supply your own cookhouse— every available piece of land, although this is more instructional, and explains what they want you to do, this you don't need, you know it's only got three words but you know exactly what it's talking about, it's talking about— and presumably also it appeals to the emotion, rather than just oh what do they mean here oh they mean that. You know it's much more immediate isn't it.</p> <p><b>So it's the ability to represent the words with the emotions?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>
12	14:31.5 - 16:36.5	<p><b>Then we'll move to this one, again this was in the survey as well. You did recognise it?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Do you remember where you've seen it?</b></p> <p>I think, probably, in the War Museum when they've got posters, you know the poster shop that sort of thing. Or in an exhibition about the home front.</p> <p><b>And do you recognise the image or the slogan?</b></p> <p>Make-do and Mend I think, yeah, both of them.</p> <p><b>So you do recognise both?</b></p> <p>Yeah. Not necessarily Go Through Your Wardrobe, but the, certainly Make-do and Mend. I mean it's, for me, I've seen something like it, if not this particular one.</p> <p><b>Again, what is this image to you?</b></p> <p>Err, it's umm, It's similar to the spade image, I mean everybody doing their bit, umm, every bit helps, umm, actually it represents you know it also makes you think about how grim it would be— to— umm because actually most people wouldn't have ended with a wardrobe like that with the beautiful outlines and the you know their clothes would be full of holes, smelly, umm— you know—pretty</p>

		<p>grim actually. So it's very idealised and stylised version of reality of what make-do and mend really was.</p> <p><b>The slogan you recognise, do you remember knowing the slogan earlier?</b></p> <p>Yeah, Make-do and Mend yes, I think it would be through family I would've thought. Yeah, but also through exhibitions and things.</p>
13	16:36.5 - 17:44.9	<p><b>What makes it memorable to you?</b></p> <p>The slogan's very good isn't it. Umm— Again very straightforward and very clear about what it's asking you to do. But— this is memorable— the images, they really are— they obviously put a lot of— you know they're really great graphics aren't they, they really are, they've put a lot of effort into making the posters look appealing and attractive. Yeah, so I think that's why they stand out. They obviously didn't think it was frivolous to spend money on graphic design and things like that or whoever it was who did it.</p> <p><b>So the skill itself of creating these...</b></p> <p>Yeah so the posters— if you took it away from the war, I mean it's a beautiful image isn't it.</p>
14	17:44.9 - 19:57.4	<p><b>Do any thoughts come to mind when you look at it, memories, anything?</b></p> <p>Umm, I remember I had a boyfriend whose mum had a, this is utility, so I think this might have been after the war, she still had a dressing gown that she'd got and it was part of the utility wardrobe which were long lasting, and she had it about 45 years and I remember that. The Make-do and Mend stuff umm, I think you know you remember all the stuff about the gravy browning on the legs and parachutes turned into wedding dresses, but I don't know whether they are family memories or actually memories that have come through the television, I don't know. I remember that, umm— my grandfather's second wife, got married in the war, very very quickly, before her husband went off to fight, and I remember her talking about, well no it can't have been her talking about it because she never really mentioned it because he didn't come back, he survived he went to live in South Africa, but he just didn't come back to her and her daughter, but I remember that whole conversation about, you'd have false wedding cake and a little tiny wedding cake underneath, you know so they'd have fake wedding cake and the dress would be borrowed, you know, and umm — I think I've seen a photo of that as well, but it's hard to work out what's actual memory and what's actually, I certainly, the women of that generation in my family have spoken about those sorts of things that they did - how you made food go a long way, and how you, you know, fooled people using [unintelligible] so you know all that stuff.</p>
15	19:57.4 - 21:01.5	<p><b>How does the image make you feel?</b></p> <p>I think, although like I was saying you know the colours and the shapes and they're very beautiful, you know, if you saw this in the fifties, you'd think it was an advert for a clothes pattern or something, but because you know it's from the forties, Make-do and Mend, although it's a very beautiful image, you know really how unrelenting and grim it must have been for the people on the home front, it was grim for the soldiers as well, but you know six years of Make-do and Mend, and not having— I mean they wouldn't have had much in the first place I suppose even if there isn't a war. But that, also with their men away, how— awful and unrelenting slog. So this is a very idealised version of what make-do and mend would've really been about.</p>
16	21:01.5 - 21:30.6	<p><b>And is your eye drawn to anywhere in the image?</b></p>

		<p>yeah it's the colours, the green the shoes, you know. Looks like, you know what it reminds you of, it reminds you of one of the those, you know the cut-out dolls you'd get with the little tabs that you'd fold over, the cardboard dolls, yeah. So it's you know, it's a very lovely image.</p>
17	21:30.6 - 21:51.6	<p><b>Do you think of this as a well-known image? Would you describe it as iconic?</b></p> <p>Errm, no I don't think so. I think I might have seen it, but I don't think it's an iconic one, I think there are other Make-do and Mend or similar things that would seem more so.</p>
18	21:51.6 - 23:20.3	<p><b>So this is another Make-do and Mend image.</b></p> <p>Okay, I don't think I've seen that one.</p> <p><b>So you don't think you've seen that one.</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>But you do recognise the slogan.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>What is this image to you? Is it interpreted differently?</b></p> <p>Umm Yeah I suppose with that sort of typeface, says Mrs Sew and Sew, it's a bit more instructional isn't it, a bit more aspirational. Yeah, you too could produce an outfit like that, even though you probably couldn't. But this is a little bit disturbing, like an Aunt Sally doll or something I don't know, yeah it's a little bit disturbing that one I think and the Mrs Sew and Sew and she's clearly, I mean I suppose in reality, it's going to look a bit rubbish, but there you go you've got to do it now, maybe it's that, that's when you know they were optimistic about it, now it's you know we really mean it, you know you've got to start patching up your clothes and umm and doing it. Yeah it's much more— yeah, instructional.</p>
19	23:20.3 - 23:44.1	<p><b>So your emotional response to that is a little bit more, you find it more disturbing?</b></p> <p>Yeah, I mean it's just a little bit...</p> <p><b>More negative.</b></p> <p>Yeah more negative I think, yeah. If I saw that I would feel like I was being told I had to do something. Fair enough, they might have got to that stage, whereas this is a bit more you know, like I say aspirational or inspirational, you know, like look what you could do...</p>
20	23:44.1 - 25:03.9	<p><b>Any thoughts, memories, come to mind?</b></p> <p>No I don't remember having seen that, no.</p> <p><b>And you're drawn to and particular part of it?</b></p> <p>Erm, well it's the doll I suppose, but it's not particularly— a you know I suppose it's because we're looking back, that shape and the clothes represent a period of time, whereas this doesn't this could be, you know, this looks more fifties maybe or thirties, not necessarily identifiable as a war— an image from those times. Erm, but yes, the fact that it's a doll is a bit, Mrs Sew and Sew, I mean, Sew and Sew, my mum used to call me a so and so when she was annoyed with me, I thought it's linked with that, she used to say you little sew and sew. That's interesting isn't it. I thought it was rather than saying you little sod, she said you so and so. I'm going to ask her about that. Because I'm not sure I've ever heard anybody else calling somebody a so and so. Maybe it's used as a bit of an insult or something, you know, you're a right so and so.</p>

21	25:03.9 - 26:23.4	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>Yes. I do. Yes.</p> <p><b>Do you remember where you've seen it before?</b></p> <p>I think this one would have been at the Imperial War Museum on posters or in the kids' homework maybe.</p> <p><b>What is it to you?</b></p> <p>It's about, well, it's very clear isn't - Careless Talk Costs Lives - it's about telling people not to um talk about, I know they weren't supposed to put information into letters, getting letters from soldiers or whatever or talk to people about what your son or your husband was doing. Umm because a small amount of information could make a big difference that there was a lot of, I don't know actually to what extent it happened, but there were spies umm around umm yeah, that's what it means.</p>
22	26:23.4 - 27:18.4	<p><b>Why do you think you remember it, why is it stuck in your memory?</b></p> <p>Again because of the slogan. It's quite funny with the Hitler wallpaper. Again the design's really lovely, umm, so yeah, it's because the graphics.</p> <p><b>And the slogan you knew before.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Do you remember anyone saying it?</b></p> <p>No, I don't think so. It wasn't, they were kids at the time, so it probably didn't feature particularly.</p> <p><b>Any memories, thoughts come to mind when you look at it?</b></p> <p>No I don't think so. No, erm, not specifically about that, no.</p>
23	27:18.4 - 28:39.9	<p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Umm, I mean it doesn't particularly. I wonder to what extent — how— how serious a threat it actually was umm— but I suppose they had to guard against even the slight possibility that you know a little bit of information could fall into the wrong hands and that bit of information leading to something serious. Umm, I don't know, yeah, what it makes me think of is it's interesting to know to what extent they were really worried about that.</p> <p>Also actually whether this came out of very specific times, that's interesting as well whether you know before D Day because that's you known or before any other big event actually this becomes more important. Yeah, don't know.</p>
24	28:39.9 - 30:20.2	<p><b>And what are you drawn to, any key part of the image?</b></p> <p>The wallpaper erm— you know it's quite humorous way of getting information over, it's not like Mrs Sew and Sew telling you off, it's much more of a — and the graphics, and the walls have ears, the whole thing really, the whole package.</p> <p><b>Would you think of this as an iconic image?</b></p> <p>Yeah I think there's one on a bus, I think, is there one on a bus?</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>I think I probably know that one more.</p> <p><b>Would you use the term iconic yourself?</b></p>

		<p>Yes probably, certainly the, slogan, again you know exactly what it's referring to and it's a well-known— if somebody said Make-do and Mend now you might think about you know some expensive knitting shop in crouch end or something mightn't you, it doesn't necessarily link right back to the war, whereas Careless Talk Costs Lives and Dig for Victory they take you right back, certainly me, they are very very closely associated with the war, whereas Make-do and Mend is not quite, not quite in the same league I think.</p>
25	30:20.2 - 31:47.1	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Yes</p> <p><b>Where do you think you've seen it? The same as the others?</b></p> <p>Yes, yeah, the war museum probably yeah.</p> <p><b>And do you recognise equally the slogan and the image?</b></p> <p>Yes, yeah.</p> <p><b>What is this image to you?</b></p> <p>It's the same thing I suppose although having said that these are— the three services, it's more of a stretch than possibly this one, whereas this is a little bit humorous but still has an important message, this one actually— I mean I don't know whether this one was specifically targeted at places at the armed forces or whether it was the general population, but was just using this as a little illustration. But yea, you don't know who's listening, you don't know who you can trust. Even people who you assume are quite dumb could be selling secrets or talking to other people, yeah.</p>
26	31:47.1 - 32:56.7	<p><b>And why do you think you have remembered this one?</b></p> <p>I think it's the slogan, it's the, yeah I mean it's just, this one I think I know much more— much more than that one. I mean this is a series isn't it cos the bus one is a similar graphics, this one I don't know if there's more of these type around so actually it's quite a different look from the other ones we've seen. Umm— and actually this is— that could be, without this bit the war bit, that could be, that's relevant all the way through because they had the Profumo scandal in the sixties, where this was going on— so (laugh) you know a government minister or whatever was talking to a woman who was having an affair with the attaché of the Russian embassy or whatever it was, so actually they need to know this all the time. This message presumably is for the general public.</p>
27	32:56.7 - 33:57.5	<p><b>Any memories or thoughts come to mind when you look at this one?</b></p> <p>Umm, no not really I mean I think it's quite interesting for me, it gives you that sense that actually— you know they're having a nice time aren't they and she's clearly in a party or a nightclub and they are drinking whiskey and smoking cigarettes and presumably having a night out and actually and that stuff all did still happen, for some people, whereas you know other people were making do and mending and not living such quite the high life, I suppose. It's glamorous isn't it and it's like a film.</p>
28	33:57.5 - 35:00.2	<p><b>And how do you feel, when you look at it?</b></p> <p>She's looking out at us in a quite a knowing way isn't she, so what are we supposed to— I don't know if— that makes you feel a little bit like these are umm— these are a bit idiotic, they are— are they just talking amongst themselves or are they saying things in order to impress her and she's looking at us and, yeah, it's quite a challenge isn't it, it's quite a challenge that one.</p>



		<p><b>So makes you feel a little bit confused?</b></p> <p>Yeah I think so yeah, she's you know, who is she exactly? Umm presumably they are inferring that she might be a spy but it may be she becomes this woman who talks, you know, you don't know do you. Yeah there's something a little bit knowing about the way she's looking straight at us.</p>
29	35:00.2 - 35:35.7	<p><b>And which part are you drawn to?</b></p> <p>Umm, it's her face isn't it and the lips particularly. Yeah.</p> <p><b>And would you refer to it as an iconic image?</b></p> <p>Yes probably.</p> <p><b>You think it's quite known by other people?</b></p> <p>Yes it's well known, yes I think so. Yes.</p>
30	35:35.7 - 36:58.6	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>Don't think I've seen that one, no.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the slogan?</b></p> <p>Be Like Dad Keep Mum no I don't think I do, I don't think I've seen the — Be Like Dad Keep Mum, maybe I have but I'm not, no I don't know.</p> <p><b>What is this image?</b></p> <p>I think this is much more— it's not as clear is it, I mean, Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb - keep mum, actually, I don't know how many people would use that phrase any more, umm, so without this - the three soldiers - umm you know clearly what this is about. That is much more difficult to work out - Be Like Dad Keep Mum (laugh) I mean it's quite funny as well. But without the actual illustration of what we're talking about, actually it's a bit difficult, maybe you'd get it immediately in 1942 or whatever.</p>
31	36:58.6 - 38:00.4	<p><b>Are there any emotions that come with this?</b></p> <p>It wouldn't get past the advertising standards authority now would it? Saying such stereotypical things but umm— it's very stylised, again it's a very stylised picture isn't it, yeah, but no it's a funny one, I think it's just a bit confusing and a bit, although you know, when you know what it's about, but yeah. It takes a little bit of thinking about.</p> <p><b>And which bit are you drawn to first?</b></p> <p>I think the writing, yeah. But you know when you look at the actual shape, it looks a bit unfinished.</p>
32	38:00.4 - 38:16.2	<p><b>Are there any memories or thoughts that come to mind?</b></p> <p>No I don't think so, no, no.</p> <p><b>Would you refer to this as iconic?</b></p> <p>No.</p>
33	38:16.2 - 40:17.5	<p><b>Then this one. Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>Mmhmm.</p> <p><b>Difficult question, but do you remember where you saw it first?</b></p>

		<p>No, the first time it stood out properly, was probably, I don't remember it being a thing before it became a big thing, do you know what I mean, I don't remember seeing it. Presumably I must have done but I don't remember it sticking in my head as anything specifically to do with the war— Umm, certainly when it became, you know, when it was all over the tea towels and everything, I don't remember it— I think I was surprised to learn that it came directly from the war. So I don't know.</p> <p><b>So when you first saw it you thought a modern thing?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>And what is it to you now?</b></p> <p>When you know what its history is and you think actually you know that, if it had stayed as an iconic piece of, whatever you call it, from the Second World War, then it would just make you think how wonderful is that, but actually now it's all over the place it just makes you think, you know what, it's become such a blooming stereotype hasn't it, and a joke and a GIF and a, whatever. And, you know, it's supposed to sum up the character of British people under duress and it doesn't really does it. You know, umm— Yeah so it's just a bit irritating really.</p>
34	40:17.5 - 41:04.5	<p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Bit irritating. And actually that's, which is interesting isn't it, because that's a shame that it's been allowed to happen like that. I don't know quite— I remember reading something about somebody saying I had the idea first to put it on a tea towel, he was trying to sue somebody else who had it on a tea cosy or whatever it was. So I think that's a shame that that's been allowed to happen that actually, although as I say I don't recognise it as a war message, that actually that's what it was and actually it's been diluted to such an extent now that now it's become an irritation.</p>
35	41:04.5 - 42:31.6	<p><b>Apart from that, are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>I know my dad picked up on it. I think he might have even had a sweatshirt— presumably he got the significance of it. No I don't know, yeah.</p> <p><b>And you did use the word iconic for this one. What do you mean by that?</b></p> <p>Probably because it's just everywhere and umm— and it's become a thing on its own. It's not necessarily linked to the war, but it's linked to— it's become, you know, it keeps getting revived for all sorts of different situations - London Bridge - you start to see it all over the place so iconic in that respect - everybody's seen it and everybody has a fridge magnet of it, and now they've started changing the words haven't they. But even though you can change all those words, that still links back to this logo so it's iconic in that sense.</p>
36	42:31.6 - 43:56.0	<p><b>Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>I don't think I do, no, I don't think I've seen that one. I don't think so. It looks familiar with the— but I think that might be from a different poster, and this looks quite soviet.</p> <p><b>And you don't recognise the slogan?</b></p> <p>No, I don't think I do, no. Women of Britain maybe I've seen that before, maybe there was a series of message but, yeah.</p> <p><b>And what is this image to you?</b></p> <p>It's presumably asking women— to do war service in factories or in the country, you know, all women were supposed to have jobs or a sort, land girls or factories or whatever. So presumably it's— I mean I'm not sure whether there was a limited choice in that, I think if you weren't married you were conscripted into the factories</p>

		weren't you, but if you were married, maybe it was encouraging married women who didn't have to go in, to work in the factories.
37	43:56.0 - 44:57.5	<p><b>And what thoughts come to mind when you look at this?</b></p> <p>I think it's a bit different because it hasn't got the humour or the light heartedness, it's not light-hearted necessarily, but the ones that work all have an element of— humour, whereas this again is a little bit, it doesn't quite fit with all the other ones because it is a little bit like you know tomorrow belongs to me, do you know what I mean?</p> <p><b>So it's less British?</b></p> <p>Yes, I think so, yes, I suppose in terms of what you imagine— the messages— how that would work I don't know compared with the other ones that are a bit more humorous and a bit more— not directive, but, yeah.</p> <p><b>Serious.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>
38	44:57.5 - 45:51.1	<p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>It makes me feel— yeah— I'm not convinced by that at all, they've got the tanks down there, I mean you know clearly it was important but it's like the sun rising and her arms in the air I think it does feel a little bit— umm.. you know, like I said, a bit soviet, a bit don't want to say Nazi but that sort of dictator authoritarian, you know, come and work towards— I suppose I mean the other one was about community, doing your bit, that doesn't feel like doing your bit, that feels like being part of a cog - you're all marching to (laugh)— It doesn't sit right, you know what I mean.</p>
39	45:51.1 - 46:50.7	<p><b>And which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Again the design is very— I was going to use that word then, I was going to say the design is very iconic— I mean there's something about the shape and the colours— that makes it iconic graphics from the forties, so it's that I think. But the arms outstretched doesn't feel quite right.</p> <p><b>So you wouldn't describe the image as iconic necessarily, but the design?</b></p> <p>The design, yeah, yeah.</p> <p><b>And it's iconic of...</b></p> <p>I think of the forties, that's right. And this glow makes it all look a bit religious so maybe that's what makes you feel a little bit you know like religious fervour.</p>
40	46:50.7 - 47:59.9	<p><b>Last one - do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>When do you think you've seen this?</b></p> <p>At the Imperial War Museum or at the Churchill War Rooms, I've seen it a few times. It's a funny one isn't it because it looks like there's been a bad photoshop, you know, I could've done that, but it's a very iconic image isn't it.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the words or the image more?</b></p> <p>I think the image more, I was just looking at the words then, yes cos that's quite an understated message isn't it, it's not 'we're gonna beat them' or 'we're gonna'— it's like Let Us Go Forward Together it's quite a understated, you know, quietly</p>

		inspirational rather than this, religious fervour type. Yeah. So this feels a little bit more appealing.
41	47:59.9 - 49:39.1	<p><b>What is this image to you?</b></p> <p>Umm, Yeah looking at it I thought this was the sea but it's not is it it's umm, is that tanks, tanks and firing isn't it so actually I thought this was maybe clouds and there's spitfires going over, you know the Kent countryside, but actually it's not that it's a battle, so I've not really looked at it properly before. Obviously, it's Churchill, he hasn't got his cigar and he hasn't got his v for victory sign and he's looking into the distance— away, from us. So it feels very, it's not a bombastic poster. It's quite a, like I say, understated. Presumably to inspire this sense of— umm, of a community all in it together. Maybe that was his downfall in the end, because people expected something when they got back, and that's why, you know, he didn't represent that did he, he didn't represent this did he once the war was over— for the country as a whole, he was very much identified with the planes and the tanks and the actual struggle of the war rather than what happens after. Yeah would be interesting to know what that one was used. Yeah.</p>
42	49:39.1 - 51:19.6	<p><b>Why do you think you remember this?</b></p> <p>Umm, I'm not sure— umm, maybe it's because it's an actual person that you recognise whereas none of the other posters are actual people are they, they're not— you know it's a message presumably directed from something that he said, whereas none of the others are, and I don't know if I've seen other posters similar. Now you'd get, it's all the mayor of London this and that, you know you see all very definitely personalities associated with messages that you see from political parties or whatever, whereas none of the other ones were about a personality, they weren't a person, whereas this one is, maybe that's why it stands out because you don't see many with a recognisable human being in it.</p> <p><b>And it may be that you've seen other ones with Churchill?</b></p> <p>Yeah possibly, yeah I wouldn't be able to— yeah and his face is very recognisable obviously. Although actually when you look at his face you see so many people playing him, there's about two films coming now, his face actually I expect him to look like that bloke who did him in the Royals, you know, the Crown, or Brian Cox who's just done him. You know you don't expect him to look like that. You forget what he looks like. Yeah that is him, yeah that's right.</p>
43	51:19.6 - 53:12.9	<p><b>Any thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at this?</b></p> <p>Umm, I remember my dad telling me about seeing the, bombers, him saying something about the thousand bomber raids going into Germany, they used to go over, over the north east and he remembers counting them. Umm, so that brings to mind, also my uncle's dad died, in France in a, he was in a spitfire, so stuff like that, you know that there is, you have a personal link to these things that have happened. And even, you also know that the generation that were children then are actually dying now and that personal link is sort of coming to an end now isn't it, yeah, and that feels quite sad. Yeah, very soon, there will be nobody around who experienced any of this directly.</p> <p><b>So it makes you feel sad?</b></p> <p>Yeah, I mean, and it's a war isn't it and it's, all of these things are about a time that was extremely— you know— even if you take out the bit about lots of people killing each other and lots of people being murdered in the war— it's a very difficult time for everybody on the home front, and — yeah, but I, you know, that let's go forward together, actually, although that message is quite a hopeful one is that actually things would be better. You know you get through this, things could be better.</p>

44	53:12.9 - 53:57.5	<p><b>Which part are you drawn to first?</b></p> <p>Umm, obviously because you recognise the face, and the planes.</p> <p><b>And then, finally, would you describe this as an iconic image?</b></p> <p>Well he's certainly an iconic image, so you'd see him and you immediately think to the war so yeah.</p>
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## Interview 2: EB2833

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant EB2833 on 21 July 2017 at The Questors Theatre Café, 12 Mattock Ln, London W5 5BQ.

- Year of birth: 1982
- Age bracket: 1976-1985
- Gender: Female
- Highest level of education: Master's degree
- Birth region: South East

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 2:44.5	<p><b>So, to start off, before we look at the images, I'd like to understand how the Second World War features in your life. So, do you have any family memories that have been passed down about the Second World War?</b></p> <p>Umm, my dad was born, just at the beginning, of the war. So he's got a tiny bit of memories which he'd tell me about, things like um, the doodlebugs coming over, he remembers, and hiding in a shelter at the end of their garden. And he talks about, hearing the sound cut out, and then how scary it was. Umm, and then after the war the rationing, but, not much other than that.</p> <p><b>So he must have been a small child when he remembered the bombs?</b></p> <p>Yeah so I don't think he remembers that much.</p> <p><b>But he's talked about those things?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Whereabouts was he living?</b></p> <p>In Essex, Southend.</p> <p><b>Anyone else in the family that was involved?</b></p> <p>Umm, my grandad was apparently, in the war. Like sent to another country, I think Asia...? Somewhere? Does that sound right?</p> <p><b>Yeah definitely, it could have been.</b></p> <p>Yeah. But he survived. And then my other grandad was just doing something not military, just associated with the war effort, but no...</p> <p><b>On the home front.</b></p> <p>On the home front, yeah. So he wasn't in direct danger. So my mum whose grandad was sent in the war sometimes mocks my dad about that [laughter]. Well</p>

		<p>your dad wasn't properly in the war [laughter]. So yeah, but I don't really talk to them much about it, to be honest.</p> <p><b>So do they talk about it at all?</b></p> <p>This is more when I was growing up, so I suppose my memories of it are quite hazy, and then their memories of it are hazy as well, so it's just all very vague.</p> <p><b>Yeah, it's difficult to talk to people sometimes, when you're not interested, you don't ask.</b></p> <p>Yeah, it doesn't really come up in everyday conversation.</p>
2	2:44.5 - 4:19.4	<p><b>What about school? Did you learn about it at school?</b></p> <p>I'm sure we did at junior school, I think, mostly. Umm so between the ages of about 7 to 11. I remember doing something about it then and going to museums—um, but I couldn't tell you what each lesson was about or anything.</p> <p><b>More generally, apart from those things, have you had any interest in it - going to museums and things like that?</b></p> <p>Yeah, I haven't sought them out— um, but like, I was in central London about three weeks ago and there's a military museum. Because I was visiting Chelsea physics garden and there's a military museums nearby so we just popped in on the way, mainly because it has a soft play area for the kids, but then the soft play area wasn't, we couldn't get him in on time, so we went round the museum instead, and there was a little bit in there about various wars including the Second World War. So yeah, occasionally I've seen bits and pieces.</p>
3	4:19.4 - 6:05.8	<p><b>Let me start with the first image. Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>I know the slogan, not sure if I've seen this particular one but it looks familiar, SO it's all about gardening, growing crops.</p> <p><b>So you recognise the slogan. Do you know when you might have heard the slogan or seen it?</b></p> <p>Maybe we talked about it at school, and then it's been in posters since hasn't it— ...</p> <p><b>In your opinion, what is this image?</b></p> <p>Umm, it's a man's boot, and there's the sky behind and then he's digging. Which is kind of funny because I would've thought the women would have been doing most of the digging.</p> <p><b>So it was surprising to see them using a man...</b></p> <p>Yeah I'm not sure why they chose that.</p> <p><b>What do you think the purpose of it is?</b></p> <p>It's encouraging people to grow vegetables in their back garden.</p>
4	6:05.8 - 7:53.0	<p><b>Are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at this?</b></p> <p>Umm, there was a TV show on recently, where they went through the ages about cooking. I suppose it makes me think of that, because I remember the Second World War bit where they were talking about not having, umm, a big variety of food so this would've been a way for them to get more variety in their diet with the vegetables and fruit as well I guess.</p> <p><b>How does this image make you feel emotionally?</b></p> <p>It makes me feel grateful that we don't have to do that anymore [laughter] umm, It's quite nice in a way, it's quite a gentle way of helping the war effort. Umm, you're not fighting, you're digging.</p>

		<p><b>So it's a less violent image of war?</b></p> <p>Yeah. And also it was a time when people— it's about self-reliance isn't it. We import so much food now, and there's so many airmiles involved, in a way it's good that, it was probably better for the environment back then that people were growing their own stuff, even if that wasn't the main point of it.</p>
5	7:53.0 - 9:19.1	<p><b>What part of the image draws your eye first when you look at it?</b></p> <p>I think, the boot on the spade.</p> <p><b>And what do you associate the boot with?</b></p> <p>More like farmers and army marching. Looks like quite a masculine boot.</p> <p><b>Do you think this is a well-known image generally in Britain would you say?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Would you use the word 'iconic' with the image?</b></p> <p>Don't think it's the most well-known one so perhaps maybe not.</p> <p><b>Because there are other images that are more well-known basically?</b></p> <p>Yeah like the Keep Calm and Carry On ones.</p>
6	9:19.1 - 12:45.9	[PAUSE]
7	12:45.9 - 14:13.8	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise any of the writing or the slogans or anything?</b></p> <p>No actually, doesn't look familiar at all.</p> <p><b>Are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at this one?</b></p> <p>So they are getting everybody in the country to help out making food. Looks like maybe there's tomatoes there, something green, lettuce maybe. It's hard to work out what meal it is actually, because you might think it's a salad, but then I don't think they ate many salads then, could be wrong. And they've got some water to go with it. Looks like they're growing lettuces there, or cabbage, one of them, and then supply your own cookhouse, I don't really understand that cos I don't know what a cookhouse is.</p>
8	14:13.8 - 15:01.0	<p><b>What do you think this is trying to do, this poster?</b></p> <p>Same thing as the other one maybe, it's just more complicated.</p> <p><b>Do you think it's a worse or a better poster?</b></p> <p>Probably not as— umm, not as good. Umm, because it's trying to convey the same image, but it's doing it in a more complicated way— umm, but I suppose it's got the added bit that to say every available piece of land where the other one doesn't tell people that. Umm, so it's making you feel more guilty if you've got a tiny piece of land [laughter], saying you have to join in.</p>
9	15:01.0 - 15:41.3	<p><b>How does it make you feel, if there are any feelings that come with looking at it?</b></p>

		Positive, because you feel like you can do something to join in and help, and then you get a nice big plate of food at the end of it, whatever that it [laughter]. I don't know what that's supposed to be, is that a purse?
10	15:41.3 - 17:16.0	
11	17:16.0 - 17:50.9	<p><b>What part of the image is your eye drawn to when you look at that?</b></p> <p>The food.</p> <p><b>Do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>It's not familiar to me anyway.</p>
12	17:50.9 - 19:07.2	<p><b>Do you recognise that one?</b></p> <p>Umm, I recognise it from when you asked me the questions outside the shopping centre, but I don't think I'd seen it before that.</p> <p><b>Do you know the slogan?</b></p> <p>Yeah I know that one.</p> <p><b>Do you know why you know the slogan, do you remember maybe people saying it or—?</b></p> <p>I think when I learned about it at school, I remember seeing a video— yeah a video, when they were talking about the fashions in the war and how they had to mend all their stockings, they had a hole and they had to sew them up, and yeah, there wasn't much fabric about.</p> <p><b>You don't remember anyone saying it your family?</b></p> <p>No.</p>
13	19:07.2 - 21:00.8	<p><b>In your opinion, what is this image? What is it trying to do?</b></p> <p>I think it's aimed at women. That's why we've got the woman there— umm, it looks like adult fashion, rather than children's or male fashion, so that one might be a man's trousers. Umm and there's some holes in these clothes and I suppose she's going to sew them, up and then they'd turn out like these ones that look nice and new, so it's saying in her spare time she should be going through the wardrobe and mending any clothes and making them like new again. It's kinda strange in a way, you wouldn't think that was the first priority during the war [laughter], sewing all your clothes back together. Umm, and — so I suppose it helped the war effort because that meant there was more fabric available for war— like military clothes. Yeah, Board of Trade, so I suppose that was the government department and that was one of their posters. Would the other posters be produced by the Department of Agriculture?</p> <p><b>Yeah so the different departments looked after different areas.</b></p> <p>Okay, yeah.</p>
14	21:00.8 - 23:15.0	<p><b>Are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at this one?</b></p> <p>Hmm, I suppose that my mum would have done more sewing than I do [laughter]. She had a sewing machine and I remember seeing my Grandma's house had a singer sewing machine, one of those old-fashioned ones. I think nowadays we do less mending, the most I ever do is put a button back on and then if my tights are ripped I usually throw them away, to be honest. Whereas you couldn't back then. I remember seeing in the video we watched at school the women would draw a line up the back of their legs with makeup or paint or something or even was it tea, they</p>



		would rub tea over their legs instead of stockings. It's funny. I don't know why just bare legs weren't acceptable [laughter], it seems a lot of effort to go to, but I suppose it was— maybe they were trying to look glamorous— umm, it was a way of having extra joy during a hard time you could dress up a bit by making a bit more effort. So maybe this was to do with morale as well as anything else it was to help people's spirits up. Because you probably wouldn't have had much time to think about fashion, but, maybe it was a to keep people busy as well as anything else, because if you're busy you're not being so depressed. It was to help them do something positive.
15	23:15.0 - 24:20.7	<p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Umm, I think it's good that people were reusing their clothes, probably now we have too much disposable fashion umm, and we've lost some of the skills that we used to have back then, I think people were much more practical— you were doing more sewing at school or with your parents umm, and lost a lot of that self-reliance.</p> <p><b>Does that make you feel sad that we've lost that or—?</b></p> <p>Yeah, I think it was better that we reused fabric back then, we had less wastage, and it makes me wish that I could do sewing a lot better [laughter]. Yeah.</p>
16	24:20.7 - 24:57.6	<p><b>What part draws your eye in this one?</b></p> <p>Probably notice the slogan in the top first and then the central bit.</p> <p><b>With the clothes?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Do you think of this one as a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No.</p>
17	24:57.6 - 26:54.7	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>No. I don't think I even saw it at your...</p> <p><b>Not this wasn't there.</b></p> <p>Oh okay...</p> <p><b>What is this image to you?</b></p> <p>Umm, It's a variation on the one we just saw, with a lady sewing a blanket or something? And it's had a hole in it and she's put a red square on it to cover up the hole, so it's similar. I don't like it though, it's kind of creepy— it looks like a marionette rather than a real person and she's got seams on her arms, so she's, she is meant to be a doll isn't she. She's meant to be Miss Sew and Sew, so she's a doll that's sewing. Yeah, it's not very nice.</p> <p><b>So it's creepy?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>So how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>I suppose that's how women were perceived by whoever drew the poster? Umm,</p> <p><b>So is that discomfort with the whole image?</b></p> <p>Yeah, Are they seeing women as some sort of robot [laughter], spends all their time sewing.</p>

18	26:54.7 - 28:25.2	<p><b>Any other thoughts, memories, anything else that it reminds you of?</b></p> <p>Umm, Don't really understand how this relates to the poster, the Mrs Sew and Sew bit— cos I thought Mrs Sew and Sew was sort of derogatory term so I don't understand why they've used it on the poster to appeal to women. Umm, and then the blank ironing board is a bit odd, cos I thought that was just a blank space for you to put your own message at first, but I think it is the ironing board, so she's going to be ironing the blanket after sewing it? Yeah.</p> <p><b>What draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Probably the top left, the doll and the slogans.</p> <p><b>Do you think it's a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No.</p>
19	28:25.2 - 30:26.7	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>I didn't at the time.</p> <p><b>What is this image to you?</b></p> <p>So it's telling people not to gossip if they've overheard some information, not to talk about it in public.</p> <p><b>Are there any thoughts, memories that come up when you look at it?</b></p> <p>I read a book about Bletchley Park, umm, where they had— employees were told not to talk about anything at the pub, any of the code work they'd been doing afterwards, or any of the translation work, umm, I suppose is she involved in the war in some way? is that kind of a war hat or is that just an everyday hat? It's funny because I wouldn't have thought women would have much time to sit in cafes and have tea [laughter], umm, I think they're meant to be either middle aged or older, from their clothes and hairstyles, yeah, so it seems to be aimed at women since they've put two women in the poster. And I suppose women who had heard information somehow, so I think it would probably make you feel a bit paranoid if you saw that. It's the idea that there's all these spies sitting around listening to you all the time.</p>
20	30:26.7 - 32:12.0	<p><b>Did you recognise the slogan?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Do you know where you might have heard that before?</b></p> <p>Think it must have been at school.</p> <p><b>And you said it would have made you feel paranoid during the war. Does it make you feel anything else?</b></p> <p>Keep wondering why there's that yellow bit on the wall. Is it dirty or something? [laughter] Don't think I'm meant to think that [laughter]. Are they supposed to be little faces that are watching?</p> <p><b>Yeah that's Hitler's face.</b></p> <p>Ah okay I wondered if that's his little moustache.</p> <p><b>Does that change the way you see it in any way?</b></p> <p>Umm, I suppose it makes you think about the, people's everyday lives and how they would have, felt, you would have felt like Hitler was controlling you all the time, he's affecting your life all the time, you can't even sit and have a cup of tea, he was there. Maybe you would've felt a bit powerless in a way— Yeah, every little bit of your life was controlled by this power, you can't get away from it.</p>

21	32:12.0 - 32:54.3	<p><b>Where is your eye drawn first?</b></p> <p>Umm, the middle with the ladies as that's the bit of colour in the poster. And then afterwards down there with the slogan.</p> <p><b>And do you think of this one as well known?</b></p> <p>The slogan is but I don't know the image.</p>
22	32:54.3 - 33:59.0	<p><b>Do you recognise that one?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Did you know it before you saw it in the survey?</b></p> <p>I think so.</p> <p><b>Do you remember where you saw it or when?</b></p> <p>No, sorry. Maybe at some museum.</p> <p><b>Not at school? Or are you not sure?</b></p> <p>Not sure, I have a terrible memory. Maybe I haven't even seen that particular one, maybe it's just similar ones I've seen.</p> <p><b>You recognise— you've seen something similar then?</b></p> <p>I think so yeah.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the slogans?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>
23	33:59.0 - 35:29.5	<p><b>What is this image?</b></p> <p>So this one's aimed at the soldiers— the men in a club or something, after their work— umm, and they were going out and having a good time and then this is warning them not to chat about war business, because there might be someone listening, there might be a female spy— Although she looks glamorous it doesn't mean she's not a spy.</p> <p><b>What would you say makes this memorable to you?</b></p> <p>The beautiful lady.</p> <p><b>So just the impact of the design of the image basically?</b></p> <p>Yeah you've got the sweep of the curve going across the poster. And also it's a bit strange because the men are ignoring her [laughter], they're just carrying on chatting, then I suppose she's got that knowing expression, that's how she's, she's not so stupid.</p>
24	35:29.5 - 36:52.2	<p><b>Are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at that?</b></p> <p>It makes me think about, when I was in America we went to a museum in Washington DC and that was about espionage, and they had lots of stories about the spies during the war and some of them were female and all the different things they did, umm, so makes me think about that.</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Umm, I don't really like that one [laughter]. It makes me feel a bit uncomfortable. I suppose it would be aimed at men wouldn't it, so would they put that up in the, wherever the soldiers were based I guess, so it's not meant to appeal to me. I think it might appeal to a man, it would get their attention probably.</p>

25	36:52.2 - 37:23.8	<p><b>Which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The central lady's face.</p> <p><b>Do you think of this as a well-known image?</b></p> <p>I'm not sure, I don't think I know it well.</p>
26	37:23.8 - 38:36.0	<p><b>Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the slogan?</b></p> <p>Isn't it a variation on one we already had, there was one about keeping mum wasn't there. Be like dad, keep mum [laughter].</p> <p><b>You don't think you've heard that before?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Does it make sense to you?</b></p> <p>So they're saying the husbands would keep the wives as in financially, support them, but also it's the play on words about keeping mum keeping quiet, which you don't usually use that phrase any more. So yeah, I suppose as a slogan it's quite clever cos it's so short and you've got the double meaning but nowadays they probably wouldn't use that [laughter].</p>
27	38:36.0 - 40:09.0	<p><b>In general terms what is this image to you?</b></p> <p>SO if it's saying be like dad, is it directed at younger men or children— someone who's— you're looking up at this big man, so maybe it's someone who's a bit shorted— umm, might be directed at teenagers— umm, I suppose you've got the image of the man who's smoking his pipe and is not saying anything because the pipe's in his mouth [laughter].</p> <p><b>Any thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at that one?</b></p> <p>Hmm, My grandad had a pipe like that [laughter], but I didn't know him just seen him from photos. Umm, I suppose it makes you think of a past generation, that would sort of be smoking their pipe and reading their paper, and not saying very much to anyone. Minding their own business that kind of thing.</p>
28	40:09.0 - 40:59.3	<p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Hmm, I don't like the slogan I think it's quite sexist, it's from a time when women weren't working so much, even though they were doing a lot for the war effort.</p> <p><b>So even in the context of war that seems a bit sexist?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>What draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The central slogan.</p> <p><b>Do you think it's a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No I don't know it.</p>
29	40:59.3 - 42:14.8	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Can you think back to when you first saw it? Any idea when you might have seen it?</b></p>

		<p>I think I've first seen it fairly recently, since it's become popular probably. I think I've seen the slogan before that. I wouldn't know when.</p> <p><b>When do you think it became popular?</b></p> <p>Maybe five years ago? Or it could be longer than that. It sort of creeps up on you— started seeing it more and more places as it became more popular— at first it seemed to be only posters and postcards and then suddenly it was on cushions, curtains, blankets, everything it could be on [laughter].</p>
30	42:14.8 - 44:20.1	<p><b>In general, what is this image?</b></p> <p>Umm, so it was talking up people under pressure, you know, acknowledging that it was a hard time, that everyone was in it together and you had to just carry on [laughter], because you didn't know how long it would be going on for, it could be several more years. Umm, but you just had to keep doing what you were doing and get on with things. So it probably appeals to people now who've got busy lives— umm, you just, it's okay you can just carry on, you can get through it.</p> <p><b>What is it about it that makes it memorable to people?</b></p> <p>It's such a simple poster isn't it, you've got the strong background colour— and it's British because you've got the crown so if you're patriotic— it makes you think that it's sort of royal, almost it's come from the top, come from the royal family and they're wanting you to do this, so, if you want to support the war effort you've got to follow this order— umm, it is sort of an order isn't it— don't freak out, don't worry, even though you're surrounded by war and there's bombs being dropped every day, I don't know whether it would have actually have helped people keep calm or not [laughter].</p> <p><b>Yeah it's difficult to know.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>
31	44:20.1 - 45:32.6	<p><b>Are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>That it's annoying. Because you see it so much. At first it wasn't so bad.</p> <p><b>Did you like it when you first saw it?</b></p> <p>I suppose I did think it was okay when I first saw it, not enough to buy anything with it on— but, yeah it's okay.</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel? Annoyed?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Any other emotional response?</b></p> <p>I like that it's just four words, it's a simple message, or five words but that one doesn't really count— so you can easily understand it, it's a nice simple message, so that's good and I quite like the design of it, it really stands out the letters.</p>
32	45:32.6 - 47:32.9	<p><b>Which bit draws your eye?</b></p> <p>The words really that's all there is.</p> <p><b>Would you refer to it as an iconic image?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>What would you mean by that word?</b></p> <p>Umm that it's very popular and that most people know it now.</p>

33	47:32.9 - 48:57.1	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>No. Not doing very well with this [laughter]</p> <p><b>Do you think you've seen any of the words before?</b></p> <p>To be honest no.</p> <p><b>What is this image to you?</b></p> <p>It's celebrating working, because they didn't have enough men to work in the factories anymore, so they wanted women in there. It's kind of funny because it reminds me of the soviet and Nazi propaganda in a way, you've got the very blonde woman and she's very happy and it's almost like she's celebrating the planes and she's enabling them to fly, so it's celebrating war as well as working— it's saying you can help, if you do the work in the factories the planes can keep going, and we can carry on with the tanks and everything.</p>
34	48:57.1 - 51:01.5	<p><b>Are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at it?</b></p> <p>I think about videos that I've seen of women working in the factories and how they had their hair tied back so it didn't get in the machines, and they would have to wear their plain clothing— umm, you wouldn't wear your best clothes to work obviously, and you'd be doing quite dirty work and get messy— so, it's probably quite far removed from reality you wouldn't be looking that happy after you'd been working all day. And very healthy looking isn't she, with the shining white teeth.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Lucky. That I didn't have to do that, although in a way I think from what I've heard anyway people thought it empowered women, some women quite enjoyed doing it, I don't know if that's true or not that's just what I've seen from TV programmes. And then after the war ended they had to go back into their homes and they couldn't work as much, but in a way it did help, it was the start of women being more encouraged in the workplace. Umm, so if you saw that as a woman maybe you would feel quite encouraged by it, but at the same time what you're doing is probably quite dangerous, because you'd have to work in the city then probably don't you, you wouldn't be able to go to the countryside where there weren't so many bombs, so you might feel a bit of guilt and pressure as well if you weren't already doing it you'd feel under pressure to help out.</p>
35	51:01.5 - 51:30.7	<p><b>Which part of the image draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The smiling lady.</p> <p><b>Do you think this might be a well-known image?</b></p> <p>I don't know it.</p>
36	51:30.7 - 53:03.6	<p><b>Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>I think so.</p> <p><b>Where do you think you might have seen that?</b></p> <p>From museums and school, learning at school and textbooks and that kind of thing.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the words or the image more do you think?</b></p> <p>The image of Churchill more.</p> <p><b>What is this image?</b></p> <p>Umm, it's about uniting Britain, making sure everyone's involved in the war effort, so that if you want to go forward and, the good things to happen you have to join in with everyone else and contribute, and I suppose moving forward would also</p>

		literally mean moving forward on the front, like the planes and tanks have to move forward towards Germany, so it's encouraging everyone to join in however they can, either literally moving forward or at home, joining in with the war effort.
37	53:03.6 - 54:37.9	<p><b>Why do you think it is memorable to you? Why do you think you have remembered it?</b></p> <p>Because you see lots of pictures of Churchill even now. And I went to his house recently [laughter] in Kent, so I've seen more pictures of him.</p> <p><b>So it's the fact that you recognise him?</b></p> <p>Think so, yeah. He was very popular wasn't he at the time.</p> <p><b>Are there any thoughts, memories come to mind?</b></p> <p>Umm, my dad used to do Churchill impressions a lot [laughter]. So I just remember at dinner time my dad would be doing his impressions. I don't know why my dad started doing that, whether it was because it was something his dad used to do maybe after the war so it was passed down.</p>
38	54:37.9 - 57:09.3	<p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Umm, doesn't make me feel much really to be honest, I don't feel much about Churchill, I suppose he was a good leader at the time, but I don't connect with him really as an individual.</p> <p><b>Which part draws your eye first.</b></p> <p>His face.</p> <p><b>What do you associate with Churchill? Is there anything you associate with his face?</b></p> <p>Cigars— umm, He often has that sort of expression, the smile, slight smile.</p> <p><b>What does that mean do you think, what's that expression trying to...</b></p> <p>I think that he's feeling positive about the war, he knows he's going to win, but at the same time that he's a strong stern leader and that he's going to stand up to the German forces, he's quite broad isn't he, he takes up a lot of the picture he's a bit like a tank, so you could feel like you were safe with him, like he would protect you. At the same time his hat is very British, I don't know if Germans would have worn a hat like that, so it makes you think you're protected by a British leader.</p> <p><b>Do you think this is well known to others in Britain?</b></p> <p>I don't know, I don't know it.</p>

### Interview 3: 6166008009

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant 6166008009 on 31 July 2017 at Kennington Park Café, 4 St Agnes Pl, London SE11 4BE.

- Year of birth: 1998
- Age bracket: 1996-2001
- Gender: Male
- Highest level of education: Bachelor's Degree

- Birth region: East of England

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 1:40.4	<p><b>To start with, I'd like to understand how the Second World War features in your life, so specifically do you have any family connections, any memories that were passed down in your family?</b></p> <p>Umm, not necessarily, I wouldn't say that the memories were passed down to me, as if I was like— it wasn't really something that we talked about as a family. I know that one of my great uncles fought in some capacity in the war, so I'm Nigerian and obviously back then Britain was, Nigeria was a colony of Britain and so some of my family still living there were involved either directly in combat in the war effort or just in other ways I guess.</p> <p><b>So you've known about that through family generally, but there's no specific memories.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>
2	1:40.4 - 3:19.7	<p><b>Did you learn about the Second World War at school?</b></p> <p>Umm, I think I definitely— umm, I actually don't know, I think, probably in high school, but like between 7 and 9. I didn't do history GCSE so,</p> <p><b>Right, so must have been 7 to 9. Do you remember what if anything you learnt?</b></p> <p>Umm, I remember doing a lot about American participation in the war. Umm, and that's kind of it [laughter] what did I learn about— okay I've never really thought about that, it's just there were some powers and they were fighting— Yeah I don't really remember anything specific from being taught about war.</p> <p><b>Do you have any interest in the Second World War generally? Is there anything apart from school? Museums for example of TV or something like that?</b></p> <p>Not off the top of my head, no.</p>
3	3:19.7 - 6:06.3	<p><b>Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Do you have any memories of seeing it before?</b></p> <p>Yes. I think probably in history textbook or something like that yeah.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the image more than the slogan?</b></p> <p>Kind of— I think I'd say the text more than the specific image itself.</p> <p><b>Do you remember anyone using that phrase at any point in your life or is it just from school?</b></p> <p>Yeah, not outside of school or like anything that was like Second World War themed.</p> <p><b>What in your opinion is this image?</b></p> <p>I don't know how to answer that, I guess, If I saw it, I mean I'm seeing it today and I don't feel particularly compelled but we're in a different context. I think, umm, it's very strong, I mean I don't know what it is about the boot on the shovel, but there's some sort of power in there, like, I don't know, like, doing things of your own back and doing the initiative and— I don't know, just that sort of like thrifty [unintelligible] sort of, yeah I don't know there's nothing much more to it. I mean read as a good colourful poster, if, and only if because it sticks in the memory, so I</p>



		<p>suppose like looking at it I just think, I don't know, I just think of the Second World War because that's where it's from.</p> <p><b>Why do you think it was created, like originally what was it for?</b></p> <p>They want to reduce spending on imports don't they, so they want people to grow their own food, hence the imperative tone, like hence the whole like rural gardening...</p>
4	6:06.3 - 7:00.8	<p><b>What would make it memorable to you, so the fact that you do know it, why do you think you remember it?</b></p> <p>I mean, there's no other reason for me to have seen that combination of words, and— yeah I guess that's sort of it, like if you think about what was it like to live in Britain during the Second World War, you immediately think of people growing their own food and having shelters in their back gardens and all this sort of thing, so, I don't see how I could forget it really.</p> <p><b>Are there any emotions that you feel when you look at this?</b></p> <p>Not really.</p>
5	7:00.8 - 8:51.3	<p><b>Which part of it draws your eye when you first look at it?</b></p> <p>I keep looking at the shoe, yeah,</p> <p><b>And you've said what you associate with that, kind of, strength?</b></p> <p>mmhmm</p> <p><b>And do you think this is a well-known image in Britain generally? Do you think other people know it?</b></p> <p>Yeah, I'm sure it's very familiar.</p> <p><b>Why do you think that?</b></p> <p>Umm, I don't know, it's just sort of like, as I say, like, I don't know, what do you think of when you think about the war, and immediately like you think of some people in their garden, like stiff upper lip, doing their best. And so even if you've not necessarily seen that exact image before, it's really, like, you could have doctored that image and said oh this is from the Second World War when it's not actually, and I would have no way of knowing cos that just looks realistic to me.</p> <p><b>You'd still think of the Second World War just from, because of what it's showing basically?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>And would you use the term iconic with this?</b></p> <p>Yeah why not.</p> <p><b>And what would you mean by that if you did use it?</b></p> <p>Because— it's— what do I mean by iconic, like, it sticks in like the sort of cultural memory that we have— I don't know if somebody was going to do a montage of stuff about the Second World War, it would be amiss to miss out that poster. That's what I mean by iconic.</p>
6	8:51.3 - 10:50.4	<p><b>Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Looking at it, what thoughts come to mind when you look at it?</b></p> <p>It seems kind of American, umm, although I'm not sure why I say that, I think this fork is like southern gothic, and, I don't know, what is American about this image— I guess like the text, the font, the like— I don't know, I would be like— is</p>

		<p>it British? I mean, it doesn't look British to me in that way, I guess like the food on the table as well, I wouldn't say it's necessarily American but it's not, it's definitely not what I would imagine for a British family, living in that time.</p> <p><b>What is this image to you?</b></p> <p>Well designed, I guess, like— it's getting a complex message down quite succinctly. I don't know with these sorts of things like when you think about them for too long it becomes very very bizarre, like this table is floating above— you know, how are those plants going to get any rain, umm, but beyond that, I don't know it's— I don't know, I'm not stirred particularly any which way by it.</p>
7	10:50.4 - 12:30.7	<p><b>Do you think it's a more or less successful image than the previous one?</b></p> <p>It's less successful because it's more complex. And like, Dig for Victory is an imperative and it's a project, it's collaborative, it's something you can be a part of. Grow Your Own Food is necessarily like I'm doing this for myself, I'm doing this in isolation and you know, I don't know, every available piece of land must be cultivated, like someone is telling me what to do with my own land, with my own time.</p> <p><b>And you've said there are no emotions that come to you when you look at it?</b></p> <p>Mmmhmm.</p> <p><b>Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The table is kind of disappearing into the horizon, which I suppose is interesting. Umm, yeah I guess that's sort of it.</p> <p><b>Do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No, I've never seen that before. I'd be surprised if anyone I knew recognised that image.</p>
8	12:30.7 - 13:53.0	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Yes. I mean I recognise it from the survey, I didn't see it before the survey.</p> <p><b>What is this image to you?</b></p> <p>Umm, it's kind of funny [laughter].</p> <p><b>Why is that?</b></p> <p>I don't know— I guess it's because, like, this space is unfamiliar to me and it's undefined by the image, so ostensibly she's in a wardrobe, but she has some sort of ottoman as well, I don't know, it just takes up the whole volume of the poster so it could be anywhere, like in some like alternate reality or void. Umm, I'm really— I like the colours though, it's like, it's pleasing to the eye I wouldn't mind that like— I don't know, as a piece to keep or something.</p>
9	13:53.0 - 15:18.7	<p><b>And how do you interpret in terms of what it was for when it was created?</b></p> <p>Umm, I guess I unders- I don't know, do I really understand it, I guess it's the similar sort of thing like, reducing personal expenditure for the national interest, but— I don't know, looking at like, the skirt with a hole in it and the socks with holes in it, and— I don't know, her clothes seem to be fine, it's her husband's clothes or her male relative's clothes that are largely damaged, so I don't know, I guess speaking from this century, the question arises like why is it her responsibility to look after his clothes? Just from a practical point of view I don't see that there's any way that she's going to repair that skirt.</p> <p><b>Are there any other thoughts that come to mind when you look at this, or memories, anything at all?</b></p>

		Mmm not really.
10	15:18.7 - 16:02.5	<p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Sort of like bemused.</p> <p><b>And then what part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Just all the green stuff, all the lime green.</p> <p><b>And the slogan?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No.</p>
11	16:02.5 - 17:31.8	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>No, and I'm terrified by it [laughter].</p> <p><b>Okay, terrified. So that's the emotional response. Why?</b></p> <p>Because, it's a non-human actor doing human actor doing human things. And, it's just the eyes, it's that whole uncanny valley thing, but it's not even clothes, I don't know, I would expect it in a horror film, I don't know, Mrs Sew and Sew's revenge or something. I just would not want to be a part of anything that she is [laughter]. I don't even know what she's sewing, like it's a plaster or something, or, I don't know, I mean, I'm sure I'd listen to- like, if I was faced with her in real life telling me to make do and make mend, I'm sure I would like without complaining cos I'd be scared of the consequences.</p> <p><b>Do you think that maybe makes it work as a poster?</b></p> <p>I mean, potentially, if it was terrifying back then as well, yeah I suppose so.</p>
12	17:31.8 - 18:30.7	<p><b>What is this image to you?</b></p> <p>Horrible [laughter].</p> <p><b>Any other thoughts, memories, come to mind when you look at it?</b></p> <p>I don't know what this space is, or this shape, it's like a lollypop stick, but yeah,</p> <p><b>And then what draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Her eyes, her eyes.</p> <p><b>Would you say this is probably a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No, I'd remember seeing that before [laughter].</p>
13	18:30.7 - 20:10.9	<p><b>Do you recognise it?</b></p> <p>No. I like it though.</p> <p><b>Why is that?</b></p> <p>I just think it's well designed. I don't know, it's a well-drawn cartoon.</p> <p><b>Do you know the slogan?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>And actually I did forget to say, in these ones, do you know the slogan there (MDAM), separately from the images?</b></p> <p>I don't know, I think probably yeah.</p>

		<p><b>(CTCL) Do you know where you know the slogan from?</b></p> <p>Do I know the first time I heard it or—?</p> <p><b>Well, do you think it was something you learnt at school or someone said it?</b></p> <p>Yeah probably, like, yeah probably in school, I don't know, I'm sure it's like a cornerstone of any sort of representation of that period.</p>
14	20:10.9 - 22:42.0	<p><b>What is this image to you?</b></p> <p>I don't know, it's complex I think, I, I guess it could be menacing from like all the Hitler faces, but the colour scheme and everything and just like the bold black lines it just makes it nice, to me, nice to look at.</p> <p><b>What do you think it's trying to do, in terms of when they first created this, what's the message?</b></p> <p>Well it's, about being secretive and more like careful about what you reveal in public.</p> <p><b>Are there any thoughts, memories that come to mind generally when you look at it?</b></p> <p>I wouldn't say it's very old looking, like umm, I don't know, there's this Brazilian cartoonist called Laerte whose style I'm reminded of by the ladies in the front.</p> <p><b>So it seems a quite modern design?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Not scared. I don't feel like any negative emotions about the poster itself, and— I don't know, I don't feel particularly compelled to modulate my conversation after seeing it, umm, but I'd definitely remember it at least.</p> <p><b>So you think the niceness overrides the menacing...?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>
15	22:42.0 - 23:26.7	<p><b>What draws your eye first when you look at it?</b></p> <p>Umm, the top half, just like the whole of the, the busy half. Umm, I remember definitely on the first viewing I noticed the Hitler faces afterwards, but now I know what to look for so it's kind of all of it at once.</p> <p><b>So when you first looked at it you were looking at this, and then it came to you?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>And then do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No, I wouldn't say so.</p>
16	23:26.7 - 24:58.2	<p><b>Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>What is this image?</b></p> <p>[PAUSE] it's like, hmm, it's hard to say I would think, like, obviously the woman, the message of the poster is that the woman is working against us, but she doesn't look particularly nefarious to me, I would associate wrongdoing more with the men in the image than with her. I think it's because of their hairstyles or something, I don't know, they just don't look very heroic or like, I don't know, they don't look, nice.</p>

		<p><b>Okay so It's something about them, their faces?</b></p> <p>Yeah. I mean even the Admiral with the cigarette it's just on her arm, yeah, it's mixed messages.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the slogan again?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>
17	24:58.2 - 26:27.5	<p><b>What's the image trying to do, what's the message?</b></p> <p>Just people in the army [laughter], well people working for like the armed forces, shouldn't disclose strategically you know sensitive information, which you know seems like good advice.</p> <p><b>Are there any thoughts, memories that come to mind when you look at that?</b></p> <p>Sort of like the 39 Steps, I don't know, umm, just that whole sort of like, exaggerated old timey voice is how I'd imagine they would all speak, umm, and also yeah that's what happens in the 39 Steps as well like, that's the point that most if not all of the women in that play or whatever are secretly working against the male protagonists so, I suppose that is the connection there.</p>
18	26:27.5 - 27:53.9	<p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Umm, I don't know, just distrustful in general, because I'm not meant to trust the lady and I already don't trust the men, so I don't really identify with anyone in the poster.</p> <p><b>So distrustful, maybe uneasy?</b></p> <p>Mmm.</p> <p><b>Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I would say the lipstick, and then I'm secondly drawn to the cigarette and the whiskey.</p> <p><b>Are there any associations with those things? Do they make you think of anything? You did already mention the leaning of the cigarette on her,</b></p> <p>Yeah it's just not a nice thing to do [laughter], umm, yeah I guess it's like the next brightest thing next to the central lipstick so,</p> <p><b>Do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No.</p>
19	27:53.9 - 29:08.0	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>You don't recognise the slogan at all?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>What is this image?</b></p> <p>I don't really know- I feel like mildly offended [laughter], I appreciate the pun I suppose, but like, I don't know...</p> <p><b>Why do you feel offended?</b></p> <p>I just don't think of people as things to be kept, so, yeah that's kind of my main like beef with the image.</p> <p><b>So that's very much with the slogan itself?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>

20	29:08.0 - 30:04.6	<p><b>Are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at that?</b></p> <p>No, he kind of reminds me of all the caricatures of David Cameron, being very very red.</p> <p><b>Emotional reaction?</b></p> <p>Pure mild offence [laughter].</p> <p><b>Which part of it draws your eye?</b></p> <p>The slogan itself.</p> <p><b>Do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No. Not seen it before.</p>
21	30:04.6 - 31:53.1	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Do you have an idea of when you first became aware of it?</b></p> <p>I think umm, around like 2014 maybe? Or, has it been— I just associate the image with David Cameron [laughter].</p> <p><b>And, is that because that was the time that you saw it there was something going on to do with him?</b></p> <p>I just feel like he instrumentalised it, I mean it's very big society, they're hand in hand, they're very like...</p> <p><b>In your opinion, what is this image?</b></p> <p>It's ubiquitous. It's everywhere.</p> <p><b>What is it about it that makes it memorable? I know you've said it's ubiquitous and that's probably the main reason but is there anything about it that means that it's memorable to you?</b></p> <p>It's a simple message, and, it's repeated everywhere by everyone in high office so,</p>
22	31:53.1 - 34:42.5	<p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>I don't like this image.</p> <p><b>Why?</b></p> <p>I don't like what I associate it with.</p> <p><b>David Cameron?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Big society?</b></p> <p>Yeah, just this whole like— it's— I don't know, it's inspiring people to push down and push aside their problems and soldier on, it's turning people, it's advice for soldiers but it's aimed at the general populus, and there's just a massive difference in the context in which a soldier needs to compartmentalise and prioritise different emotions and feelings and the context in which a normal person lives and I don't think it's particularly healthy or helpful or reasonable to— yeah, to tell that to people, I think like, it's unhealthy and it's irritating and it shuts down any sort of nuanced discussion of things that might make people uncomfortable or, or even like debate or resistance to what people might be saying, and obviously like I said before all the emphasis on big society and blah blah blah, I don't know it's tainted in that way in that like, the government isn't here to help you, you have to go out and ask our neighbours and ask, you know, all these people that you don't know</p>

		<p>and have no necessarily like obligation to you will step in and supplant what I think are the duties of government and are the duties of like, I don't know, official powers, like, it's within the remit of living in a society and living civilly to expect comfort and to expect you know [unintelligible] and help and all these sort of like soft important things and I just think Keep Calm and Carry On is a cynical way to reject all of that and to downplay anyone's right to demand that. Yeah, I suppose that's the long and short of it [laughter].</p>
23	34:42.5 - 35:41.0	<p><b>Which part of it draws your eye first? Is it the slogan?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Would you use the term iconic?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>And if so why?</b></p> <p>Just, I wouldn't say it was iconic for World War Two. I know it is originally a World War Two poster, that was like dug up and touted around. Umm, but I definitely associate it more with modern times than with the war.</p> <p><b>So it's iconic of the times?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>
24	35:41.0 - 36:42.8	<p><b>Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>And where or when do you think you've seen that?</b></p> <p>Umm, probably in school, although I think I've just seen it on the internet as well...</p> <p><b>In any context on the internet?</b></p> <p>Yeah, I think, I don't know, just something to do with like women and the working class, that sort of like I don't know potting the history of when it was acceptable or when it became acceptable for women to start working.</p> <p><b>And do you recognise the words?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>And do you recognise them all together as one image?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>
25	36:42.8 - 38:27.6	<p><b>What is this image to you?</b></p> <p>It's [laughter], it's great it's kind of, I don't know, I want to say like socialist utopia— just with like the open arms and the heralding aeroplanes and the smiling blonde woman, it's different to Rosie the Riveter, it's a different sort of call. But, I don't know, it's its own thing, I like it.</p> <p><b>Since you do recognise it, what is it that's memorable about it?</b></p> <p>The lady and the orange.</p> <p><b>Are there any thoughts, memories come to mind when you look at this?</b></p> <p>Umm, I kind of think of like Flight of the Conchords. Umm, just like, I guess from all the planes [laughter], yeah. Umm, I didn't really notice at first, like, it is very subtly like telling them that they're going to be manufacturing like tanks or tank parts, that's the sort of journey I associate with the factory on one side and then the tanks rolling out on the other side, which, I don't know, it's not the main focus of the poster so I suppose that's probably why it's not my main takeaway...</p>

26	38:27.6 - 39:57.2	<p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Sort of good, I don't know, I'm sort of hesitant to say that a war poster makes me feel good. But yeah, I don't know, orange is a happy colour.</p> <p><b>So happy, positive?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>And which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The lady with her arms wide open.</p> <p><b>Do you think this is a well know image?</b></p> <p>yeah.</p> <p><b>Why do you think that is?</b></p> <p>Umm, it is sort of an iconic pose. And the slogan as well is quite memorable.</p> <p><b>What do you mean by iconic?</b></p> <p>Just like— I don't know Women of Britain Come into the Factories it sounds like something I've heard before, it sounds like, umm, I'm not sure, something, I don't know, I just really like that phrase, it feels like positive.</p>
27	39:57.2 - 42:11.8	<p><b>Do you recognise that image?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>And where do you think you've seen that before?</b></p> <p>I feel like it's been a book cover before maybe— Umm, maybe not with the slogan on it, but this sort of like, image, feel like it could've been at school as well.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the slogan?</b></p> <p>No, I don't.</p> <p><b>In your opinion, what is this?</b></p> <p>It's kind of jumbled, I don't think it's particularly well designed, like it's drab, and dark and you know there are tanks and warplanes and the land seems quite barren, I personally don't like Winston Churchill, so I'm not too happy to see his face, but he doesn't look particularly positive. I suppose he's meant to be looking like strong and stoic and you know a leader you can put your faith in or whatever, umm, which I suppose, works, but I don't understand why she should just be superimposed on top of that like marching army.</p> <p><b>So the design doesn't match up to the sentiment?</b></p> <p>Mmm</p>
28	42:11.8 - 44:38.7	<p><b>Why do you think you know it, why is it memorable?</b></p> <p>Umm, I just think there's been a lot of stuff produced about Churchill and they all seem to use that image or a variation of it [laughter].</p> <p><b>So it's just the fact that he's in it makes it memorable?</b></p> <p>Yeah I'd say so.</p> <p><b>Any thoughts, memories generally come to mind?</b></p> <p>Just my general distaste for William Churchill [laughter].</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Negative [laughter].</p> <p><b>What draws your eye first when you look at it?</b></p>



	<p>The planes next to his hat. Yeah. And then sort of like the billowing smoke.</p> <p><b>Is there anything you associate with those things particularly?</b></p> <p>No I think they might just be the parts of the image where the disconnect is most egregious [laughter].</p> <p><b>Do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>Yeah probably.</p> <p><b>And you've kind of said you think that might be because it's Churchill himself.</b></p> <p>Mmm.</p> <p><b>And would you describe it as iconic?</b></p> <p>I suppose so. I mean Churchill is iconic so I suppose anything with him in you sort of have to consider it as iconic.</p> <p><b>Why is he iconic?</b></p> <p>Well he's the great steward who led Britain to victory, he's sort of the face of Britain at that time or at least Britain as a political power.</p> <p><b>So he's iconic of Britain as it were?</b></p> <p>Mmm.</p>
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#### Interview 4: LM1451

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant LM1451 on 1 August 2017 at the participant's home in Leeds.

- Year of birth: 1949
- Age bracket: 1946-1955
- Gender: Female
- Highest level of education: Bachelor's Degree
- Birth region: Wales

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 2:33.8	<p><b>I'd like to understand how the Second World War features in your life, so firstly do you have family memories that have been passed down to you?</b></p> <p>No not really. I come from a farming background. dad had retired before I was born in fact, so he was exempt. There is one, not a memory, but something that my brother told me, we made butter or dad made butter, umm, and I think he was, he supplied it to somebody who turned out to be on the black market, now whether dad knew about it, I never knew about that, that's what my brother said and dad was very ashamed of it, which I can imagine he would be because he was a deacon in the chapel and everything so it wouldn't go down well. We were also a bit sort of wondering how, who made the butter because his daughter had left umm, with her husband and set up a new farm just before the outbreak of the Second World War. So no a farming community, a lot were exempt. So no I've got no memories, I've, since, I've been involved, we had memories from the First World War, umm, and I'm sort of trying to do my best to do work to commemorate those two in my mother's family and that led on to me doing work in the local church to</p>

		<p>commemorate those that had died on the war memorial and are remembered in church, for both World War One, which has been put into a booklet and been published and I've done walks etc. I also did the work on World War Two, but I can only get my head around one war at a time, so I really have, know very little about the Second World War, I've never written it up, I've just found out who they were and what they did from the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, which is quite easy. Yeah.</p>
2	2:33.8 - 4:20.8	<p><b>Where were your family living at that time?</b></p> <p>In a little village in Montgomeryshire in mid Wales, it's near Newtown which is the main town, we're four miles from that on the main Welshpool road, umm, I don't know how your geography is but basically if you put a piece of string between Birmingham and Aberystwyth the coast, about half way along you'd find us [laughter], on the Welsh-English border, we're the Welsh side.</p> <p><b>And you had brothers?</b></p> <p>I have a half-brother, a half-sister that was 33 years older than me so I really, I don't think there's anything in her side that relates to war. My brother, after he went, he came out of public school and he went, one of the last, into the army, don't think he had to go but it was basically, I don't know if it was still conscription but, did they call it that I don't think they did? But he went into the army, he went into the Shropshire Light Infantry, which is quite useful now because we live in Leeds and KOYLI the King's Own Yorkshire Light Regiment based in York is nearby and he actually went to York for some of his training because the light infantries train together, so when he comes up here, like we went to the City Museum discovery centre which could have been really tedious for him, he found some army uniforms that he was interested and he recognised the KOYLI badge and everything, so we do have a little bit of a chat about stuff like that. Yeah.</p>
3	4:20.8 - 7:03.7	<p><b>In your life after that do you remember learning about the Second World War at school?</b></p> <p>No definitely not I'm of an age where it wasn't talked about, it's funny because somebody was, was saying only in the last couple of days that we just did not learn anything about the war. I think when I went to university history it, we got as far as the causes of World War One, don't think we did anything on World War One, but I think we sort of finished at the outbreak of, and, but I remember very little of that I have to tell you, but certainly not the Second World War was not discussed.</p> <p><b>Apart from education, you've mentioned where your interest is First World War, but have you learnt much about the Second World War in any other elements of culture i.e. TV, museums?</b></p> <p>Well Dad's Army obviously was a great favourite of myself and my husband and when he was ill before he died we had a lot of telly on and I suspect that might have been one of the programmes that we could virtually recite the words to, because he was too poorly to do anything so watched daytime telly and he liked me to be with him, yeah, so I've certainly seen some programmes but I'm quite a coward, umm, I've watched Winston Churchill in, in the cinema very recently I've gone and forgotten what it was...</p> <p><b>The Churchill film - I think it's called Churchill?</b></p> <p>It's called Churchill that's right, so I've actually seen that and enjoyed that very much and I missed Daughter of Empire, Pamela Hicks' account, that was another one I would have gone to see, but for some reason, probably I was poorly or something I didn't get around to seeing it, but I've read the book and that's fascinating. That's, yes it does tell you about the Second World War but I suppose the focus more is on the breakup of the empire, between Pakistan and India when the Mountbattens were involved, she was a Mountbatten, yeah but there was you</p>

		know some of the war, so yeah I, within popular culture I will have come across it certainly.
4	7:03.6 - 8:56.3	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Yes, I believe so. Dig for Victory. Well I can read as well [laughter] but I could say that when I was just looking at the image.</p> <p><b>Would you say you recognise the slogan more than the image or the same?</b></p> <p>I think probably the slogan slightly more because that was around in the First World War I believe at the very end, an awful lot, you know in a way they set, the first world war was, it meant that you went into the Second World War prepared, knew what you were doing, you got rationing off, all these things had sort of just about come about by the end of the First World War, and so they knew what they were doing more, so I'm pretty sure there was Dig for Victory in the first world war, I could be wrong quite honestly. Yeah, and I probably said in my last comments that it was a very male image, but that reflected society at the time, you know it's a man's shovel, or spade, and it's a man's boot, well at least it's certainly a man's spade, because I had a lady's spade, a man's was too big even for a person my size. Umm, yeah. Could be a lady I suppose, it could be unisex.</p> <p><b>But the idea of the masculine, it gives that sense...</b></p> <p>Yeah it does to me.</p>
5	8:56.3 - 12:05.9	<p><b>Do you have an idea of when you first saw this image maybe?</b></p> <p>No, no. I honestly haven't a clue in what context or anything. It could well have been on your stand. Because I don't think Dad's Army used these images did it, particularly? Not that I'm aware of. Yeah. I'm wondering if there's any other things, I can't think I've been particularly to any talks on World War Two or anything, but I do attend history talks so it isn't impossible.</p> <p><b>In your opinion, what is this image? What is it trying to achieve?</b></p> <p>It's trying to tell us to get out there and to Grow Your Own Food so that we don't have to import as much. Umm, I suppose it also, if you Grow Your Own Food you would not need the wages as much and I expect poverty would have been a factor, when men are out at war I wouldn't think, yeah it could be a female foot in that boot now, umm, yeah but basically, I do know that you were supposed to dig up every square inch of land for the war effort, I can't actually say that, umm, I remember any, I was born after the war in 1949, I can't remember anything— any allotments or anything that I knew were created because of the war, but it was very much a part of my childhood was that people were very keen gardeners, you know, which in agricultural circles actually isn't that common, but there were a lot of villages, I lived in a village, and it was the villagers who I discovered, some of them had fought in the First World War, umm, so there was quite a lot of competition, not formal, but you know, I remember dad and I being shown around somebody's garden who was really proud of it and mum and I always admired it as we walked past, umm yeah,</p> <p><b>So you think that was a result of possible the Dig for Victory drive?</b></p> <p>I think it was possibly a result of wartime, yeah I think it could well be, and also poverty you know sort of having to keep a family when agricultural workers would have been on low wages anyway, and I think a lot of these people seemed to be perhaps, from what I've read since in the obits, railway workers at one time. Yeah, maybe it released some tension like it is today, it's a very fashionable thing to do now, yeah.</p>
6	12:05.9 - 14:44.7	<b>As you do know this image, what is it about it that makes it memorable?</b>

		<p>Oh it's clear. It's not cluttered. It's very striking in its simplicity, err, yeah I think it's a fantastic image. And artistically it just works doesn't it. It's not straight down it's slightly at an angle, I think it just works so well, you've got counterbalance of weight, you've got a base, you've got different style, you've got, nah I think it's a superb image, I'd be very proud if I was the photographer that'd taken that.</p> <p><b>Are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at this?</b></p> <p>No, not really. I suppose I could— I'm wondering why the red background was it always red?</p> <p><b>Mmmhmm.</b></p> <p>Yeah, was that important? I suppose red is striking, it's— tends to be an aggressive colour, it's a labour colour, maybe there's a labour sort of message in that. It's not aimed I suppose at the gentry, it's aimed at the, you know, I just, yeah,</p> <p><b>Working man.</b></p> <p>Working man, yeah. I think so, Lovely clear print, I'm not sure, I couldn't tell you what the typeface is, but that works well, and it's nicely balanced. For instance if I was doing it I would probably have put the D straight above the V but the slightly, fills the space better, and it works better. Mmm they know what they're doing [laughter]. Do we have a name for who did this?</p> <p><b>No, not this one actually, this is one of the ones that we are a bit confused about, who actually took the photograph. There are a few suggestions on who's boot this is, but they're not sure.</b></p> <p>Are they all males, out of interest?</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>So my first gut instinct that it was a male leg is right, but as I say that could've been my leg, it's not particularly, I mean we all wear boots if we go hiking.</p>
7	14:44.7 - 16:00.4	<p><b>How does this image make you feel?</b></p> <p>[PAUSE] feel, not sure. I suppose, because I think it works so well, a sort of admiration but for it as an image. I don't think, that I particular think, you know I'm not going to go out and garden just because I've seen that [laughter]. Yeah, I think, you know, it's of its time.</p> <p><b>Would you say it's a positive image?</b></p> <p>Oh yeah, very much so. I mean that is, you could— that's not showing the blood and guts of battle is it, it's showing how you can help without actually being involved in the, front end of war. So I wouldn't want to see too-well, I shouldn't think there's that many that would deal with that aspect, but umm. No, this is a nice benign image I suppose but benign's perhaps not the right word in that it's so striking and forceful.</p>
8	16:00.7 - 17:40.9	<p><b>What part of the image draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I think it's the boot on the spade that little bit, it's the centre actually. Yeah, maybe the flower arranging bit of me's coming [laughter] You know if you were doing a flower arrangement half of the main thing sort of hitting you in the middle, so, maybe that's why I admire it so much. Perhaps, [laughter] long time since my flower arranging days, but er, yeah.</p> <p><b>Would you say this is a well-known image in Britain generally?</b></p> <p>I've no idea. I think I know it well, but it could be the slogan I know, I've no idea.</p> <p><b>So you're not sure if you would say-</b></p> <p>I can't speak for anybody else, no I feel I know it.</p>

		<p><b>Would you use the term iconic for this?</b></p> <p>Yes I think I would.</p> <p><b>And what would you mean by that?</b></p> <p>I think it's because of its boldness and its clarity of message, that is why I would give it the term iconic, just hope I don't give iconic to the next nine [laughter], otherwise it will rather devalue the word.</p>
9	17:40.9 - 20:27.3	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise any of the words, slogans?</b></p> <p>No. I'm aware of the message, but, no.</p> <p><b>Looking at this, what is this image trying to achieve?</b></p> <p>Well it's the same as the last one really, grow your own. Dig for Victory, whatever, yeah, get out there with a shovel, beg your pardon, a spade and a fork, don't know why I keep calling it a shovel, yeah, this is a clever image, but it doesn't work for me.</p> <p><b>So it's not as effective as Dig for Victory?</b></p> <p>No, it, for a kick off, there's too much writing, nobody can read nowadays [laughter] well people can read, but the words have to come at you rather than you go and read them, and this doesn't, the Grow Your Own Food maybe. But because it's not at the top, you know, I didn't sort of pick that up. I think that's clever, but as I say I don't think it works as a powerful image, if anything I would say that's, a feminine aimed, whether it's for both, I've got to get my head around the fact, there were less men that went out fighting, than in the first world war, I think I'm right, there would be men left at home more so to do the digging. I mean in the first world war the older people would be left at home anyway, so it could be that the male does the bottom bit and the wife does that, but somehow it's the colours it's, quite feminine, I mean I can see dresses in that sort of material...</p> <p><b>The green?</b></p> <p>Yeah turquosy, soft coloured.</p>
10	20:27.3 - 23:35.6	<p><b>Any thoughts of memories come to mind when you look at that?</b></p> <p>No, no memories certainly not, quite a few thoughts because I find it vaguely intriguing we've got red again in the cutlery and that looks awfully like plastic. Did we have plastic cutlery in the Second World War? I mean we didn't at home, plastic cutlery was sort of unheard-I'm not sure when plastic cutlery came in but that's sort of intriguing, because, you know, at home we had bone handles I could show you a knife we've still got you know, that was the standard stuff we didn't even have stainless steel at home, I bought some for mother, she never used it [laughter] as is the way. It's quite a modern mug too, because again I would have expected at that stage, even at farmhouse tea parties you know when you had the thrashers in for a meal and you were catering for large numbers, my mother didn't because we were too old but, umm, I went and stayed and my sisters at my aunt's farms and there would be large parties and it was always teacups, you know a mug is a very modern thing. So it's, as I say, it's intriguing, and that looks rather like a very smart plate rather than actually got food on but I suspect it is supposed to have had food on, but it just looks like a modern designer potted, plate, and I'm sort of going slow because I'm thinking I used to have something like that where is it? Have I sold it? I did sell a lot to come here but I could have shown you a plate that, you know, had I got it would remind me of that. Because I mean what things have they got on the plate that are bright red— actually they look like fungi that are the ones that you're not allowed to eat that are deadly poisonous with the white spots</p>

		<p>on them, yeah, I don't like this image really, it doesn't really bear analysis. Was it actually around in the Second World War?</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>It was.</p> <p><b>There's no written source for what this is but I would assume it was salad of some kind.</b></p> <p>Oh it's a tomato. And that's— they don't look a bit like tomatoes, they're the wrong shape, unless they had special designer tomatoes in those days that were not round. Mind you I suppose you would cut them in half that might account for the funny shape. But the pink in the middle looks like pomegranates sort of [laughter], I don't think that was hardly something you would grow. Mmm, yeah, weird.</p>
11	23:35.6 - 25:02.4	<p><b>How does this make you feel, if anything?</b></p> <p>Intrigued. What's that? Have you any ideas, it looks like a mouse trap.</p> <p><b>It's a hat, I think, an army cap.</b></p> <p>Right, well it's out of scale then, I mean it looks vaguely like a wooden mouse trappy affair, but I didn't think your mouse-maybe, competition for food was that bad that the mice were coming on the table. Anyway, yeah this doesn't do much for me and I don't think any gardener has ever seen— every seedling coming up identical [laughter] without a gap. Absolutely. Yeah I don't like that one.</p> <p><b>Which part of the image draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Well this one's confusing because there isn't a focal point, I suppose the plate might be it but it doesn't, it's this patch here because of the darker colour the base, I think that gets me.</p>
12	25:02.4 - 25:35.8	<p><b>Do you think this is a well-known image in Britain?</b></p> <p>I don't know it. Well this one's not passed the iconic test, quite relieved I won't be saying iconic for all of them now [laughter].</p>
13	25:35.8 - 26:35.3	<p><b>Here's another one that was in the survey-</b></p> <p>I like this one— my eye is drawn here immediately to Go Through Your Wardrobe, rather than the image, but it's clear it's at the top, again it's nice print style, quite interesting really because it's very different from that, but that works beautifully.</p> <p><b>So it's the font.</b></p> <p>Yeah the font I like. And I suppose the font makes it seem more personal because it could almost be somebody writing that, i.e. it's sort of italic and— it's obviously not handwritten, and I don't think the intention-but, somehow the message seems to come not from government particularly, it's just that little bit more human or relating to us better.</p>
14	26:35.3 - 28:49.9	<p><b>Did you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>I've no idea quite honestly. I might have done, I think perhaps what I recognise are the clothes styles rather than the image, umm, I mean I grew up in the fifties and this is very fifties fashion and I used to— you know people dress made, Make-do and Mend is certainly a phrase I'm very familiar with, and that is what we did, when I'd outgrown a dress I remember slitting it down the front, putting a piece in from somewhere, I must have had the material leftover, and you know it went on for another basically, but you know we were quite adept at doing that sort of thing.</p>

		<p><b>Do you remember the slogan separately? Do you remember people saying that?</b></p> <p>I think I do. Yes. Don't know how reliable my memory is now but yeah Make-do and Mend is certainly a slogan I would have thought that was recognisable. That's quite a nice little neat thing, you've got a really feminine little stool, foot stool, all pink dots, pretty little legs and then this pair of trousers which I know, even in those times trousers were not that usual certainly, I know they started wearing them in the First World War, but I think they probably went back to dresses, my mother certainly never wore trousers and I don't remember anybody else I know particularly.</p> <p><b>So you think in this image those would be-</b></p> <p>Quite modern. Quite eye catching actually for somebody, because yeah, that's a beautiful wardrobe and she's got a lovely figure, and quite a variety, that could even be aimed at the quite well to do. [laughter] I doubt if my mother's wardrobe had anything looking like that in it.</p>
15	28:49.9 - 31:57.5	<p><b>Any other thoughts, memories come to mind, other than what you've just mentioned?</b></p> <p>No, not really, I like the image very much, I'm not— I wonder if there's any significance to this general shape of the black background, but I can't— it works because it highlights the clothes, but it's, yeah, it's not a face or anything— not a country that I'm aware of— I don't, you know, it seems— not everything is encompassed by it, you know it just seems as if there might be a reason for it but if so it escapes me. No I think that's really a nice image, use of colours I like, the green and the pinks, I mean actually isn't it strange that we, I bet green wasn't used as a concept as it is today you know I'm being very green I recycle things that sort of image, but this is exactly what it's asking us to do with that green, so whether the green movement came from something like this I've no idea, pink is obviously feminine, and you know you wouldn't have men dressed in those things, so,</p> <p><b>So the green is associated with modern green movement?</b></p> <p>Yeah the green movement yeah. And oddly enough the trousers would be in those days you would have them in browns and dark colours I would've thought, they weren't into patterned things for trousers, but you know that's almost unisex, so maybe it's sort of saying and you can do your men's clothes as well, so maybe, I know I assumed that was for women first but it could work for you know jazz up your husband's trousers while you're at it. And I've no idea what that sock is if that's a female or a male sock it could be a stocking or it could be a you know darn your man's sock except the hole's at the top not the bottom. Yeah, and I do come from an era when stock darning was done, so relieved to find, my husband suffered with diabetes and I read somewhere that he should not wear darned socks so that was a relief to us all [laughter], I think it's because, they lose the feeling in their feet and a darn could rub and you could get an ulcer I think that's the feeling behind it but I mean I was just, as I say, very relieved to find I could throw all these holey socks out rather than feel I ought to darn them [laughter]. Don't think I ever did much sock darning, but it's there in the memory.</p>
16	31:57.5 - 32:57.8	<p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>I suppose one of the things that's going through my mind, that, you know, it's encouraging us to be resourceful, umm, how does it make me feel, I feel very positive towards that image, ummm, I like it, I approve very much of the, umm, philosophy behind it, I think actually that works and should be done war or peace. I mean obviously this is a wartime thing, but, in a way we ought to be using our resources better even in the peacetime, and I'm the thrifty sort of, you know, umm, type that you know that appeals very much to me.</p>

17	32:57.8 - 33:48.8	<p><b>And then you've mentioned that your eye was drawn to the slogan first, wasn't it, at the top...</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>And then do you think this is well known by others?</b></p> <p>I have a feeling it might be. I feel it's a good image and therefore if anybody it would be one of the ones I would choose, to illustrate a talk on the Second World War. I'm not sure if I've seen it before, but, was it one of the ones you showed me before?</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>Yes, so I have seen it before anyway, but whether before then probably not I suspect.</p>
18	33:48.8 - 35:06.9	<p>Can I ask is it a popular image for people?</p> <p><b>This one, not really it's not well known, not the actual image in terms of the survey.</b></p> <p>Because I've warmed to that one.</p> <p><b>People have mixed feelings about what they think of it so some people really like it, others are not that bothered, but the Make-do and Mend concept everybody knows and generally everyone's quite positive about.</b></p> <p>It's a very feminine thing isn't it. I mean I suppose I am quite old fashioned and it is quite, in my mind, brought up in a farming community it was the women that did the, was doing the needlework, now I suspect that could get people's backs up because it shows a woman.</p> <p><b>It does.</b></p> <p>And, you know, it's not impossible for men to hold a sewing needle.</p> <p><b>People get annoyed by the fact that they think that these are men's trousers and that she's, that this poster is telling the woman to, you know...</b></p> <p>Which didn't annoy me because I'm of that era, but yeah,</p> <p><b>That's something that comes through with a lot of the posters to be honest.</b></p> <p>Yeah. Well I think that was one of my comments originally, yeah, it shows a very male society, which it was.</p>
19	35:06.9 - 36:59.1	<p><b>Now the next one is of the same theme - do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>I'm happy to say I don't.</p> <p><b>So you don't recognise it, and you say you're happy to say you don't recognise it...</b></p> <p>I don't like it. Isn't it funny? Well I shouldn't have such a negative response to a bit of paper really, because she's so artificial it looks like a doll, and I don't like Mrs Sew and Sew that's got an unpleasant ring, I mean it's sort of clever and it's s e w and you know you say somebody's a so and so s-o and s-o and it's not a complimentary thing so actually that would not make me want to Make-do and Mend, the feminine one did much more. What's this? [points at blank space]</p> <p><b>So this would have been used locally, and then you'd stick— so you could see where it would be advertising something like a sewing group.</b></p> <p>I see. Right.</p>
20	36:59.1 - 39:01.6	<p><b>So in that context it's sort of instructing you to go and learn how to sew if it's a sewing group, possibly.</b></p>



		<p>So that works better, because she's...</p> <p><b>It would have been any kind of group that they would advertise for the Make-do and Mend bit.</b></p> <p>But it's sort of instructional and I don't like being told what to do, so that could also have, but it was more I just didn't like the look of it just was artificial. In fact I'm sure it's meant to be because yeah there's lines up here it is a doll isn't it. Why would you have a doll? Yeah. No doesn't do much for me this one.</p> <p><b>Are there any thoughts, does it remind you of anything at all?</b></p> <p>Well not, as I say, it's got a dictatorial feel to it, umm, it's not natural, no it gets by hackles up [laughter] Mrs L gets her hackles up over an A4 bit of paper I mean it's a bit silly, it doesn't do a lot for me.</p> <p><b>So the emotional response would be negative?</b></p> <p>Negative yeah.</p> <p><b>Would you say it makes you feel uncomfortable or angry?</b></p> <p>Rebellious.</p> <p><b>Rebellious, okay.</b></p> <p>Yeah, because I wouldn't want to go to that sewing groups that they were telling me to do, I would think no way am I doing that. Not saying that's everybody's reaction but it would be mine.</p>
21	39:01.6 - 40:14.5	<p><b>Which part are you drawn to first?</b></p> <p>I think her head and the Make-do and Mend bit. Yeah it's her face probably. Because I like blue gingham, so I don't see why, and that's good quality blue gingham because you can almost see the weave in it, it's not, it's woven in rather than on the top, not printed.</p> <p><b>So if she was a real woman it would be fine?</b></p> <p>It would be a workaday very hard-wearing fabric, like a butcher's apron, sort of thing. Or a school uniform, I used to have a printed version. Horrendous to iron.</p> <p><b>So not a well-known image?</b></p> <p>Not to me.</p>
22	40:14.5 - 42:59.3	<p><b>Again this one was in the survey.</b></p> <p>Yeah I've seen this one before, I remember that.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the slogan?</b></p> <p>Yes very much so.</p> <p><b>Do you think you know the slogan better than the image?</b></p> <p>Yes definitely. That could have been on radio programmes, ITMA that sort of thing from my very young years.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>I don't think I knew the image when I saw it last time that you showed it to me. When I saw it upside down and couldn't see what it was I thought that writing is too small the others that we've seen you could see from quite a distance you have to get up close and personal to see this one. Again we've got different, fonts, this one looks very homemade...</p> <p><b>Do you like the font there?</b></p> <p>Yeah I do. But it does look like somebody's just done it rather than it being printed almost— I think these are identical but somehow it just has that, maybe because</p>

		<p>the r's are looking a bit messy and the a doesn't quite meet up. It does there more so, that's actually they're not the same, it is a handprinted because that a line is very different from that one it's thicker, and it— mmm, interesting. [laughter] an afternoon Mrs is obsessed with fonts really.</p> <p><b>Fonts are powerful things.</b></p> <p>Yeah. That s they're different sizes aren't they.</p> <p><b>Yeah the whole thing is drawn together by the same person.</b></p> <p>Don't recognise it, it's probably well known, yeah I like that, that could be me [laughter].</p> <p><b>Tea and biscuits.</b></p> <p>Afternoon tea there you've got the three tiers. Posher than— yeah.</p>
23	42:59.3 - 45:34.5	<p><b>So in your opinion what is this image, what is it trying to do?</b></p> <p>Stop people gossiping about the war and say you know it's trying to cut down— it's on to a loser isn't because I mean everybody likes to gossip male or female, again you've got the feminine, it's the times it's women that were gossiping, but men would you know they could be there just the same, of course they don't gossip because they're running everything so really important things they discuss [laughter], and personal bits about people it's just there to do their job. I love that.</p> <p><b>Are there any thoughts, memories come to mind when you look at this?</b></p> <p>No not really. No. But then Wales was quite out of, I mean I was born after the war anyway, but also we were quite a long way from you know we were remote really, it wasn't like a city or a hub or anything, so I imagine you could chat away to your heart's content about the sheep and nobody would have really worried.</p> <p><b>And then, how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Nostalgic actually. Because we used to go to a lovely restaurant, mum used to take me when we went to Shrewsbury, and we used to go for tea and cakes at a black and white place when the ladies, all the waitresses were ladies as far as I can remember, black outfits little white pinnies white hats, I loved it because we had chocolate eclairs with cream, yeah, I wasn't allowed a meringue because they were horribly sweet things according to my mother,</p> <p><b>Compared to a chocolate eclair [laughter].</b></p> <p>Absolutely she wasn't going to waste her money on meringues, so yeah. It sort of takes me back to that childhood period really, which just is quite nice as it does indicate that I'm not a lady who spends my time having afternoon tea, but I did recognise it quicker than you did [laughter].</p>
24	45:34.5 - 46:56.3	<p><b>What about the wallpaper?</b></p> <p>I love the wallpaper, yeah I love that. Looks like Christmas trees. They would hardly rewallpaper just for Christmas, Ahh it's Adolf Hitler I hadn't realised. I think I saw it just before...</p> <p><b>Does that change the way you see it?</b></p> <p>No no no, I suppose it does actually because that's quite threatening. Oh, I'd just seen that when you asked me to look at the wallpaper and you were just about to say, a figure, well we'll see on the recording but I'm pretty sure I came up with it fairly independently I'm not sure. Yes it does alter my perception, I think it's very clever, you know I like it even more. Never had Adolf Hitler bearing down on us in Shrewsbury I can say that— Never thought of his nose and moustache as being a Christmas tree before [laughter] new light now...</p>

25	46:56.3 - 48:43.5	<p><b>Which part of the image draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I'm pretty sure it was the script again because it's so much bolder and then it's definitely the chairs and the ladies that bit.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>And of course that [slogan] relates to that [Hitler] now, although oddly enough he's earless, SO I suppose the implication is they're hidden there in the wall, which is again quite clever because, the walls have ears but you can't see them which you can't of course, if anybody was listening behind the wall you wouldn't see them. I think it's a beautiful constructed poster actually, really works well. And I like the red border, which is, you know, you wonder why they've used red because it wasn't one of our wartime colours, well I suppose we're red white and blue aren't we so maybe that's what we're trying to white background, red there ad a blue chair maybe that's subconsciously what they're getting at, because I would have thought that would have worked just as— I don't know, yeah, because red isn't used anywhere there so why do you put it there but it does work, yeah, not sure that blue border would have worked as well, or a green border, mind you they should have been thinking of economy of print run {laughter}.</p>
26	48:43.5 - 51:02.2	<p><b>Do you think this would be a well-known image?</b></p> <p>I would think it might be, but yeah I would, I think it's clever enough, yeah, I think again if I was doing something on World War Two I would quite like to have that included, but whether it is or not— We're just past the era of, I didn't grow up with these so I don't know if it was well known or not because they weren't around during my growing up period.</p> <p><b>And would you describe it as iconic?</b></p> <p>No, why? I'm not— I think it's because it's not as in your face as the other one, the other one it really came out of the poster and hit you, whereas this draws you in and there's more to it than meets the eye [laughter], immediately and yeah, I'm not saying I'm going to have posters decorating my home but I could live with this one, not that I'd want to but you know from the point of view of what it's meant to do, but if it was an artwork I wouldn't say no to it.</p> <p><b>Okay. This is one of a set of vary similar ones with different cartoon designs and they've all got their own Hitler joke in them, so,</b></p> <p>Does this bit [slogan] alter then?</p> <p><b>Yes, so that changes then it's different, it's often a quote that somebody's saying.</b></p> <p>That would be, yeah so it will have been iconic then because people will have wanted to see the next version, well I'm not saying iconic but it will be one that would be well know, I think, if there's a series of them, it worked.</p> <p><b>Yeah it was popular during the war at least. This was Fougasse the artist and he was already popular before he designed these.</b></p> <p>I must admit I didn't recognise the name but I could sort of tell it was a decent artist.</p>
27	51:02.2 - 53:15.8	<p><b>Next one...</b></p> <p>Controversial one.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>Yeah, from you showed it me before.</p> <p><b>Did you know it before that?</b></p>

		<p>I can't remember. I would think not. Yeah this is the one that one feels antagonistic to, the dumb blonde stereotyping.</p> <p><b>So that makes you angry.</b></p> <p>Mmm.</p> <p><b>Okay, and then what do you think this is trying to do this poster?</b></p> <p>Well again it's Careless Talk Costs Lives and just because you've got a dumb blonde in inverted commas in the room doesn't mean that you know, you shouldn't— it— be careful of drink I suppose because that lubricates the tongue and you know you're here in a really nice convivial atmosphere and your guard can come down, I can see what they're doing here because this is exactly the situation where things can slip out, because you relax, you're talking to old mates there's somebody there who you don't know, yeah, I think it's quite, it's got a good message there actually, it's just that you know [laughter] the feminist in me doesn't approve. Those hands are appallingly drawn aren't they, she's got talons, I suspect it's because he can't do hands it's fairly common in artists, yeah, yes it's got rather a lot of fingers I think. But there's been great artists that can't draw hands, I can't remember which ones, but...</p>
28	53:15.8 - 55:36.8	<p><b>Are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>Not really. I've never unfortunately been that pretty [laughter], so I can't say oh yes it reminds me of anything. Very glam era, and very forties fifties isn't it, she looks like a mermaid, bottom half, well actually if she's sort of a sex icon she's not really doing too well they've sort of [laughter] yeah she doesn't look human does she...</p> <p><b>In terms of how it makes you feel, what word would you use to describe your reaction emotionally to that?</b></p> <p>antagonistic, I don't, I'm trying to work out, why I've gone quiet, is Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb okay it rhymes, but are we trying to say she's not mother? You know she's something else, I don't know I just don't like the word mum there somehow.</p> <p><b>So you think that confuses it?</b></p> <p>Yeah I think so, I mean I would have said she's a good time gaiety girl which isn't sort of mother material as a rule because usually, yeah I don't know. And the Careless Talk Costs Lives, if that's the message why isn't that at the top, it's in little print down here, it picks out the colour of her lipstick and his something at his neck, looks like a [unintelligible] rather than a bow tie, don't know what it is, yeah, no I don't like this image because of what it represents really, predator men, one of the things perhaps. But I've got no memories or, doesn't bring out any...</p>
29	55:36.8 - 57:37.3	<p><b>Which part of the image draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I think it's the face that's what I keep looking at, and that's the focal point and it's sort of central. And then it goes down to the Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb, this comes as a very much an afterthought when I'm really struggling to, well I'm looking at things. Yeah.</p> <p><b>Okay. And then would you say this is a well-known image by others?</b></p> <p>It could well be actually, could well be, because it's got a pretty girl in it and that's often sells stuff, I mean they're always draped over cars and washing machines you name it so this is aimed at men obvi- well in this context it's not aimed at me. Umm, yeah it's aimed at the officer class as well. It's— that's something that, to me these look like officers it doesn't look as if it's poor fighting man sort of, so I don't like it on a social basis, I don't like it on a sexual basis, I don't like it on an artistic basis, anything else [laughter].</p> <p><b>You don't like it okay.</b></p>

		<p>Not much.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>It works, in a way because it does incite feelings, they might be antagonistic but you know I think the message might get through, yeah, absolutely.</p> <p><b>Would you think it is iconic?</b></p> <p>No. I keep iconic for things I like [laughter]. It could well be actually, but you know, I'd say no.</p>
30	57:37.3 - 1:00:01.7	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>No, never seen it before. I don't think it was one you showed me.</p> <p><b>No it wasn't.</b></p> <p>I hate the words here. I am not that diehard a feminist as you could see about the make and mend one with the little dresses hang up, it didn't worry me that she might have to do her man's trousers, but be like dad and keep mum? that just sticks. Even back then, there was a realisation that lots of dads, well they couldn't keep the family anyway it was mum who did all that, that sticks in the gullet I'm afraid.</p> <p><b>So similar feelings from the last one?</b></p> <p>Well actually they're more, I think I'm stronger against this one than I was the last one.</p> <p><b>Because of keep mum basically?</b></p> <p>Yeah it's the idea that, I'm not, using mum there it's the fact that the male is the provider for the family and he's keeping mum i.e. she doesn't go out to work, she does nothing all day, she's got six kids but of course that's no work at all! She leaves a meal on his table as soon as he comes home as expected but that's nothing that's something you do, you know [laughter] they're all clothed and fed but that's women's work it's not important. No that really riles me and actually, the figure riles me, I mean he's got a moustache he could be Hitler quite honestly he's got a pipe so that puts him as English, but he's big and you know, bullying almost, [laughter] take it away, don't like that I'm sorry.</p> <p><b>No that's fine.</b></p>
31	1:00:01.7 - 1:02:22.0	<p><b>What is this image trying to do? Would you say it's the same as the other one or is the message different?</b></p> <p>No the message is the same Careless Talk Costs Lives. Why does mum have to be silent? We've got it as the phrase keeping mum, but in a way that's degrading to women, women are not allowed a voice, yeah, that doesn't work in the twenty-first century does this one. I think even in the Second World War my mother would not have liked that one, she certainly had a voice and would tell us all how to behave. Oh no, that wouldn't go down in a farming community even back then.</p> <p><b>Okay and then which part draws your eye first? Is it the slogan?</b></p> <p>Do you know I have a feeling, that's that big it sort of passes me by I think it's that bit with his shoulders and maybe that's a subconscious reaction I don't like the thought of this big man, I've never been beaten up or anything but you know I just find it unsettling, I don't like this one [laughter]. And the tiny little head you see, I mean I was married to a very big man but you know he did have a head in proportion and he was a lovely gentle bloke actually, yeah, that just, don't like it. It will be interesting to see if other people have these emotional reactions.</p> <p><b>They do [laughter].</b></p>

32	1:02:22.0 - 1:04:13.0	<p>Oh the next one looks much, I can just calm down now [laughter]</p> <p><b>Well that's good if it works it's making you calm down.</b></p> <p>Why has he done red, with the Keep Calm and Carry On, it should be on blue you'd have thought because red is an aggressive colour and blue is stability and conservatism and a few other things which I can't quite remember but it's tranquil, the sky— red is red rag to a bull so why is that— it seems— isn't that the— is that making the message more powerful because it's contrasting with what you expect, you know it's at loggerheads with the message, interesting it works anyway to me.</p> <p><b>That's interesting I'll come back to that, the colour issue.</b></p> <p>Well I have done stuff err I worked in business studies, so, we did bits on logos I don't say we ever did it in great depth or anything but I knew enough about colour and obviously the flower arranging hobby, you know, red is a focal point sort of colour, I tell you what I do like about this, the economy of print, just two colours, well just one colour. So it's a cheap poster to produce, you could produce these in loads, I bet this was well, I would think this was a very, I would think I could use iconic and certainly well known to everybody because it must have been around a lot, no expense here.</p>
33	1:04:13.0 - 1:05:59.4	<p><b>So you do recognise this?</b></p> <p>I think I do.</p> <p><b>Do you know where you've seen it before?</b></p> <p>Well you might have shown it to me.</p> <p><b>Yes I did. But have you seen it anywhere else?</b></p> <p>I can't really remember but, because you know the carry on films, that phrase comes from we'd all recognise carry on films so maybe that's, but Keep Calm and Carry On can't we buy these in kitchen shops now, I'm pretty sure we can you know for your kitchen so I think it's got a modern usage, because you've got little slogans haven't you that you can put in, I can't think of any now [unintelligible]</p> <p><b>Looking at the whole image and slogan, what is the image trying to do?</b></p> <p>Reassurance probably. Do your duty. Don't complain. Get on with it. That sort of, and of course calmness would be a quality needed I can see why they're advocating it, if you've got a bomb coming down you just need to keep calm and not panic, you know, it's, yeah it's a reassuring image it's a sensible message, reassuring message I should have said, a sensible one, and certainly people had to carry on when they no doubt wished they could just go to bed and forget the whole thing.</p>
34	1:05:59.4 - 1:07:15.9	<p><b>What do you think makes it a memorable image?</b></p> <p>The simplicity again, of message, of image, and of course the crown's there so subconsciously that's saying that you're doing this for king and country, or queen and country, king then, [PAUSE] and it also, the crown where it's placed it's sort of endorsing the image and that's is exactly what royalty did, they came around. I presume it's the first world war I'm thinking of, but certainly in the Second World War too they toured bomb sites they toured factories they did promotion- well not promotional tours, but certainly, they came up in both wars to Yorkshire, yeah, so you know they were keeping calm and carrying on, and you know this asks the rest of the population to follow their example.</p> <p><b>And then are there any other thoughts, memories, apart from those?</b></p> <p>[laughter] I think I've done enough on that.</p>
35	1:07:15.9 - 1:08:54.9	<p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p>

		<p>Does it make me feel proud to be British? I like the concept of being calm and carrying on I think that is a very British quality whatever Britain— you know it's err, I suppose it fits in with my farming background it's no use having— you know if the weather's wrong you just have to keep calm, so it very much appeals to that part of my, that's my inheritance really. Probably more likely to panic [laughter] and give it up but still, I think that's what one should do, so I like that.</p> <p><b>And are you drawn to any particular part first?</b></p> <p>No I think my eyes take it all in at once. Probably the message first and the crown second. But certainly I started speaking immediately about the colour didn't I.</p> <p><b>And you did use the word iconic, so you think it's well known by others?</b></p> <p>I think so it's so simple and as I say I'm pretty sure it's still used in kitchen shops.</p>
36	1:08:54.9 - 1:11:01.0	<p><b>Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>I'm not sure that I do, and yet I might have done. I like this. Got almost a first world war look to it, except there wouldn't be that many planes and they'd look, they're a bit different, I like the colouring, the browns and the oranges.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the slogan at all?</b></p> <p>No, not, I recognise— no I don't recognise the wording. Come into the factories isn't a phrase that slips off but I know that they did ask people to do that. Women of Britain that's a phrase that I am familiar with, couldn't tell you in what context.</p> <p><b>And again, what is this image trying to do?</b></p> <p>The thing that immediately struck me is that this image is of a heroic woman, and I think it's sort of saying that, you know be a hero it doesn't actually mean you have to go to the battlefields and get killed or blown up, you could come into a factory and probably have the same effect but, you know, you're doing a very vital thing. She's, it's not a pretty feminine image, it's a solid, you know, yeah, a solid, prole woman as a useful woman as a useful member of society image, so I think that's what draws me in and endears this image to me.</p>
37	1:11:01.0 - 1:13:13.8	<p><b>Okay and then are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>No, but I, I do like the artistic way that the eye is taken through, I suppose that's first and then you've got this swirl and then you sort of come down to the base, I just think it's a very lovely image, I just think it's gorgeous actually, not pretty but striking, artistic, clever, and very much of the Second World War with that wonderful flight of aeroplanes which still thrills us with things like the— what's the aero display team, the red, I was going to say dragons it isn't...</p> <p><b>Arrows?</b></p> <p>Red arrows, that's it, think so, haven't seen them for years now, but you know it was always a big thrill when you [laughter] when you were at a resort and they came overhead, unexpectedly usually frightening you, but yeah,</p> <p><b>So how would you say it makes you feel in an emotional sense?</b></p> <p>[PAUSE] the word proud is coming into my mind, I'm not sure that's entirely appropriate, but somehow this shows, it's such a positive image of woman and it, the colours are warm, the orange is, it's got a homely, and I said the noble feel to it, [PAUSE] And it didn't actually take anything like this, and I always wanted to be in business [laughter] in a way I was drawn to this sort of message independently.</p>
38	1:13:13.8 - 1:14:15.0	<p><b>And then in terms of your eye being drawn, is it to her face first and then down to the slogan?</b></p> <p>Yes absolutely, it's linked, I think it's the face, the aeroplanes that sort of swirl, you take it in a circular movement, it's the flower arranging coming back I haven't done</p>

		<p>it for, gosh, we're in 2017 and I left in about 2000, other things took over, history mainly.</p> <p><b>Do you think this is a well-known image in Britain?</b></p> <p>I've no idea but it ought to be. I've a feeling it isn't, but it should be really.</p>
39	1:14:15.0 - 1:17:03.4	<p><b>Great, then last one, do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>No, obviously I recognise Winston Churchill. I've never heard the Let Us Go Forward Together to my knowledge. No this isn't one I know, I'm assuming it's not well known, I don't know quite what to make of this, looks like a photograph doesn't it, probably is a photograph.</p> <p><b>What do you think it's trying to do?</b></p> <p>Don't criticise the war effort, it can't be asking you to go throw yourself under a tank, which [laughter] or get, you know— I suppose it's asking you to go and help the war effort in whatever way you can. I can see why you've put it last because this one covers everything you can Dig for Victory you can Make-do and Mend you can go into the factory, have I missed some out? But you know that, it sort of does the lot, whether it's effective, yeah it would've been at the end of the war, well not at the end but you know at the difficult times, and it's reinforcing what the men at the front are going through, and those presumably are ours, but people lived in fear of the German ones coming over here and all the bombing damage they did. I've read books yeah, umm, novel, I can't remember the author now, but it was, hardly a classic anyway, you know, about the damage in Liverpool the effects of bombing in wartime as a background to romance type of stories, so that could've evoked a sort of fear that yeah we've got to beat off Germany basically however we can. It's a thoughtful poster, it's not in your face. He's got a vaguely optimistic look about him because he could look decidedly more miserable than that, yeah,</p>
40	1:17:03.4 - 1:19:31.9	<p><b>Any other thoughts, memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>No. I've a feeling there was a plane that landed up at [unintelligible] which is up above, vaguely remember hearing about that— seeing those just that's about the nearest brush we got, we were a long way from the war effort, and quite honestly farmers I think, my mum used to say if you couldn't run a farm in the wartime you couldn't run it, you know, if you couldn't make it pay then— So I think the war in our neck of the woods was seen as quite a good thing I don't know [laughter] something you wouldn't dare say in Leeds I don't think.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>[PAUSE] doesn't actually move me emotionally, I don't think I don't hate it, I don't think it's wonderful like I've thought of some of the others. I think it makes me feel nationalistic's the wrong word, but as if I belong to, you know, I feel British when I look at that, it's inclusive it's the us. And it's not, sexist, it's, I mean he was the leader and I don't take it wrong that it's not a woman there, it should be him, and it's not class, it doesn't have any taint of class distinction, which some of the images you know, it's aimed at the officer class, you know, it's them and us, this is everybody...</p> <p><b>Doesn't have any of the negative parts...</b></p> <p>Negative, no. I quite like it, but you know there's others I think, it's not a simple, obviously I seem to think the simplicity is the best, from my reactions to others.</p>
41	1:19:31.9 - 1:21:31.3	<p><b>Where is your eye drawn?</b></p> <p>His face, definitely. And again it's the flower arranging thing in the middle isn't it. It's got movement I mean, an awful lot of them, it's got, flow. And they've almost</p>



	<p>all got a solid base on which to build Britain I mean that one, that one, everything more or less has got a base, or at least everything that I've approved of [laughter].</p> <p><b>Would you say this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>I don't know it personally but again I think it could be.</p> <p><b>And would you use the word iconic?</b></p> <p>No, I don't think it's striking, it doesn't make me have an emotional response, and some of them did, and I think I save my iconics for those, approval, emotional response to the image, this doesn't, I do quite like it, the more I see it the more I warm to it really, yeah I approve but [laughter] bit late, come in handy if we have another war hopefully not.</p>
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### Interview 5: TNA4410

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant TNA4410 on 8 August 2017 at the National Archives.

- Year of birth: 1933
- Age bracket: 1931-1939
- Gender: Female
- Highest level of education: Secondary School
- Birth region: North East

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 4:16.9	<p><b>The first section of questions are to help me understand how the Second World War features in your life, so basically what are your own memories of the war?</b></p> <p>Just before the start of the war we were staying in Exmouth with relations of my father and my mother's parents were with us and my brother. We went— so on the Saturday before the war started we went back by train to Bath, Dad went on to London and then back to Newcastle on Tyne where we lived and he worked for Vickers Armstrong and they made guns, so during my childhood of course Dad [unintelligible] so he never talked to us and umm, I used to seize him in later years and I said I'm sure people thought you were a lay about as a man because they said what does your father do, a lot of kids has fathers in the forces, I said I don't know [laughter]. Well he was a draughtsman and the technical term was a ballistician, because when— when I went to register my mother's death they said we're asking a few more questions now what did your father do I said well technically he was a ballistician [laughter] and this lady she said how do you spell that, so she got out the Oxford dictionary you know it's sort of like the [unintelligible]. Umm during World War Two we were brought up in Newcastle and the first couple of months or maybe even a little longer we stayed in [unintelligible] and Dad went back to Newcastle obviously [unintelligible] I was only six when the war started so, umm, you remember you know going to school to a private school called St Margaret's umm., oh yes, another memory is going back from Bath to Newcastle, the lights were very very dim, I mean all the streetlights [unintelligible] so you went out and it was dark, so you had a torch and, you had paper over the dial and which was sort of black so far around and just a teeny teeny bit of light, but because we lived in Newcastle umm, you didn't— you weren't really troubled at all because the pier at Sunderland [unintelligible] those piers look the same, and of course they didn't</p>

		<p>have radar, so when the Nazis were coming across umm, they saw the Sunderland pier first [unintelligible] they just drop their bombs there which [unintelligible] I have one childhood memory of a Nazi plane flying over our garden umm, and my brother and I were just standing outside watching it and mum called us indoors hurriedly, yeah you were taught then you know if your mother says come you come [unintelligible].</p>
2	4:16.9 - 7:04.8	<p><b>So did you feel scared at the time?</b></p> <p>No I didn't feel scared at all, no. [unintelligible] it spoilt my education, because then I had to go to a [unintelligible] school after that, er because the head's health broke down[unintelligible]</p> <p><b>So it actually closed, the school?</b></p> <p>The school closed yes. So, and when it closed and you've got to start going to an ordinary school when you're nine [unintelligible] and I didn't get a place at grammar school which I think possibly I should have done, because you know, it was one of those things, So I'm afraid I never forgave Hitler, and I still don't like Germans much anyway, which is very sad because I've met some really nice ones [laughter]</p> <p><b>So the memories of that time-</b></p> <p>Yes the memories of that time, but I don't remember being scared, we used to have to carry gas masks at school, which was boring but there you go.</p> <p><b>And you remember the end of the war presumably?</b></p> <p>Oh yes, VE day we were at home in Newcastle and I think we went down to the coast for the day, my dad was never you know a lot of [unintelligible] weren't very keen on joining in and doing stuff, he had been an air raid warden as well during the war [unintelligible] often patrolling the streets at night and if there was a raid umm, he used to phone up and say[unintelligible] phone box, the box looked more like a red brick shack than anything else[unintelligible] and he used to have to ring up and say that he was out and he was going to[unintelligible] I think he had to patrol certain streets and later in the war they gave them navy blue [unintelligible] and tin hats and for years I had a blue snood(?) like thing which he wore over his top as he became an incident officer, there were fortunately very few, and we also had a bucket of sand in the garage, umm, dad never had a car, [unintelligible] because you were supposed to put the fires out yourself.</p>
3	7:04.8 - 11:16.9	<p><b>But you never had to?</b></p> <p>No never do that. The only [unintelligible] I think it was, it was either 1942 or 43, instinct says 42, umm in Bath with my mother's parents, so we were in Bath for the Bath Blitz, and we did sit up all night in the sitting room, I think the raid must have started about 11 but I'm not sure, I was in bed I was fast asleep, and umm, my mother had woken my brother up and she said I can't wake her up and there was friends of the family lived on the top floor and [unintelligible] had the most gorgeous boyfriend, have you ever seen a picture of Gregory Peck? Well he looked a bit like that, and when I woke up I was being carried down the staircase [unintelligible] this guy carried me down two staircases. He was very nice [laughter]. What his name was I've no idea. But I just remember opening my eyes seeing that I was being carried by this gorgeous guy, shut them again. [laughter]. Umm, I think it must have been [unintelligible] on the second, but I remember on the third day Uncle X drove us up to London to stay with Dad's [unintelligible] who lived in [unintelligible], And we stayed with them for a couple of nights and then we went back to Newcastle I remember going round London and seeing [unintelligible] over the holes where the bombs had been, craters, umm, and when we got to Newcastle I remember it was pretty dark and the lights were very very dim [unintelligible], and then we didn't leave Newcastle again, for seven years, and the shops of course didn't have anything to sell you'd go into a stationers - empty, I</p>

		<p>don't know how they survived I really don't. Umm, you couldn't get fruits in the north east...</p> <p><b>No fruits at all?</b></p> <p>Only, because they didn't grow locally because it was colder up there, and you sometimes got a [unintelligible] of New Zealand apples, [unintelligible] but you didn't see any bananas for years which was a shame because bananas were my favourite [laughter].</p> <p><b>So everything imported-</b></p> <p>Yes that's right, as far as— they did carry some food but it was [unintelligible] before we got it., [unintelligible] but we were well fed and I think, was it Herbert Morrison he was the minister of food and we used to have to make things, they used to make a pudding with carrots in it [unintelligible] carrot cake [laughter].</p> <p><b>And do you remember liking the food generally?</b></p> <p>You have to eat it but my mother made a lot of stews with very gristly meat and to this day I eat stew to be polite but I never ever choose to eat it [laughter]. Bad memories. You got, you just got allowances - I remember powdered milk and powdered eggs [unintelligible] and of course she used to put the powdered egg in cakes and things.</p>
4	11:16.9 - 12:52.1	<p><b>And did your family talk about it after the war a lot or was it something they just stopped-?</b></p> <p>Yeah the odd memory my brother and I remember the plane, which we saw from our garden and it was shooting [unintelligible] Umm, otherwise it was just, [unintelligible] though they'd started television there certainly wasn't any television in the north east up until 1953 with the Queen's coronation.</p> <p><b>So it was the wireless?</b></p> <p>The the wireless yes and my father loved listening to cricket [laughter] and often, as it is nowadays still, it's often nicer weather further south than it is in the north and we would be pouring with rain and we'd be stuck indoors listening to these horrible cricket matches [laughter]. I've only got to like it with, cousin X's husband Y he's a keen cricketer, he's played for the over 60s umm British team [unintelligible].</p>
5	12:52.1 - 15:14.0	<p><b>Just, generally apart from your own memories, have you had an interest in the Second World War in the rest of your life cultural for example TV or museums things like that?</b></p> <p>Umm, I think I've once been, in recent years, been at the Imperial War Museum, umm, I've been to the National Army Museum in Chelsea a couple of times as I live quite near it umm, but I haven't been in since it's reopened, umm, I mean all the best art was put away during the war I think it probably lived down the salt mines [laughter] in Cheshire somewhere, and you read in books now that the crown jewels were kept in Windsor castle, apparently the [unintelligible] librarian [unintelligible] once took the queen down [unintelligible] she was just a child. Yeah I mean basically., there was nothing much to buy I mean sweets were rationed [unintelligible] umm, there certainly as nothing like coca cola, oranges of course disappeared and they did make an orange juice for small children it was a concentrate in a bottle and they used to put waster with it, but I was too old for that, occasionally I was allowed to have it [laughter]. Umm, basically I just remember stuff was just, there was nothing to buy and my, I wore all my cousins' hand me down clothes luckily they were nice ones, because once I left St Margaret's there wasn't school uniform anymore so you...</p> <p><b>So you had to provide your own?</b></p>

		Yes you had to cover yourself somehow. Oh and I think another thing that more or less disappeared were wellington boots, well rubber, you see, that [unintelligible]
6	15:14.0 - 17:44.4	<p><b>Let me start with the first image, which you have seen before.</b></p> <p>Yeah that one was on, my father had an allotment, and that I'm pretty sure that was on, there were two ways in, and I'm pretty sure that was on one of the gates if not both of them. I remember it quite clearly.</p> <p><b>So you've definitely seen the image in those places. The slogan, do you remember that from various other places?</b></p> <p>Dig for Victory was something one was always— it was kind of hammered into your brain. You know we had to get the [unintelligible] it was, you know, it was just a case of doing what you could with what was available. I mean luckily we inherited toys and my father made me a dolls house [laughter].</p> <p><b>What is this image to you, what does it mean to you?</b></p> <p>The boot and the sock and the trousers it's a man I would say, possibly even Harris tweed, because that was one of the things you could get [unintelligible] maybe it's not, maybe it's just ordinary, umm, one thing that it isn't is a blue jean I'm positive of that. Because then men wore in that sort of thing it was boiler suits, umm, obviously you've got a nice cloudy sky and some decent soil to dig into. I remember my dad always used to clean his tools after he'd used them, and we used to help a little bit on the allotment like weeding and things like that, and helping him harvest stuff. The carrots never came to anything the carrot blight got all those [laughter].</p> <p><b>Okay...</b></p>
7	17:44.4 - 19:44.3	<p><b>You recognise and remember it now, do you think you've seen it since you first saw it during the war?</b></p> <p>I, don't think so unless it was in some newspaper article or something like that, umm, I haven't read in any depth about the Second World War, umm, but you know you read the odd...</p> <p><b>So why do you think you remember it then?</b></p> <p>I remember it from my childhood. I've got quite a good memory [laughter].</p> <p><b>Is it just that you saw it quite a lot?</b></p> <p>Well yes I mean every time we had, when I went to St Margaret's you passed the allotment to go to school, so you saw it every day. Then of course [unintelligible].</p> <p><b>Are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>Well no just you know, get on with it basically. I mean, it was a Make-do and Mend era, I mean you had— to do with what you had [laughter].</p> <p><b>So you associate this with Make-do and Mend?</b></p> <p>Well yeah, and, you know, sort of god helps those who help themselves type thing, umm, I mean it doesn't, it was just familiar, you know like, umm, like you pass all the cinema posters now but they disappear much quicker whereas that one was there for years and years and years.</p>
8	19:44.3 - 22:41.0	<p><b>Okay and then how does it make you feel? Are there any emotional responses?</b></p> <p>Umm, well we survived, I mean [laughter], but that was what [unintelligible] survival.</p> <p><b>Which part of the image draws your eye first, so when you look at it?</b></p>

		<p>Well the first thought is obviously is the boot on the spade. I mean it was just, it was an advertisement. I used to work in the advertising business, many years later you know so I got quite used to ads.</p> <p><b>So does that effect the way you look at things like this, you kind of look at it and judge its advertising effect?</b></p> <p>Well no I was a secretary, when I was at work I mean a lot of my life was spent producing coffee and tea, it was one of those things— I remember on one occasion [unintelligible] going into the back room and the company had just taken over [unintelligible] which was a hand lotion and the men were all talking about why women used cosmetics, wasn't a girl in there apart from [unintelligible] laughter I shall never forget it [laughter]. Can't really tell you anything useful about it, it's a very good memory.</p> <p><b>Yeah it's quite specific, it's interesting to have some memory of exactly seeing it in a specific place.</b></p> <p>Yes hanging on the join pins on the noticeboard.</p> <p><b>Yeah. And would you say, do you think that this is a well-known image by others?</b></p> <p>I would. I would've thought so, but you see when you get to my age, I mean quite a lot of people who were around then are dead. I mean makes you feel [unintelligible].</p> <p><b>But would you think that people would know this even if they hadn't been around then?</b></p> <p>If they were taught about it by their parents and their grandparents, older siblings maybe, umm, I would think it hasn't gone away because every now and then you see it somewhere for something or other.</p>
9	22:41.0 - 24:50.5	<p><b>Okay, let's move on to the next one, which you haven't seen before in the survey.</b></p> <p>No I have no memory of it.</p> <p><b>You don't recognise it?</b></p> <p>This isn't one that you put in like Keep Calm and Carry On. That was very brave of you telling me that it wasn't used that it was made, no I don't remember that at all. I don't know, maybe it was a regional, but I certainly don't recall ever seeing it.</p> <p><b>Do you remember any of the words?</b></p> <p>Grow you own, there was Lord Woolton, umm, he was always producing recipes and things, but obviously [unintelligible], Yeah I don't remember it at all, whether other people do I've no idea.</p> <p><b>What is this image to you?</b></p> <p>Umm, I would've thought it was a nearer image to time the present, I mean I could be completely wrong, umm, No I don't remember it at all, I mean, presumably that's a place of salad, and, is it bread? And a tea mug...</p> <p><b>Well, yeah we're not sure exactly, I think salad would make sense...</b></p> <p>Yeah, looks like salad. And it's a piece of plywood, and plywood was certainly about, umm, nope, I'm sorry.</p>
10	24:50.5 - 26:10.4	<p><b>Are there any thoughts that come to mind, looking at this, you don't remember it but in terms of looking at the things in it does it trigger any thoughts at all?</b></p>

		<p>[PAUSE] it's obviously a spade and a fork, and they've had to put a knife on the top [laughter] because you don't use a spade at the table, umm, very neat row of the green vegetable by the looks of it, umm, no.</p> <p><b>Would you say it's a better or worse image than this one [Dig for Victory]?</b></p> <p>Well it's completely different. They've both to do with food, but I would personally have thought that was a later image, I mean I'm possibly completely wrong.</p> <p><b>Well it is Second World War...</b></p> <p>It is a Second World War? Yes I don't remember seeing it, if I did ever see it it didn't make any impression.</p> <p><b>Yeah and that's the thing, what we don't know exactly is how frequently, wear these posters were displayed.</b></p> <p>Yes, that one might have been displayed in Ministry of Food offices where people go for their rations and things.</p>
11	26:10.4 - 26:50.5	<p><b>Okay, and then-I'm going to ask all these questions because otherwise-</b></p> <p>-Of course no absolutely yes-</p> <p><b>-but it may be that you have nothing to say and that's fine. How does it make you feel, is there any emotional response?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Which part of the image draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Well I've always loved the colour red, so I suppose the knife and fork [laughter].</p> <p><b>Okay...</b></p>
12	26:50.5 - 28:53.9	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>You had this one...</p> <p><b>Yes this was in the survey. Do you recognise it?</b></p> <p>Possibly not from those days because I mean I was only a child. It was the old girls you need to talk to, and my old friend Muriel who is 94 and she was, she joined the ATS, she joined the army anyway, and she was in the [unintelligible] corps and she was telling me the other day that they had to— quite distressing jobs sometimes they had to, she didn't have to but some of the groups had to send personal things back to the nearest and dearest, but she had to sort out the [unintelligible], But Make-do and Mend was umm, yeah we had to, we, if you got a hole in your sock you had to mend it. A lot of women were knitting, but you never went anywhere where people were just sitting— everybody would have something, knitting, sewing, and umm, some aunts on my father's side, umm, were doing, umm, they're not really my [unintelligible] in laws, made cap badges for naval officers, and you'd go and sit there and it was aunt X and XX and they had their work friends in different rooms so they didn't waste time talking to each other [laughter] [unintelligible] but they made them for years and years and years.</p>
13	28:53.9 - 31:54.0	<p><b>Do you remember sewing yourself?</b></p> <p>Umm, I used to, I remember we had sewing cards to play with they were like pictures and you had to darn, you know wrap around them...</p> <p><b>Learning how to do it?</b></p> <p>Learning. I remember the cotton [unintelligible] with four nails on the top and the wool was round that and you used a bodkin or something to put the next loop over it and you came out with a [unintelligible] which you could make into a table mat. Umm, with fashion, it kind of passed one by as a child, I mean you wore what was</p>

		<p>there basically. The nicest thing I ever wore was a very pretty dress in a sort of [unintelligible] material like a georgette or something, which my cousin had worn to present a purse to a duchess, I think it was the Duchess of Kent, which she was in Bath somewhere and she had to present the purse and she always complained that the duchess didn't look at her [laughter], but she had this very pretty dress, it was like a [unintelligible] collar, [unintelligible] but that was a thirties dress. This, the styling yes the big sleeves...</p> <p><b>Does that fit with your idea, your memory of what people wore?</b></p> <p>Well yeah, people wore— this reminds me, that cousin X came to stay with us for a bit during the war when she was working, she was working at some government office I can't remember which, and these sort of styles remind me of what she used to wear. And because her mother was good with her needle, she possible had more clothes than other people did, so, and [unintelligible] became fashionable, I always think you need a long sleeve, but I've always [unintelligible] she never wore [unintelligible]. No it's certainly the style, and quite umm, quite a lot of pleating and they would be pleats probably had dress pleats, umm and they had big shoulder pads, I've got [unintelligible] it's C&amp;A and I must have bought it in the 1970s, but it's got [unintelligible].</p>
14	31:54.0 - 33:51.2	<p><b>You mentioned the Make-do and Mend phrase before, so was that something that people said a lot?</b></p> <p>Yeah Make-do and Mend, and another thing that people said a lot was you can't have that there's war on, that was very popular. And [unintelligible] we only wore stockings in those days, we didn't, tights weren't invented until later, [unintelligible] heaven, didn't have to wear those horrible girdles anymore [laughter]. Anything else you think I should remember? Shoes with heels were popular obviously amongst the girls, umm. Women who were working in factories would wear trousers to go to work, but basically women always wore skirts, umm, [unintelligible] wardrobe, I think occasionally put a skirt on, but for weddings and things I wear trouser suits.</p> <p><b>It's become the norm now, I hardly ever wear a skirt...</b></p> <p>It's because trousers are so much simpler,</p> <p><b>Easier to wear [laughter].</b></p> <p>They are you're right.</p> <p><b>Okay and how does it make you feel? Are there any emotions?</b></p> <p>No, none whatever. It was a time we lived through, I mean keeping a stiff upper lip was part of the game, so there was no point bemoaning it [unintelligible] it just wasn't there so you'd do without.</p>
15	33:51.2 - 35:35.4	<p><b>And then where's your eye drawn to first?</b></p> <p>Umm, I think I looked at the clothes, the rack, it's obviously a wardrobe rack, Are you doing some kind of psychiatry as well?</p> <p><b>No not really. I'll just be looking at the design and where the eyes go. And then would you say this is well known by others?</b></p> <p>No. I remembered it, umm, mostly when, we didn't go clothes shopping, because my mother made do with what she had, and there weren't, you had to spend coupons for clothes, so you very rarely got anything new, I mean, I had my cousin's old clothes for years, you know they were nice dresses, and I remember seeing, there used to be a magazine for girls, because a [unintelligible] family friend lent me one and I remember being very impressed by the girl who was [unintelligible] and she wore a high neck polar sweater and navy blue trousers [laughter]. But as a child I always wore skirts.</p>

16	35:35.4 - 38:34.4	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Not at all.</p> <p><b>Do you remember this [sew and sew]?</b></p> <p>I remember people talking about, sew and sew, umm, but I don't think it's particularly to do with actually sewing, I think it's more so and so,</p> <p><b>What is this image to you?</b></p> <p>Well it's of a— in those days people often, we didn't but, people often had maids, umm, that's the ironing board I take it, so I suppose nowadays a lot of people have cleaning ladies, umm I used to have a cleaning lady [unintelligible] stole things from us [unintelligible] never had one after that. Umm, but in those days of course they didn't have washing machines so, everything had to be washed by hand or in [unintelligible] So you needed more help around the house and of course also in those days, umm, people had cold baths and the dusting had to be done a lot more often. Umm, yes, err, she's obviously [unintelligible] it looks like an apron but it might as well be a pinafore dress they were quite popular at the time. Not sure why she's wearing a spotty blouse with stripes it doesn't go, a plain blouse would look better, but during World War Two you didn't have too much choice you wore what you got [laughter]. And I mean you often picked things out [unintelligible] because there was the blackout, my dad made shutters for, inside shutters...</p> <p><b>So you didn't need curtains?</b></p> <p>So yeah there was black curtain, you had to have no light showing at all, otherwise you got a ARP warden [unintelligible] put that light out!</p> <p><b>Do you remember that happening?</b></p> <p>Er not to us personally but I remember people doing it, and I remember one day a warden stopping, there's been a siren, they asked where we were going and we were going to a friend's house I think it must have been [unintelligible] house and he said okay[unintelligible]</p>
17	38:34.4 - 40:43.5	<p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Doesn't make me feel anything in particular, I mean the Make-do and Mend of course, she looks more like a Dutch girl, one of those Dutch girl types, umm, lord knows what the material is it looks like something quite stiff doesn't it. They obviously wanted something that, and it's possibly drawing, I think it's a terrible piece of artwork. Yeah.</p> <p><b>Which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Red.</p> <p><b>And then would you say this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>Well I don't remember it at all, I've no idea. Well I mean maybe some people do. You see people who were older and they would go to women's meetings where they did sewing and they probably had a noticeboard, but...</p> <p><b>Yeah so this actually, this bit here [blank space] would have been for people to put local information on.</b></p> <p>Oh right.</p> <p><b>So they would print lots of these and then other people would put 'local church hall - come to learn to sew' so that's...</b></p> <p>I remember them having a bomb casing in the, in a war exhibition in the local church hall and, we were encouraged to buy savings stamps and stick them on the bomb, and it was going to be dropped over Nazi Germany [laughter] [unintelligible] might take a long time but it would get there [laughter], you know.</p>



18	40:43.5 - 42:39.8	<p><b>Next one, again this was in the survey...</b></p> <p>Careless Talk Costs Lives oh yes that's very...</p> <p><b>So you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Yes, Ah it's not a terrific memory, I remember the ones on buses and things more, but Careless Talk Costs Lives, yes, like we were told you don't tell people what I do for a living, so, I mean, even to this day I remember, I can think of someone who was thinking that her husband would get an MBE or something and she was always talking about it on buses and I said to her, you know something, if somebody hears this and it gets back he won't, he'll never get one, and as far as I know he never has [laughter].</p> <p><b>So you were right? [laughter]</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah. I mean if someone's in for an honour you don't talk about it. Umm, during the war— I'm quite amazed they had so many cakes but er mum used to make rock cakes they were nice, umm, I don't, a stand full of cakes I think someone, but maybe they went to the Dorchester or something.</p> <p><b>Yeah, so you see this as quite a...</b></p> <p>Yes it's a posh thing. But why has one woman go the armchair and the other one just got an ordinary chair, did they run out of— it's the blue and blue isn't, so they'd have to put her in a different colour. But I think a normal teashop it would have been a [unintelligible].</p>
19	42:39.8 - 44:28.3	<p><b>So the slogan Careless Talk Costs Lives you remember from other things I suppose?</b></p> <p>Yes, oh yes.</p> <p><b>Was that other images or people saying it?</b></p> <p>Umm, I remember the phrase Careless Talk Costs Lives and of course because dad worked in arms, yes.</p> <p><b>That got into your mind?</b></p> <p>Yes, of course. But I never talked about his work, he, in later years he used to go up to the range at [unintelligible] or maybe [unintelligible] which was over in Cumberland and they used to test these tanks [unintelligible] checking the range of the gun, you probably know, the things they put in them, the propellants, the ammunitions, the inside of the gun was rifled, I learned this afterwards, long afterwards, dad showed me [unintelligible] The old-fashioned guns [unintelligible] dad said the rifling had to be exact to a millimetre because if you look down a gun you'll find that it's all [unintelligible].</p> <p><b>To control the direction...</b></p> <p>Yes, so that it's supposed to hit something two miles away, as long as they've got it angled in the right position it should do.</p>
20	44:28.3 - 48:15.7	<p><b>Why do you think you do remember this image, so was it displayed a lot or have you seen it since then?</b></p> <p>I've possibly seen it since as well, but it's basically you know sitting and gossiping about what about x, y and z and— umm, you couldn't because the troops when they were sent abroad they could never say where they were, and my old friend Muriel knitted a sweater a while ago [unintelligible] so you always need to go [unintelligible] so if he was in the med, he said something about [unintelligible] the weather's nice I haven't needed to wear my sweater, and if he was on the road to Russia, he would say I'm very glad of my sweater [laughter]. And they always used to censor letters anyway, so that obviously got through each time, otherwise she</p>

		<p>wouldn't have known to be able to tell me now. She's about the only one I talk about the Second World War with.</p> <p><b>Just because you share the...</b></p> <p>Yes, yes, and of course she's ten years older than me so, you know.</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>[unintelligible]</p> <p><b>And then where's your eye drawn first?</b></p> <p>Well to the women and the rather fancy wallpaper, just imagine this fancy wallpaper. Yes I did, looks a bit like a fuchsia but, rather a large one, it's quite, I don't remember anyone actually having wallpaper with that sort of pattern.</p> <p><b>This is Hitler's face it's supposed to be.</b></p> <p>Oh is that what it's supposed to be? Oh I see, I see it now, now you've shown me I can see it, but I didn't before.</p> <p><b>Does that change the way you see the image in any way?</b></p> <p>No, well walls have ears, if you wanted to say something confidential, but nowadays of course we've all got our phones, you [unintelligible] in the middle of a field [laughter].</p> <p><b>Would you expect this to be a well-known image to others?</b></p> <p>I would think yes.</p> <p><b>And why do you think that?</b></p> <p>Well it's, I mean Careless Talk Costs Lives is so, so kind of, hits you in the eye doesn't it. Um, and obviously of course there weren't as many ads around then as there are now, I mean we were short of paper.</p> <p><b>Yeah okay so yeah the ones you did see...</b></p> <p>Mmm.</p>
21	48:15.7 - 50:39.8	<p><b>Next one, again this was in the survey...</b></p> <p>Oh yes I remember that one, keep mums he's not so dumb, that's right.</p> <p><b>Do you remember it from the war?</b></p> <p>I suppose, if I said I remembered it then, I do but I mean it's not a big memory but I was pretty sure I'd seen it before.</p> <p><b>Okay, but you're not sure when, where you might have done?</b></p> <p>No we spent most of our time in Newcastle during the war, umm, it wasn't, I mean it's in London you sort of thing more because you saw them on the underground, which is possibly where I saw it.</p> <p><b>Okay, and do you recognise the slogan, this slogan particularly?</b></p> <p>Not as much as Careless Talk Costs Lives, but it doesn't, but I could also have seen it in you know Punch cartoon magazine or something like that. I don't say it was in Punch, but that was the only sort of cartoon magazine I'd got an eye on and only if you were visiting that got it because we didn't get it.</p> <p><b>What is this image?</b></p> <p>It's of a blonde escort girl shall we say, umm, and obviously with the navy, the army and the RAF in attendance, this being the army and that the RAF. And obviously older officers.</p> <p><b>What's the message, what's it trying to do this image?</b></p> <p>Careless Talk Costs Lives [laughter]</p>

		<p><b>So the same as the other one?</b></p> <p>The same as the other one, well it's all part of that series isn't it. She's certainly got a forties hairdo, it reminds you of a picture of Rita Heyworth. She was American.</p>
22	50:39.8 - 53:18.1	<p><b>Why do you think you have remembered it?</b></p> <p>It's probably association of ideas, it probably caught my eye at the time. I like art, I particularly like renaissance paintings, I can't draw a straight line unfortunately [laughter].</p> <p><b>Are there any other thoughts or memories that come time mind when you look at this, that you haven't mentioned?</b></p> <p>No she's dressed for the period, she's obviously wearing extremely expensive dress might even be ostrich feathers on there I'm not sure, she's obviously a tart [laughter], because in that era, nobody had very much, so to have that sort of dress you probably slept for it.</p> <p><b>Yes okay. So you see her as the villain of this?</b></p> <p>Oh yes, very much so, a Mata Hari type figure yep.</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>For heaven's sake be careful when you open your mouth you know.</p> <p><b>And which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The girl, yes.</p> <p><b>And then would you expect this to be well known in Britain generally by others?</b></p> <p>I would imagine it was probably shown around London as much as anywhere else, but I didn't live here at the time, I was in the north east. You see I was too young to go to pubs and things like that.</p> <p><b>So it might have been displayed somewhere like that...</b></p> <p>Yes I think so. And in those days one's parents had a much tighter control of what you could do with your spare time [laughter].</p>
23	53:18.1 - 56:43.7	<p><b>Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>I don't recognise that one at all.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the slogan?</b></p> <p>No I don't, but you see because my dad was in a reserved occupation, he wasn't in the army or the navy or the air force, when that sort of thing we'd have come across [unintelligible] But for a Second World War figure he's quite fat, because you didn't, unless you drank like a fish, but you kept slimmer because ...</p> <p><b>Rationing.</b></p> <p>Rationing yes. [unintelligible] you only got so many ounces of sugar and— I don't remember the exact, [unintelligible] you must talk to 90-year olds!</p> <p><b>[Unrelated chat]</b></p> <p><b>Are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>I was just thinking, why aren't his arms— I was just, I mean, had he had his arm amputated? Because this one definitely doesn't go round the front, that one apparently does, he's obviously a pipe smoker.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Well, not really I mean he was obviously a large man, obviously an exaggerated figure, umm, but I have no personal memories of it.</p>

		<p><b>And which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The red [laughter], but then I've always liked red.</p>
24	56:43.7 - 1:00:08.1	<p><b>Now this one.</b></p> <p>And you told me it wasn't used it was in case we were invaded. And told a few people since then, because I couldn't remember it and then Muriel the next time I saw her I said do you remember it and she said no.</p> <p><b>But you've seen it clearly since?</b></p> <p>Oh I've even got mug with it.</p> <p><b>Everybody's got something haven't they.</b></p> <p>What was it, keep calm I'm a conservative or something [unintelligible].</p> <p><b>This is a difficult question with something like this but do you have any idea where you might have seen this first?</b></p> <p>I would think if it had been used it would have been distributed very widely it would doubtless been outside police stations, church noticeboards, err, [unintelligible] halls, pubs probably, but we never had to use it.</p> <p><b>And what would you say this image is trying to do, what is it?</b></p> <p>Keep calm and sort of you know carry on, don't draw attention to yourselves unnecessarily, if people [unintelligible]. Just behave normally. And George VI said he would never leave.</p> <p><b>So is it the crown that makes you think of that?</b></p> <p>Yes. Because there was some talk of sending the princesses to Canada and the queen said the princesses cannot leave without me and I can never leave the King so we're not going. And then I think they used to go to Windsor castle to sleep at night but during the day the parents were at Buckingham Palace and they were there when the bomb came down [unintelligible] and the queen mother said she felt blessed because the east end had got most of the bombing, and she felt she could look the east end in the face. Because they were good they were always going round [unintelligible], two or three days after the [unintelligible] they went.</p> <p><b>So you remember that quite fondly, like reading about that?</b></p> <p>Well I've read, I mean I'm interested in the war I've read a lot about the war. I think I've read at least 36 books [unintelligible]. He didn't have the best [unintelligible] but none of them did.</p>
25	1:00:08.1 - 1:03:45.7	<p><b>Do you remember out of interest Princess Elizabeth's broadcast?</b></p> <p>Yes I did. Yes, we listened to it, her picture in the, radio times, because she got princess Margaret to say you know [unintelligible] because I remember their voices.</p> <p><b>It's really nice to hear the direct memory of that.</b></p> <p>And I have obviously heard it since because they rehash it every now and again, umm, I did hear the actual broadcast.</p> <p><b>Did you like it, do you remember?</b></p> <p>Yes, I mean I thought it was very nice, she was umm, she was about twelve? Princess Margaret was quite a bit younger, she always liked to be in on everything, I think she really resented the fact that she wasn't born first [laughter].</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Nothing [unintelligible] didn't have to use it. But it's certainly [unintelligible] must have made quite a lot of money for pottery industry since then, and everything else.</p>

		<p><b>Why do you think it has been picked up recently?</b></p> <p>I would imagine the archive probably open because after a certain number of years they often are and somebody spotted it and obviously with an advertising brain and thought that's brilliant. It's a good advertising slogan.</p> <p><b>Yeah, why do you think it resonates now, we're not at war, yet people like it.</b></p> <p>I think it's possibly because modern life is very busy, there's lots of disruptions, I mean how many marriages end in divorce, I mean three quarters, It's err, I mean a young cousin of mine for example, his marriage lasted all but ten months, the bride must have been shooting tacks [unintelligible], because it was a big wedding, her father was a millionaire umm, and she was his only daughter so they hired [unintelligible] and they even had one of those little [unintelligible] running around [unintelligible] to take pictures [unintelligible] it was a pouring wet day I felt sorry for her, I mean there was a church wedding and her parents [unintelligible] surprise for her father and then we went up to [unintelligible] hours and hours and hours.</p>
26	1:03:45.7 - 1:06:45.6	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>— I'm not sure I might have, the planes are ringing a faint bell but you see umm, as a child you wouldn't go anywhere where you could see that. I mean it would be in pubs and things like that I would think, maybe the odd notice board. But in those days, you walked to school, perhaps walked into town once a month to get your hair cut, umm, you didn't go very far, so if it wasn't on the road that you walked down, you never saw it.</p> <p><b>Okay. Do you think you might have seen it since the war?</b></p> <p>Possibly, I mean I might have seen it once but I don't, it doesn't [unintelligible], This bit is familiar to me [image], so I've possibly seen it in a magazine or something.</p> <p><b>In your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Well it's, because the men were called up, all of the women used to go to work in the factories, and I'd imagine very few women didn't work as well as [unintelligible]. Umm, no they [unintelligible] when you went to work in a factory, you got up pretty early and a lot of the girls who worked in factories I mean they weren't used to hard work like that, there were land girls as well of course. Umm, but everybody had to do something. Umm, my mother didn't, one she was lame and [unintelligible] two my dad was an air raid warden so I guess, because I remember my mother [unintelligible] whose mother went back into teaching and he said didn't your mother have to, which had never occurred to me, I don't know.</p>
27	1:06:45.6 - 1:09:44.2	<p><b>Any other thoughts or memories come to mind when you look at that?</b></p> <p>I suppose they're spitfires but I'm not very good on plane recognition. Umm, tanks, factories, billowing chimneys, the services were much dirtier [unintelligible] in recent years they've cleaned centuries of soot off various buildings, because I mean Westminster Abbey looks white now but when I first saw it it was grey.</p> <p><b>So all London's buildings were a bit dark?</b></p> <p>Yes I spent very little time in London, just those few [unintelligible] and then it was [unintelligible] came to stay with me.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Well she's encouraging people isn't she—</p> <p><b>So would you say positive?</b></p> <p>it's a positive thing yes, because I mean, women were always in factories screwing things together [unintelligible], because the men were out fighting somebody had to be doing the repairs.</p>

		<p><b>Which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Her.</p> <p><b>And would you expect this is a well-known image now?</b></p> <p>I mean I only vaguely think I saw it then but it's the top bit, umm, because in those we didn't go very far, I mean mum's parents had moved to Bath and Dad's relations in London [unintelligible] it was the paternal grandparents [unintelligible] I do have a memory of going to see them in 19[unintelligible]. My dad [unintelligible] we were staying [unintelligible] in a guesthouse with my mother's parents and [unintelligible] I'm going to see my daddy today and [unintelligible] and it was getting the train into Brighton and then [unintelligible] getting a bus to Brighton to Portsmouth and we had a lovely day [unintelligible] it's a big memory, and I hadn't asked I'd have no memories [unintelligible]. Strange.</p>
28	1:09:44.2 - 1:11:37.6	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Oh yes very much so. Because Churchill was our hero always.</p> <p><b>Yeah. Do you remember this phrase?</b></p> <p>Yes I do, yes.</p> <p><b>From the image or—</b></p> <p>From some others as well. I mean it's the sort of thing he would say he had a very good voice, you've heard it since...</p> <p><b>So you've probably heard him say these words.</b></p> <p>Go forward together, I think he often would say we will go forward together.</p> <p><b>The image particularly do you know where you might have seen it?</b></p> <p>It would be advertised all over the place, you know a spare [unintelligible] umm, where I saw it first I don't know. Because I [unintelligible].</p> <p><b>What is this image, what is it trying to do?</b></p> <p>Well, we are going to win. [unintelligible] Umm, it's courage and he had courage, you've doubtless been round the war museum, I think it's very good, the one that's just off the Whitehall, that would definitely I'm pretty sure it'd be there.</p>
29	1:11:37.6 - 1:13:03.2	<p><b>Any other thoughts or memories come to mind?</b></p> <p>About this particular picture. It was courage.</p> <p><b>And so when I say how does it make you feel you would say...</b></p> <p>Proud.</p> <p><b>And then what part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>It's his face.</p> <p><b>And do you think this is well known?</b></p> <p>I would have thought yes. It ought to be if it's not. Because I mean, [unintelligible].</p>

### Interview 6: TNA1141

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant TNA1141 on 8 August 2017 at the National Archives.

- Year of birth: 1942

- Age bracket: 1940-1945
- Gender: Male
- Highest level of education: Some College or Further Education
- Birth region: West Midlands

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 3:51.0	<p><b>The first thing I want to ask is to help me understand how the Second World War features in your life, so you were born in '42 so do you have any memories at all of the war or just after the war?</b></p> <p>Umm, I was actually born in a mining village, umm, dad was actually in the army seven years before the war broke out, so he was one of the first to be demobbed, so the first things I can remember, I can't remember where I was born but I can remember coming down to London because that was where all the work was. Err we stayed with an aunt, I remember actually staying with the aunt, so I couldn't have been more than three, er if that. err I then, we then moved over to Wandsworth, this was in Brixton, we moved to Wandsworth and the road we lived on, most of it was just a bomb site, er that was my playground. And er, I don't know it was just a group of childr- that's the thing I remember about the war is the bombsites.</p> <p><b>In a good way, I suppose?</b></p> <p>In a good way, yes. Err, I also remember the Elephant and Castle, and the policeman standing there directing the traffic, standing in the middle of the road, on a box, directing the traffic, everything was flattened all everywhere, yeah, it's only those sorts of things I can't remember the actual war itself because...</p> <p><b>No, you were too young.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Three is quite good to remember.</b></p> <p>Yes, and I know that I can remember, I was at the aunt's then, err, you know the mother plays with the child and say oh how much do you love me and everything and I remember saying two pounds of sugar, as much as two pounds of sugar [laughter], because you couldn't get hold of sugar, even that I can remember, you know, I've got a sweet tooth [laughter], but I do remember that, yeah.</p>
2	3:51.0 - 6:17.4	<p><b>And do you have family memories that were passed down to you?</b></p> <p>No, dad would never talk about the war, umm, mum, er mum was born in a workhouse, so she didn't like talking about her family, so the only aunts— the first time I sort of remember was my Aunt X who we'd gone to stay with, she was in actual fact dad's cousin, but at that age you always, it's always uncle and aunt, umm, and her youngest son funnily enough I saw last November, first time I'd seen him for fifty years, so um, I didn't recognise him, even though he's half Chinese, so umm, err, yeah his dad was Chinese he was born in Poplar, but I remember then you could play out in the streets then, there was never any real problems, err two of his brothers, they had, they were much older than him, both had motorbikes, quite powerful ones, Vincents, one had the black [unintelligible] the other one had the black knight?, umm, one of them enjoyed going up and down the road, standing on the seat, just balancing [laughter], sounds stupid now but it didn't seem so at the time. And the other one he used to put me on the handlebars and go up and down the road, but they were a thousand cc engines [laughter]. Oh yeah that's it I remember the air raid shelter in Brixton, it was built on the road outside, I can't see that being much use if a bomb, it certainly wouldn't have survived a direct hit. It</p>

		was a building yeah, we used to play on the roof and everything, it's funny how things like that start coming back.
3	6:17.4 - 7:50.6	<p><b>Did you learn about the Second World War at school?</b></p> <p>Er, Second World War, no the First World War definitely, not that I can remember that much, yes but it was definitely the First World War, but I don't think we were taught anything about the Second. It was too early.</p> <p><b>And then more generally, have you had an interest in the Second World War, so in terms of cultural things, museums, television, books...?</b></p> <p>Umm, I don't seem to watch documentaries on television about it, but also because my father got the military medal in Sicily, I've read up a little bit on that sort of thing, but that's all, umm, also my ex-wife she wanted me to find out umm something about her mum's history, umm, she was born in Morpinidi?, which is now Pakistan but it was then India, she was there during partition, she was only five, umm, but she's trying to find something about her mum's side of the family and they were all born in India, so, I know it isn't exactly Second World War, but you know it's...</p>
4	7:50.6 - 10:10.8	<p><b>Okay then we'll move on to the first image which was in the survey so,</b></p> <p>Dig for Britain, Dig for Victory yeah.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>I recognise it yes. I don't remember ever seeing it.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>But I must have at some time or another, probably in— the Imperial War Museum in Kennington, because I wasn't far from there, and— I used to go there quite often because my parents probably didn't know [laughter] well thinking back I remember actually trying to get down to Southend, cycle down to Southend from Brixton, and I remember going over the London bridge, umm, no it's Tower Bridge, umm and I was with this cousin as well that I saw last November, and we actually got out to the fields and everything, so got quite a distance, could only have been about 8 or 9 years old...</p> <p><b>That's amazing, a very free childhood.</b></p> <p>Yeah, things were so different then. I mean playing in the road was nothing really, it was normal, so, so, yes I remember that one.</p> <p><b>So you think you've seen it in museums, the Imperial War Museum?</b></p> <p>I think I've probably seen it in a museum yeah.</p> <p><b>Do you remember the phrase separately in any way? Do you remember people using that phrase or anything like that?</b></p> <p>No I seem to remember it as Dig for Britain, but I know it meant growing your own food and everything. But there could also be a connection with the aunt that we stayed at, she had a big garden, she grew her own vegetables and everything and she also had chickens.</p> <p><b>Okay so she was definitely doing that.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
5	10:10.8 - 13:06.2	<p><b>This is a really generally question I'm going to ask this for all of them, just see what you say to it basically, in your opinion what is this image?</b></p>



		<p>Err, I mean whenever I see it, it's talking about growing your own food, that's all really, is that what you meant?</p> <p><b>Yep, just want to sort of, the idea of, what is the point of this image, what is the concept of this image, which is that yeah.</b></p> <p>I remember seeing documentaries on digging up parts of Hyde park and all that sort of thing.</p> <p><b>Okay, and why do you think you have remembered it, so would you say it's just because you've seen it repeated or is there anything about it that you think is the reason you've remembered that?</b></p> <p>Probably because it's been repeated and , umm , yeah I know about it from quite a young age so, yeah. And possibly because my aunt X was growing her own food and, that sort of thing.</p> <p><b>Okay, you've mentioned a few already but are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at this, other than what you've mentioned?</b></p> <p>No I can't think of any. Although funnily enough it does bring to mind the Anderson air raid shelters in the garden.</p> <p><b>Did you have...</b></p> <p>We didn't but next door, a couple of doors away from my aunt, they had one in the garden, yeah.</p> <p><b>And was it there after the war?</b></p> <p>Yeah because it had been, after the war I'd been playing there. Oddly enough , [REDACTED] who I used to play with there, I don't know whether you know it but you know the guards at Buckingham Palace, they used to be outside the railings and there was a kerfuffle about one of the guards kicking a foreign- an American woman who got in the way, well he's not allowed to stop, so she got kicked and that was him, [REDACTED] [laughter] and after that the guards were put at the other side of the railings.</p> <p><b>Wow, claim to fame!</b></p> <p>Yeah, I can't remember his surname.</p>
6	13:06.2 - 15:56.4	<p><b>Okay, then looking at this image, how does it make you feel, are there any emotions that come to mind when you look at it?</b></p> <p>No, not really, no.</p> <p><b>Okay, and then which part of the image, when you look at it first, which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Probably his boot. My father was a shoe repairer.</p> <p><b>Oh right, okay.</b></p> <p>And this is a typical boot of that period with all the hobnails in it, yeah.</p> <p><b>And then do you think this image is a well-known image to other people in Britain?</b></p> <p>Of my age group yes.</p> <p><b>But not, you wouldn't say necessarily other,</b></p> <p>I wouldn't have thought err, — umm, my son may know but I don't think my daughter would know, I don't think my partner's children they would recognise it, I may be wrong there but I don't think so, because my partner's from Sri Lanka, so the children are— my partner's husband died when her eldest of the three children was only 7, so they wouldn't have known anything about the Second World War, because I don't think it was taught in those days, they're round about 50 now so. The grandchildren yes, because it's now being taught in schools yeah.</p>

		<p><b>And, would you use the iconic with this image, is this an iconic image?</b></p> <p>Yes I think I would do.</p> <p><b>And what would you mean if you used that term about that image?</b></p> <p>Umm, — I think that's one of the main posters that you think of with the Second World War, it's that and keeping quiet, loose talk.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
7	15:56.4 - 18:24.5	<p><b>Right that's the first one. Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>No I don't, no I recognise this one but not this. But I can't remember ever seeing this one, either of them.</p> <p><b>But you know you have seen that one, but not this one okay.</b></p> <p>I think this is better than this one.</p> <p><b>Why is that?</b></p> <p>I think it means, to me it means more than this one, I know it says Grow Your Own Food, but that stands out better.</p> <p><b>So there's more meaning and it stands out so you mean it's bolder.</b></p> <p>Yes. Even the soil it looks like it's got compost in it, umm, that, you have to think twice what it means.</p> <p><b>Okay, and you don't remember any of the words or phrases?</b></p> <p>Grow Your Own Food I know that phrase but I don't know this one. Umm, no I don't remember seeing that, even though I know that every piece of land had to be cultivated.</p> <p><b>So Grow Your Own Food you may have heard that, I mean it's quite a simple phrase.</b></p> <p>That's right.</p> <p><b>Okay, and then this question again, in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Umm, well it's telling that every garden should be turned over to producing food, umm, I was going to say even the pieces of land on the side of the road but in Brixton you didn't have that sort of thing [laughter] you only had the gardens and that. Umm, no it doesn't really do anything for me this.</p>
8	18:24.5 - 19:08.9	<p><b>Okay so, are there any other thoughts, memories come to mind?</b></p> <p>No, not with that one no.</p> <p><b>And it doesn't make you feel anything at all?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Okay and then which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>— I don't know it's this area really [food].</p> <p><b>And then would you say this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No, no.</p>
9	19:08.9 - 21:18.6	<p><b>So next one, this was in the survey so,</b></p> <p>Yes I know this one, again I don't remember seeing it but I do know it, umm, yes Make-do and Mend, I don't know about this bit, but Make-do and Mend, umm, and mum having to repair clothes and things like that. Umm, because things were</p>

		<p>always, you know when I was small, it was always difficult to get clothes and things like that. So I do remember that.</p> <p><b>So you remember actually not having things you needed...</b></p> <p>Yes, or having to make do and I was lucky being the oldest so it passed down [laughter]. I do remember mum darning socks and things like that, yeah.</p> <p><b>So you recognise the image, you're not sure where you've seen it, if you did see it during the war.</b></p> <p>No it could be in a museum. It doesn't [unintelligible] as much as the first one, if you see what I mean.</p> <p><b>Yeah, and Make-do and Mend the phrase...</b></p> <p>Yeah I know that phrase.</p> <p><b>Did you hear people say it, or you think you've seen it...?</b></p> <p>No I've probably seen it in a documentary or something like that. Mind you we didn't have television till the coronation so it was what '53. So, and there wasn't advertising in those days thinking about it, it wasn't till you got your ITV came out and commercial television.</p>
10	21:18.6 - 24:22.9	<p><b>Okay and then in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Oh it's just to— I see it as not only clothes but everything, you had to make do much, umm, even things like, well in those days you used to get the parcel come in brown paper wrapped up in string and you have to, you can't cut the string you weren't allowed to cut the string, you had to undo it and roll it up. I also remember mum knitting as well, umm, although she must have been really busy because there were four of us. And we lived in the back of a shop because dad was a shoe repairer, so umm and my aunt was always knitting as well...</p> <p><b>What were they knitting?</b></p> <p>I can't remember, always knitting, I remember having to hold the ball, you know the yarn of wool is it called.</p> <p><b>Ball of wool?</b></p> <p>No you had to put your hands through there and turn it in to a ball of wool, so.</p> <p><b>Why do you think you do remember it, is there anything about it the design or anything like that or is it just you think you've seen it enough times that you can't forget it?</b></p> <p>I don't know it's that dress seems to say something to me, I don't know why but it seems to be, that seems to stand out more so than, yes. And oddly enough it reminds me of the old, hadn't thought of that phrase, do you know what a dolly is? when the washing, they'd have a tub and a dolly was a pull and at the bottom you'd have, it's like feet really but three, I remember another aunt always used that, mum never had it one of those but again we did have an old copper in the kitchen, what was called a copper, it was a big, a big basin, it was built into the wall, you had a fire underneath it and you boiled the clothes in it, there's no washing machines, yeah that sort of thing.</p>
11	24:22.9 - 26:35.2	<p><b>Okay, we've just covered a few of those thoughts, memories, anything else at all?</b></p> <p>No I can't think of anything, it's funny they suddenly pop up.</p> <p><b>Yeah that's what I'm trying to get at here it's quite interesting, you know how the connections are made.</b></p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel, if anything?</b></p>

		<p>I suppose same as anybody else thinking about their childhood and everything you know, no sort of definite feeling, umm, not to say oh I'd like to go back to those days or anything like that...</p> <p><b>Not nostalgic then...</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Neutral.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>When is your eye drawn?</b></p> <p>It's funnily enough to that dress, yeah, don't know why, I can't remember anybody wearing, can't remember knowing anybody who wore a dress like that. I do remember, yeah there seemed to be a scarf missing, people in those days wore a scarf.</p> <p><b>And then would you say this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>Not as much as the first one but certainly more than the second one.</p> <p><b>And would you call this iconic?</b></p> <p>Yeah, just.</p> <p><b>In the sense that it's...</b></p> <p>Showing it to people I think, well definitely my age, would say Second World War.</p> <p><b>Yeah, so it's triggering the thought.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>
12	26:35.2 - 28:48.8	<p><b>Next one, do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>No I don't recognise that at all.</p> <p><b>Do you remember this at all, this phrase?</b></p> <p>The phrase of course Make-do and Mend but no I don't remember ever seeing that anywhere. Has it been made up for this...</p> <p><b>No no these are all real, but they vary hugely in how where they might have been displayed and all sorts of things so I wouldn't expect, nobody should know all of these, really. And so in your opinion what is this image doing is it the same as the other one?</b></p> <p>Just going by that, it's, they just repairing clothes so they last longer, but why they have a doll to do it I don't know.</p> <p><b>What do you think about that? Do you think it works or—?</b></p> <p>No I don't. You think of all sorts of other things you know, can't understand why it's a doll, see all the stitching round here.</p> <p><b>Are there any thoughts or memories come to mind?</b></p> <p>No. The face is a bit Punch and Judy but...</p> <p><b>And any emotional response at all?</b></p> <p>No. Bit of a giggle I suppose [laughter].</p> <p><b>Yeah. I'll come back to this one after I've finished, just to— it does get some interesting responses.</b></p>
13	28:48.8 - 29:23.6	<p><b>And then which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Oh the face.</p>

		<p><b>The face.</b></p> <p><b>How would you interpret this face? I mean does it...</b></p> <p>Oh puppet, yeah.</p> <p><b>And would you consider it a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No [laughter].</p>
14	29:23.6 - 31:57.7	<p><b>Okay and this one which again was in the survey. Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>Well I know the phrase of course. Umm, at first I was going to say no, but yes I do recognise it now, I have possibly seen it on documentaries or something like that, I remember it more, the Careless Talk Costs Lives, somebody— another poster.</p> <p><b>And that one is that from the time or do you think you've seen that in documentaries as well?</b></p> <p>I remember that one more, but umm, I don't know I must have seen some of these things, perhaps I haven't seen this one so much if you see what I mean, you know it's that kind of memory. Umm I mean in the last two or three years I've been a bit concerned about my memory so they've been giving me short term memory checks and one of them is a list of objects and you have to repeat it back and I only get about four or five of them right and then twenty minutes later they say right I've going to give you a list of [unintelligible] is it on the original list? I get a hundred percent. You see, that doesn't make sense [laughter].</p> <p><b>Good memory in...</b></p> <p>In one way but not in another. So it makes me wonder whether it's something like that, I don't know.</p> <p><b>So you're thinking you must have seen some of these things at some point.</b></p> <p>I would have seen this on television in recent years or something like that, but it's that bit there that slowly came back, if you see what I mean. I immediately noticed this but then that...</p> <p><b>So this was first then that. Okay.</b></p>
15	31:57.7 - 34:10.8	<p><b>So the slogan you know you think from other posters maybe rather than a specific one that you can remember?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p>Sorry I've just realised this has got the face of Hitler there [laughter]. God I'm slow aren't I.</p> <p><b>No you'd be surprised at the range of speeds that people get that. Do you remember anyone using the Careless Talk Costs Lives phrase?</b></p> <p>Yes, umm, — my aunt would have, she was forever coming out with all sorts of things, especially when we were rowing or something and she'd use something like that to quiet us down or something like that, umm, dad probably did as well. And of course at school, the other boys and that.</p> <p><b>So schoolkids were using these kinds of phrases?</b></p> <p>Yeah it was the same as— airplanes weren't common, during peacetime and I was only about 6 or 7 playing in the playground and all of a sudden you'd hear the plane coming over, and they're not like jets [unintelligible], you sort of stop and look up and then somebody shouts 'oh it's okay boys it's one of ours' [laughter], you know, why that pops up I don't know.</p> <p><b>Those phrases made it into playground situations.</b></p> <p>That's right.</p>

		<p><b>In your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Oh you gotta be careful not only where you speak but who you speak to because you might be giving information away that might actually cost lives.</p>
16	34:10.8 - 36:17.7	<p><b>And any other thoughts or memories come to mind?</b></p> <p>No, umm, funny as soon as you said that I was— doesn't seem to be any connection whatsoever except for that cake tray, umm, I was once at a wedding and the reception was held on the London tube, and it was on the way to the ..., and we went in there for tea, cup of tea, afternoon tea, it was about £25 a cup, but we all went in and, so why that reminds me of that I just don't know. It was a long time ago yeah.</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>— Amused really more than anything.</p> <p><b>And would you consider this a well-known image?</b></p> <p>Having thought about it yes.</p> <p><b>Would you describe it as iconic?</b></p> <p>Probably just.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
17	36:17.7 - 38:36.2	<p><b>Next one, which was in the survey. Do you recognise it?</b></p> <p>Yes, not until I read this.</p> <p><b>Okay so you're not sure you know the actual image?</b></p> <p>No, but I you showed me just that, I wouldn't have known it but it's only because of this.</p> <p><b>Okay. And do you remember the slogan from anywhere else?</b></p> <p>No, no. It reminds me of pictures, movies.</p> <p><b>And what is this image in your opinion?</b></p> <p>Oh again it's telling you to be very careful what you say and to whom. Again you could be giving information away that you may not think is important but could be important to a foreign government or something.</p> <p><b>Do you consider it different to this one?</b></p> <p>I think that's a better one.</p> <p><b>Why is that?</b></p> <p>I think this conveys more, this one's just eye-catching that's all, especially having the woman there as well, and the colours comes across more.</p> <p><b>So this is more effective, but that one is still striking?</b></p> <p>I think so yes.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>I don't think it's iconic.</p> <p><b>No, okay.</b></p>
18	38:36.2 - 40:52.4	<p><b>Any other thoughts or memories come to mind, apart from movies?</b></p> <p>No just movies. That's all.</p> <p><b>Any particular movies or just general?</b></p>

		<p>No, just general, er wartime movies I should say.</p> <p>[pause]</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>I don't really know. Umm, oddly enough a little bit nostalgic I don't know why, possibly because I like the black and white films of the fifties you know, not necessarily war films or anything but...</p> <p><b>But just the time, the lifestyle?</b></p> <p>Yeah, that's right, yeah.</p> <p><b>And then which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Well [points at woman] it's got to be [laughter].</p> <p><b>And would you say it's well known? I know you've said it's not iconic.</b></p> <p>I don't think it is well known, I may be wrong there I don't know.</p>
19	40:52.4 - 43:29.8	<p><b>This one.</b></p> <p>I remember the saying. I definitely don't remember the poster.</p> <p><b>Okay but...</b></p> <p>I mean that one, the saying there, I remember that more so than this one.</p> <p><b>Okay so be like dad.</b></p> <p><b>Yes. Do you think that was from other images or people saying it?</b></p> <p>It could be from other images, yes.</p> <p><b>So other posters?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Okay and then what is this image?</b></p> <p>Well again it's telling you to be careful about loose talk, yeah.</p> <p><b>So the same as both of these ones.</b></p> <p>yeah, yes. I think that's far more effective than this one.</p> <p><b>So in order to effectiveness for these three would you say that's best.</b></p> <p>Yeah that, second, third.</p> <p><b>Okay and then are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at this?</b></p> <p>Dad used to smoke a pipe [laughter] err, because you don't think about people smoking these days, umm,</p> <p><b>Yeah to have it in an image like this...</b></p> <p>Yeah he had the straight one, the pipe. Oh it does remind me of, [REDACTED], a few doors away from my aunt, in between there was an old fellow there, he always smoked a clay pipe.</p> <p><b>Oh one of those really little...</b></p> <p>Yes really old one. Where he got them from I don't know. Oh I hadn't thought about him for a long long time [laughter].</p>
20	43:29.8 - 44:59.0	<p><b>Okay and then how does it make you feel, if anything?</b></p> <p>I don't know it sort of gives you more of a warm feeling, it could be because it's red I don't know, yeah.</p>

		<p><b>Positive?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>And then which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The words, just there, yes. Yeah I think it was the keep mum and then I read the rest, yeah.</p> <p><b>And then would you consider this well-known?</b></p> <p>I would— definitely that saying is well known, as I said I don't remember that poster being about but er, yes as I say well known.</p> <p><b>So you think the saying has been repeated enough that people know it.</b></p> <p>Yes, yeah.</p> <p><b>And would you describe it as an iconic image?</b></p> <p>I think I would do that one yes, mainly because of those wording there.</p> <p><b>Because the wording draws your mind to the war.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p>
21	44:59.0 - 47:11.4	<p><b>This one.</b></p> <p>That's been around, fairly recently as well, go into some of these shops, umm, they've got these on the wall and everything, Keep Calm and Carry On, I don't remember that back in the forties or even fifties, I think it's much much later.</p> <p><b>So if you had to guess where you saw it first, when do you reckon that might be?</b></p> <p>Fairly recently, umm, ten years? It will become iconic [laughter].</p> <p><b>So would you describe it as iconic now?</b></p> <p>Possibly yes. The fact that you get it on T shirts and things like that, yes.</p> <p><b>And then what is this image, what is it trying to do?</b></p> <p>Keep your temper I suppose, umm, I don't understand why it came out actually...</p> <p><b>What do you think it means in the context of now, considering that's when you know it from?</b></p> <p>— Mainly just keep your temper especially when driving, just normal day to day.</p> <p><b>So would you actually consider it as a wartime, as related to wartime?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>So if you describe it as iconic, you don't mean it's iconic of the war?</b></p> <p>No, no.</p>
22	47:11.4 - 49:52.8	<p><b>Why do you think it is memorable, so why do you think it has come out...?</b></p> <p>I don't know why it has come out, umm, it's memorable to me because it's fairly recent, umm, I don't normally take that much notice of advertisements, so, yeah [laughter] [unintelligible] they don't mean a great deal, I mean the, I've got to admit a lot of the advertisements on television are quite interesting, but I can't tell you what they're selling [laughter], it's like this— to me it's not World War Two [unintelligible] at all, it's fairly recent.</p> <p><b>Okay. And any thoughts or memories come to mind when you look at it?</b></p> <p>No just T shirts. And cups and things like that, souvenirs.</p> <p><b>And how do you feel when you look at it?</b></p>



		<p>No feeling at all really.</p> <p><b>So the message doesn't make...</b></p> <p>No, doesn't do much.</p> <p><b>And it's difficult with this one but is there any particular part that draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I think it's the crown more than the words.</p> <p><b>So when you described it as iconic, what it is iconic of?</b></p> <p>What I meant is err, was going to say people will recognise it, most people will have seen it and— I don't think many people would know why. I'm going to be interested to see what you say about this at the end [laughter] especially this one yes.</p> <p><b>Yeah, okay.</b></p>
23	49:52.8 - 52:34.5	<p><b>Last couple then, Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>I recognise that, but when I came down to here, no I don't recognise this bit.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>Yes I know that umm, more or less at the beginning of the war, umm, the government was trying to get women into the factories, well first world war that was, umm, they got the suffragettes onto the government's side, er, was it Baldwin I can't remember, so I mean mum worked in the factories during the war.</p> <p><b>Was she doing munitions?</b></p> <p>Thinking about it I can't remember, she was on a lathe I remember her telling me that, err, this was, this would have been in Nottingham, so, I don't know what they were doing there at all. I know she was working there until, umm, I don't know when she met dad, but I believe mum was boarding with her Grandmother at the time, I knew nothing about mum's history at all until after she died and I started doing family history and everything, umm and that was when I came across the fact that she was born in a workhouse, err, it's got an address on her birth certificate but when I looked it up it was a workhouse, the address was put on there to save embarrassing— she was illegitimate which is why she was in a workhouse, I don't know, her mum, my grandmother's sister she also had an illegitimate child but she was at home, she didn't have to go into the workhouse, so, seems a bit unfair [laughter]. But no I recognise that part, without the words yes I know it's calling women in to factories and everything, yeah.</p>
24	52:34.5 - 55:36.2	<p>I mean you only know it's Second World War because of the aircraft, first world war of course wouldn't have them, and I think this would've been white, it would've been a white dress in the first world war.</p> <p><b>Do you have any sense of where you've seen it before?</b></p> <p>I think I've seen this in the Imperial War Museum, I've just I do not remember this at all.</p> <p><b>Is there anything about it that makes it memorable do you think, anything about this element of the image that's particularly memorable or is it just that you've seen it?</b></p> <p>It's just the way she's standing in that yeah.</p> <p><b>And any other thoughts or memories come to mind?</b></p> <p>No only that mum worked in a factory, yeah.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Well, little bit nostalgic really I suppose, yeah.</p>

		<p><b>For the time, or for memories of your mum,</b></p> <p>Yes, memories of my mum.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p><b>And which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Oh this area yeah, the face and that, yeah.</p> <p><b>And do you think this is well known?</b></p> <p>Err, the top half yes, definitely.</p> <p><b>Would you describe it as iconic?</b></p> <p>I'm beginning to wonder whether I know what that means [laughter], as you can tell my English was never my best subject, which is why I don't speak other languages [laughter], umm, that is definitely well known I'd say, umm, yeah I think it is iconic, because you immediately think of the Second World War, although I was thinking about the first world war after I'd read this.</p>
25	55:36.2 - 57:35.7	<p><b>Okay, then last one. Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>Yes I recognise it, umm, tend to get a little bit annoyed with it. This is at the beginning of the war and at the end of the war, you listen to his speeches and it's as if Britain was the only country in the war, there's nobody else helping, there's all the commonwealth countries especially India and you know places like that, umm, so I tend to get a bit annoyed over that.</p> <p><b>By his speeches and things and the sentiment...</b></p> <p>Yeah. Oh he was a great man, I'm not saying he wasn't it's just, the way he was saying that, made it look as if it was just by ourselves, err, and a lot of these countries especially as I said India, they didn't really get recognised until a long time afterwards.</p> <p><b>So you think you've seen this image before, do you know where, when?</b></p> <p>Possibly on television I can't remember ever seeing it stuck on the wall or anything like that, so I think it's probably documentaries afterwards.</p> <p><b>And the phrase particularly...</b></p> <p>Yes Let Us Go Forward Together which was at the beginning of the war.</p> <p><b>Okay yeah.</b></p> <p>[pause]</p>
26	57:35.7 - 59:25.7	<p><b>In your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Er well this is when he was trying to get America and everyone on our side to go into the war, umm, you know we definitely needed help, unfortunately we needed the Americans [laughter], not that they would've come in it hadn't been for the Lusitania, but, umm, yeah and I also think it's iconic, as soon as people see that they think oh Second World War, yeah.</p> <p><b>And you say probably because it's him in it?</b></p> <p>Because it's Churchill yeah.</p> <p><b>Then, any other thoughts, memories come to mind when you look at it?</b></p> <p>No not really, no, I do remember him in the 1950s election, he lost it didn't he, remember seeing posters of him all over the place.</p> <p><b>And which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Oh his face, yeah.</p>

		<p><b>And so you've said you think it's iconic and do you think it's well known by a lot of people?</b></p> <p>Yeah I think most people know it.</p>
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### Interview 7: 6165982650

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant 6165982650 on 22 August 2017 at King's College London.

- Year of birth: 1992
- Age bracket: 1986-1995
- Gender: Female
- Highest level of education: Master's Degree
- Birth region: East of England

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 4:23.1	<p><b>First questions are not on the images specifically but are kind of to help me understand where the Second World War features in your life, in your family memories and everything. So are there any family memories that have been passed down to you?</b></p> <p>More than I'd probably care to count. My grandad, I think World War Two had a really kind of defining, memory on his childhood, so his dad, his dad couldn't go to the actual war but he was taken off to work on the navy, so you know, one of his first memories was his teacher telling him when he was about nine years old like you're the man of the house now you have to look after everything. I think the teacher was trying to be encouraging but my grandad always said it was one of those sort of most terrifying moments when he was just like a nine-year-old boy and suddenly kind of becoming head of the household and he had two young twin brothers so it was a bit like [fear noise]. So for him like he was acutely aware that the war was happening and I think he's probably got mixed emotions for it so in some ways it's really nostalgic for him because it's part of his childhood but other ways I think he kind of, as he's gotten older he's learnt about the war, the kind of dark side of it has started to inform his childhood memories so basically it's kind of become a thing in my family like, you know how you have seven degrees of Kevin Bacon, so anything, you can always get back to a single point and my Grandad it's the war, like how many moves does it take him to get the subject back on to the war, and he's managed to get from the strangest subjects in like two moves back to the war and you're there like, fantastic! But it's always a new story so, we've asked most of my grandparents like how do you remember the war, my grandma basically had no idea it was happening, she just loved being evacuated, thought it was wonderful, went to the countryside...</p> <p><b>She was quite young then?</b></p> <p>Well yeah, you know, again sort of like 8, 9 ish but she was just ohh we used to play in the streams and it's like, there was a war!</p> <p><b>Where was this?</b></p> <p>Up north so she was Middlesbrough, my grandad was just outside of Newcastle in a place called Stanley, so kind of they were, he wasn't evacuated because he was basically countryside anyway, but my grandma was centre of Middleborough so she had to be evacuated out, but my paternal grandfather doesn't remember any of</p>

		<p>it, has no memory of being evacuated and we think his was probably a bit more traumatic, because he was more London based so we think his might be a bit more repressed so, he can't remember it.</p> <p><b>So he would have been old enough to remember-</b></p> <p>-he would have again been sort of 8 or 9-</p> <p><b>-but doesn't-</b></p> <p>-zero memories at all, can't remember it, can't remember being evacuate, absolutely nothing, and we're a bit like ahh bit telling [laughter]. Again my nana she I think she, I think she was slightly older, but she just enjoyed it because all the sort of, after the war, when everybody was still doing their service, can't remember what it's called, when you had to sort of train up in case another war happened, she loved that because it meant that loads of like men came up to Carlisle and suddenly there were loads of attractive men [laughter] so she had a great time, but again she wasn't evacuated so for her the war was more or less, insignificant, yeah. But for my grandad, it was for him, he's the one who tells all the stories he's the one who I know the most about the war from, so because it had the biggest impact on him.</p> <p><b>So it sounds like he enjoys talking about the war?</b></p> <p>Oh yes. Oh yes.</p> <p><b>Even if it's not positive memories...</b></p> <p>If you can get him talking about the war, that's when he talks the most, because he's not the most talkative person, but the war is a guaranteed way to get him going [laughter], so yeah I think that's probably how like you know it, because I think him being a poor family as well I think it had a sort of fairly bit impact on his upbringing, because it was hard enough as it was for him anyway and then all rations and everything came in, and I don't think he's ever really broken the rations mentality, he's still is almost serving the war effort with his lifestyle today [laughter], so I think that's, my grandad, maternal grandfather is my biggest insight into the war.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
2	4:23.1 - 5:59.6	<p><b>And, you discuss this with him, with the rest of your family, is everyone interested in it generally in the family?</b></p> <p>Yeah I think-</p> <p><b>I wonder if, because some people say about if they've got a relative who talks about it a lot that they're either really interested or really bored by it...</b></p> <p>I think it's probably throughout my ages I think I've probably gone through all the emotions so when you're sort of a teenager you're sort of like oh my god not this again, but then as you, as I've gotten a bit older actually it is quite interesting and he's, my grandad's a really really smart man so he knows a lot, he remembers a lot and he's a good storyteller so I think it is sort of quite interesting because he weaves a really good picture so I do still like hearing about-sometimes you get a repeat of a story, but yeah he's what like 84 so fair enough you know he's allowed to repeat things [laughter]. But no I do find it interesting because it's just, it's an entirely different existence, like a different world, like it's really difficult to kind of comprehend the atmosphere and I ask him a lot about that like you know, although there's all the sort of tactical stuff and all the things he quite likes discussing the battles and how things were one, umm occasionally I'm just like but what was the mood in the UK like? Do you remember being scared? Was it scary or was it just a kind of, you know, you didn't really know it was happening, did it feel removed? and things like that so, and those things I kind of want to know about, the social things, the impact it had on that, and he will talk about that too [laughter].</p> <p><b>Great, he sounds great [laughter].</b></p> <p>Yeah!</p>

		<b>Okay.</b>
3	5:59.6 - 7:24.1	<p><b>Apart from family, do you remember learning about it at school?</b></p> <p>Vaguely, umm, at school kind of I was more doing geography than history, but, we did a bit on the war, I remember our teacher making us watch, umm, Saving Private Ryan, I sat there and I said to my teacher I'm really not good with gore and you know the opening scene, pretty much all that, so I pretty much used to watch it, just sat there, not facing the screen, and he was like ah you know you've got to watch it and I was literally like you won't be able to make me turn around for love nor money, but I think maybe world war one I have more of a memory of us learning about that, and then a weird bit you know Saving Private Ryan but, I don't remember much of history from secondary school...</p> <p><b>So you only did it up to, so you did geography GCSE...</b></p> <p>Yeah so up to year 9 sort of did history and then it was geography so I can't remember much of what we covered, but I do know we did a bit of it, towards the end of year 9 when people who were going to do history GCSE had to do it, but no most of my war knowledge is my grandad [laughter].</p>
4	7:24.0 - 8:45.5	<p><b>Okay and then apart from school apart from memories, anything else, are you interested in it in wider culture, do you remember going to museums say as a child or watching tv programmes, books, anything else?</b></p> <p>Umm, I think, not so much when I was younger but as I've gotten older I've read more about it, umm and obviously now that like films and stuff it comes up like, what war was Mrs Henderson presents, I think that might've been world war one...</p> <p><b>I think it was World War Two...</b></p> <p>Was it World War Two?</p> <p><b>I think so.</b></p> <p>Well it was one of them, no yes it would've been World War Two because her son was killed in the first world war, umm, so things like that, obviously in like films [unintelligible] Blitz, and you know I'll read Wikipedia articles about things that happen umm and obviously you've got other things like umm, the imitation game, I haven't seen it, but obviously you know things like that are discussed, people watch it and talk about it, I tend to sort of read it more than watch it, but yeah I think as I've gotten older I've probably learnt more about it from reading, not necessarily books, but more sort of Wikipedia articles online and sort of articles in the news.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
5	8:45.5 - 10:40.7	<p><b>Great, then I will start with the first image, and this one was in the survey.</b></p> <p>Yes I remember it.</p> <p><b>So all the questions I'm going to ask are going to be exactly the same, so they will get repetitive [laughter]</b></p> <p>Yeah [laughter].</p> <p><b>And some of them make less sense than others, but the first one is going to be do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Only from the survey.</p> <p><b>Okay so you didn't know it before?</b></p> <p>Didn't know it before, no.</p> <p><b>Okay, did you recognise the slogan?</b></p> <p>— I don't think I did no, I don't think it rung a bell.</p>

		<p><b>And then this is a really general question, which I'm keep general deliberately to see what you say basically, so in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>So this was just a way of them supplementing rations, so obviously you know like I remember my grandad telling me all about the rations and growing your own veg and everything like that and the a thousand ways people used carrots in the war [laughter] things like that, you know ooh carrot marmalade and you're like yeah doesn't sound that appealing grandad as much as you push it, so it just, it kind of has that whole like, grow your own veg, support the war effort, like you know if you want to have more than rations you have to grow it yourself and that kind of whole mentality of just using everything over and over again just because of the ration, so I think that's what to me in my opinion that's what it's a ration supplement poster.</p>
6	10:40.7 - 13:37.5	<p><b>And then you've mentioned already you grandad, carrots and stuff, are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at this?</b></p> <p>Umm, I think probably just again I'm sure my grandad has told me numerous stories about things that my great grandma would do during the war and you know how every single scrap was just always, you know, you never wasted anything and that's something that my grandad has always kept to this day and has almost been passed down, like my mum has the same mentality like you don't throw food away, it's just way to precious to waste like sell by dates, ignore 'em, if it smells fine eat it, it's that just permanent like, nothing can be wasted like, you know, the fact they still like love offal and things like that, it's just like anything like if you can eat it use it, and if you can patch it [laughter] like clothes, like I'm sure my grandad's clothes are patched to the nth degree they're finally we're like you need to buy a new shirt now [laughter]. So yeah I think that's kind of it brings those sort of memories of just, yeah just everything being used.</p> <p><b>So does you grandad actually kind of preach that view of you know, specifically, or is it just the way that he lived that you think your mum has...</b></p> <p>Yeah I think it's the way that he lived, like my grandad doesn't he's not so prescriptive with his views but his lifestyle's very regimented, like I mean he always, one of his favourite sayings is routine is the flywheel of discipline, and it's just, [laughter], so you know it's very much like you— a classic example is like my mum she tells a story that he was quite strict with food and never got out of that mentality and he used to cut a mars bar into 18ths and for dessert him my mum and my grandma would have an 18th of a mars bar for dessert so my mum always said like after she got her first pay check the first thing she did was went and bought a whole mars bar and ate it all in one go [laughter], so it's that, you know in his lifestyle the way my mum was brought up and they don't waste anything and my mum's the same, I think just from growing up in a household where things aren't wasted and things are mended rather than being replaced, it's just kind of been passed down.</p> <p><b>Do you think it's been passed down to you?</b></p> <p>Oh yeah I hate, like if I have a plate of food, my boyfriend's really happy to leave stuff and I can't because it's like ooh you know it's made I have to eat it yeah [laughter], so empty plates they have to be cleared, because it's just you don't throw away food, to the point that it means I have to eat it, not sure that's developed a healthy eating habits [laughter]. Yeah so that, I'd agree that's been passed down, noting, food just isn't wasted.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
7	13:37.5 - 16:17.9	<p><b>And then, looking at this, how does it make you feel, if anything?</b></p> <p>I mean that is, it really throws you back to the kind of war, I mean everything about it just like of course it's sunny sky with you know blue sky and clouds and it's just, that I don't know what that material count that as tweed maybe but it's just, the whole thing is just really retro and of that war era, I mean the point is that I</p>

		<p>probably wouldn't, people don't really kind of grow their own veg like they used to, back in the war, so it's just, and the colours and the font it's just so, it just has that you know, wartime look, I don't know how a font can look wartime but it somehow does, like if you showed that like to me without any context of it being a World War Two poster interview, you'd know that was from the war.</p> <p><b>Okay yeah. So you didn't know it before, you don't think you've known it before, but if I just showed you like that photograph, you think you'd get an idea that it's war?</b></p> <p>Yeah I think I would.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>It has that look.</p> <p><b>Yeah. And then which part of the image draws your eye first when you look at it?</b></p> <p>The boot. The boot and spade.</p> <p><b>Okay. And are there any associations you have with those objects at all?</b></p> <p>My whole family are very keen gardeners and my grandad again grows a lot of his own [laughter], it's that kind of just like you garden in smartish clothes and that big spade it's just, yeah I think, yeah it conjures that kind of image of my grandad just gardening and growing vegetables and all of that.</p> <p><b>Okay and then do you think this image is well known in Britain by other people?</b></p> <p>Umm, I wouldn't say amongst my age group, potentially my parents age group and above like sort of like 50 and above probably more recognisable but I'd say for us, because people don't garden as much, and don't really, unless you have an allotment, people don't tend to grow their own veg, like most people I know who grow vegetables they're in my grandad's age bracket, so amongst them it probably is instantly recognisable and well known and probably has had a lasting impact, but I think amongst sort of you know twenty thirty year olds probably not so much.</p>
8	16:17.9 - 17:53.1	<p><b>Let's move on to the next one, which wasn't in the survey. Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>No I don't.</p> <p><b>And any of the words, do you recognise at all?</b></p> <p>Er no, nothing on it is familiar.</p> <p><b>And then again, in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Er similar to the last image so again, growing your own food, because obviously you know with rationing there wasn't enough to go round so it's that kind of, encouraging people to help the war effort, stop putting pressure on, if you Grow Your Own Food, you can have your own and you're not taking stuff from sort of the state it's that kind of, if you can't help the war by fighting in it you help the war by growing your own food and doing it that way so it's that kind of again, relates to rations, sort of, supplementing your own ration packet.</p> <p><b>Do you think it's a better or worse image than this one?</b></p> <p>Worse, I think that's, it says more without as many words, like that's not as recognisable or as memorable as that, there's too much kind of going on in that one.</p> <p><b>Okay so it's the simplicity.</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah.</p> <p><b>Yeah okay.</b></p>

9	17:53.1 - 19:40.1	<p><b>And then, are there any thoughts or memories come to mind about any element of that?</b></p> <p>This weirdly looks quite modern actually, I wouldn't associate this as much with sort of like the word war two era, it's kind of with the like the gradient and the kind of like modern sort of imagery, like it kind of looks like modern graphic design, it doesn't look as kind of retro, and I think in that way it doesn't kind of conjure as much, like sort of memories and stories that my grandad's told me because it doesn't— it looks more seventies and eighties [laughter] than it does sort of like word war two.</p> <p><b>So the fact that it doesn't make you think of World War Two instantly...</b></p> <p>Yeah it kind of almost acts as a blocker to memories because it's just, it doesn't, because it has no link from imagery of World War Two, I'm kind of a bit like— other than kind of what the other one reminds me of it doesn't conjure anything new.</p> <p><b>Yeah okay.</b></p> <p><b>And then how does it make you feel if anything?</b></p> <p>[Laughter] I think it's just kind of that like, it's weird when you didn't live through it to have like a, a nostalgia for a time, kind of be a bit like aw it's be quite nice if we grew our own fruit and veg again, that's be quite nice, to have a little allotment, it would be quite nice to have an allotment [laughter], but...</p> <p><b>So a bit of nostalgia?</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah, nostalgia that I can't have somehow but do [laughter].</p>
10	19:40.1 - 21:10.3	<p><b>Okay and which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Umm, I think because it's so busy, not really any sort of particular part but it would be this kind of central area, so the kind of fork and spade, or shovel, turning into obviously a knife and fork, I think it's probably yeah this sort of area.</p> <p><b>But the business means it's less...</b></p> <p>Less defined yeah.</p> <p><b>Okay. And any associations with any of those objects?</b></p> <p>Umm, I mean not so much these sorts of bits, I don't even know what that is, umm oh it's a cap, oh yeah that took me a while [laughter], umm, yeah looks like a sort of army cap doesn't it, a beret. I'd say probably, umm, the again the shovel and fork so that kind of hard, I mean I broke a fork once much to my mum's dismay, it was quite rotten [laughter] I think it's the intense physical labour that those sort of tools require to Grow Your Own Food and, yeah.</p> <p><b>And then again, do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No.</p>
11	21:10.3 - 23:55.6	<p><b>Okay then, this one which was in the survey, and did you recognise it before?</b></p> <p>I don't think I did, no.</p> <p><b>And do you recognise any of the slogans, particularly this one?</b></p> <p>That one does ring a bell. I think I do recognise that. I think my grandad said that.</p> <p><b>[laughter] I was hoping that would be the case, as he says all these things.</b></p> <p>Yeah [laughter].</p> <p><b>So actually you remember him saying that?</b></p> <p>Yeah I think I've definitely heard him say Make-do and Mend.</p>



		<p><b>Yeah.</b></p> <p>I mean yeah those words I mean those whole sort of things are just kind of, like make do was kind of like the overarching thing of like wartime effort, and like mending stuff, like yeah you had to Make-do and Mend things and that, yeah I mean that definitely like stories you know, I mean I remember him telling me one story about a parachute, like a person had to eject out of a plane and he landed and a load of the ladies from the village went and like you know sort of divided up the parachute between and used that to you know patch things or make knickers out of and it was that literally like— or stockings and, I think my grandma told I think a story, one of the few things she remembers was people, instead of wearing stockings they'd just draw a black line on the back of their leg to pretend like they were wearing stockings, instead of wasting money on silk they just [laughter] drew a black line and I was like what happens if it smudged, kind of gives the game away, but that like, my grandad always said that people were proud of the number of patches they had on clothes they wore so he was like it wasn't like you know they were ashamed that they'd patch their clothes, it was like a badge of honour, it was like look I have patched this, I am contributing, like I am not wasting money on buying new things, and like he always said it was that kind of— it was yeah they were like badges of honour, the number of patches you had, obviously they would like hit a point where you had to replace them but, he said like his, he remembers his mum endlessly patching stuff like you know, elbows and knees, just like everything was just like patched because that's what you did, that's what a good patriotic person did, they patched things it wasn't wasteful, it's just like crikey it sounds intense. But yeah, I remember a lot of stories of him, about you know how they had to just make do with what they had and just get on with it.</p>
12	23:55.6 - 26:04.1	<p><b>And in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>So it's just about about, because obviously with umm, materials and imports being very difficult to get in with like the war and you know train lines being disrupted, umm, it's about that kind of, because we couldn't get the resources, we had to make do and it's that, again like with resources being tight it's like here's what you've got, work with it, make do [laughter], so it's that kind of, a way of making tight resources kind of become a thing we can all rally behind, it's that kind of trying to make the best of a bad situation because that's what the British do and it's like, instead of sort of letting people kind of moan about it, it's like no, you don't moan about it, you fix it, you make do with it, you get on with it, it kind of yeah, it's that sort of, mentality I think it kind of brings to mind.</p> <p><b>Okay and, but you have said a lot of things so unless there's anything else, but are there any other thoughts, memories come to mind, anything you haven't mentioned?</b></p> <p>I mean probably I have to sort of touch on the sort of mild sexism [laughter] it's obviously a woman who's gonna be sort of referring to the make do and the mends and of course she's the one, I think she's standing in a very feminine pose, I don't think I've ever picked up a pair of socks like that, it is not that graceful [laughter], umm, but yeah, I mean yeah it's of that era isn't it, that women were the ones who mended things.</p> <p><b>So the fact that it's targeted at women...</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah exactly it's like this is the woman's war effort and I mean to be fair like, that's what happened like my grandma was the one who did the, like great grandma, did the patching not my grandad, great grandad, I don't think he'd have known how to even weald a needle [laughter], so, I mean like it's of an era but obviously it is targeted at women.</p>
13	26:04.1 - 27:33.8	<p><b>And then how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>I mean I think in fact I was probably even smiling throughout the whole time I'm talking about this it's just that kind of like just funny stories of like I said the</p>

		<p>number of patches people had but, yeah I think just kind of like, it'd be quite funny to see, like if you could go back then, all the people's patched clothes [laughter] — yeah I think probably just happy.</p> <p><b>So happy funny kind of yeah, positive?</b></p> <p>Yeah, yeah.</p> <p><b>Okay and then any particular part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>umm, I think the central bit, like the sort of central image, yeah because I think it's because it's set on black it kind of stands out a bit more with that kind of, this and then obviously the slogan kind of crosses into it so you probably look at this bit and then, that sort of c shape.</p> <p><b>And then any particular associations with any of the particular objects there?</b></p> <p>I mean definitely the stockings, like the fact...</p> <p><b>The story...</b></p> <p>Yeah the parachute.</p> <p><b>And would you say this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>Err, probably not.</p>
14	27:33.8 - 31:02.6	<p><b>Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>[laughter] No, no I don't.</p> <p><b>In your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Horrifying [laughter], I mean that is creepy, that doll, good god [laughter]. Umm, I mean that, that's quite a clever play on words, I see it's issued by the board of trade again, umm but I mean it's so creepy [laughter] umm, it just yeah looks like— it again, it's kind of of that era like the fashion, the way the doll's make up's done, but, yeah that is, that is weird.</p> <p><b>Would you say that the kind of aim of the image is the same as that?</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah similar like again sort of umm patching stuff and of course you know it's a doll because everyone has rag dolls, sort of always being stitched up and mending whatever.</p> <p><b>So would you say it's a better or worse image than this one? More successful or less successful?</b></p> <p>I mean to some extent it's probably slightly better because it's simpler and the colours are kind of a bit bolder, but, I think this one is more explicit the fact that it says Go Through Your Wardrobe is actually telling you what to do and then to Make-do and Mend, whereas mrs sew and sew is a bit more just like, you'd have to probably know more of the context of the wartime effort to understand this, you'd probably get an idea, but I think Go Through Your Wardrobe is far more explicit that mrs sew and sew in the kind of aim of the poster.</p> <p><b>Yeah, okay. And then are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind with this?</b></p> <p>Umm less than Go Through Your Wardrobe because obviously Go Through Your Wardrobe had the pictures of stockings which I remember things more whereas Make-do and Mend the doll is a bit too kind of, overriding, to remember things other than like horror films like the first thing I saw when I thought mrs sew and sew was that new film anabelle that came out like— I hate horror films but I just remember it was just this really creepy doll and her face is really similar to mrs sew and sew. That's a bit kind of like what I'm sort of more focused on is like, oh you're like something out of a horror film.</p> <p><b>So that was the first thing came to mind when you looked at her face?</b></p>

		<p>Yeah yeah. Because it's sort of like a retro sort of style porcelain doll so they've got a similar sort of look, oh dear.</p> <p><b>So the horrifying creepiness sort of overrides any other thoughts you're having...</b></p> <p>Yeah, yeah [laughter].</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
15	31:02.6 - 31:35.6	<p><b>Well then this is a bit obvious, how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Scared.</p> <p><b>Scared, yep.</b></p> <p><b>Ad then which bit draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>It's got to be the face.</p> <p><b>Okay and we talked about what that's associated with. And then would you say this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>Err no.</p>
16	31:35.6 - 33:44.7	<p><b>This one which was in the survey.</b></p> <p>Ah yeah I remember this one.</p> <p><b>Did you know it before?</b></p> <p>Err no, no.</p> <p><b>And, had you heard this slogan before?</b></p> <p>, I don't think I've heard that, maybe that slogan, explicitly but that kind of thought my grandad's expressed, that you did have to be careful because espionage was a very real threat and people genuinely were quite concerned about it, so I don't know if he ever said Careless Talk Costs Lives, but, yeah like the kind of message of just you did have to be careful you were sort of like cautious and you were a bit more like wary of what you said, umm, he's, that sort of thing has been communicated before.</p> <p><b>Okay so he has actually talked about the fear of espionage.</b></p> <p>Yeah, yeah, yeah.</p> <p><b>Okay and then in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>So it's, it's again it's about espionage, the threat of espionage, I mean the fact they've got Hitler in the wall, I mean that is hysterical [laughter], but it's that, kind of, just yeah that absolute fear that, the Germans will end up getting, or sorry the Nazis will end up getting, one sort of one up on the country just because someone had you know, too loose a tongue and sort of, gave away a top secret of just what's happening so it's that, yeah, just that, I think maybe perhaps more fear of the government that then was kind of passed down, to the kind of communities, it's just they were obviously didn't want any secrets to be leaked so they kind of made it like a big like ooh no one can talk about it so I think their fear trickled down into sort of more society.</p> <p><b>And it worked on your grandad at least he had that...</b></p> <p>Yeah, yeah, yeah.</p>
17	33:44.7 - 37:14.1	<p><b>Did you spot Hitler when you saw it in the survey did you spot it straight away?</b></p>

		<p>I think I sort of, when I looked at it I think I was always like what's that weird kind of tassel on the wall then looked at it and realised like ahh it's a Hitler wallpaper [laughter].</p> <p><b>It really varies in how quick people get that it's quite interesting. People stare at it for ages and not realise it.</b></p> <p>I obviously didn't pick it up sort of straight away but I did end up sort of noticing and being like, Hitler, he's everywhere [laughter]. No I like this image actually, I like the sort of, the way it's all designed...</p> <p><b>Why is that?</b></p> <p>Ah I just quite like the sort of the colours and the layout, the fact it's kind of comical but kind of threat- I don't know if it's maybe like back then it was more threatening, but to me now it's kind of like, you can almost picture that in like a children's book or something, the kind of like cartoonish style of it and the way that the women are kind of gossiping, and then just Hitler in the background [laughter]. Yeah.</p> <p><b>Okay, are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at it?</b></p> <p>Umm, I can't think of any sort of off the top of my head, — there was one, I think, my grandad always says that the war was won like effectively like on espionage like that, ah that was it, the, what was it, what was the machine in the imitation game? Was it Turing?</p> <p><b>The enigma machine.</b></p> <p>The enigma machine, thank you, yeah. Umm, like it's that kind of, the fact that they basically found out about that through espionage and through like spying and they like, because the Germans didn't know, we had the channel was like open, so that's how we found out about it, so it's like, us just having that single way in, a single channel is effectively what ended up sort of twisting the war and then once we had the enigma machine it was like, we were golden. So I think he's kind of always said about that it was that, spying is basically what did it, it's what gave us the tactical advantage over the Nazis and that's how we won, so he's always kind of like mentioned that, which obviously you know you always think wars are sort of won in battles or you know back then it kind of felt more like the battles were more important whereas he was like actually no there was a very key, sort of behind the scenes side and obviously it was behind the scenes and there was loads of sort of stuff that was kept really secret and underground, and there was umm, ah there was something else, I don't, I can't remember the name of them, but it was like a group of— they were like front line defence that basically like— were just kind of, if we got invaded they'd like go and like, was it like the home army, but they would like be in like these sort of like secret shelters and they could do secret sort of like, don't know if it was that war, but they could send secret messages and stuff, it might have been a later war, because I think it was like bunkers and stuff, I think it was later- and they were like preparing for like the cold war. But again that kind of like how espionage, or like being super sort of secret, sort of permeates through every single war, which is something I didn't really know about until my grandad sort of said you know we went to a bunker. Umm, but yeah, yeah the key role that espionage sort of played in the war, that's what the poster reminds me of.</p>
18	37:14.1 - 38:49.6	<p><b>And then how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>— I think, probably— wondrous is probably the wrong word but that kind of just like amazement, of just, how tactical the whole thing was and how close everything kind of came— like the outcome could've been so different but we just happened to be lucky because of espionage that I'm just like woah [laughter] what if.</p> <p><b>And you laughed a lot as well, so humorous...</b></p> <p>Yeah it is quite like, it is quite funny as well.</p>

		<p><b>Okay and then which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Umm the ladies talking and then the...</p> <p><b>And then Hitler,</b></p> <p>And then Hitler [laughter].</p> <p><b>Okay. And any other associations with the particular objects?</b></p> <p>Umm, I mean not so much only the sort of like kind of, the stereotypical Hitler caricature, there isn't any sort of other thing.</p> <p><b>So it makes you think of other caricatures of Hitler?</b></p> <p>Yeah, yeah.</p> <p><b>And then do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>Umm no I don't think I recognised it either.</p>
19	38:49.6 - 40:42.2	<p>Oh I remember this one as well [laughter].</p> <p><b>Did you recognise this one before?</b></p> <p>Er no.</p> <p><b>And did you recognise the slogan?</b></p> <p>No. It took me a while to get this one actually, to figure out what it was trying to say [laughter]. No, no I didn't recognise any of it.</p> <p><b>Okay and then what is this image?</b></p> <p>Umm similar to the last one, umm, but, it was interesting the kind of like reversal in this one to the previous one, umm, so in the first Careless Talk Costs Lives poster it was two women who were sort of you know tongue wagging, gossiping away, and that gave the secrets up so that kind of typical like oh careless women, whereas in this one, the Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb poster it's interesting that, it's the men and they're in sort of army regalia so, they're the ones that end up slipping up because they've been fooled by some pretty lady, umm, and it's, it's interesting that this one's probably targeting army personnel more because that's kind of a typical like almost a pin up look so obviously it's going to draw their attention then there's a serious sort of, image, message happening behind it, because I think this is probably targeting more army personnel to not go on and blab about what they're doing even if you think it's just a kind of harmless women, she might not be she could be a German spy. And it's that again that kind of intensity that anyone could be a spy you just don't know...</p>
20	40:42.2 - 42:08.6	<p><b>And are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>Umm, this, the lady in this just reminds me of someone out of Mrs Henderson Presents, that just the like that hairstyle, the bright red lips, that really classic, like pin up look, rollers, like eyeliner that, yeah that real 1950s pin up style, course it wasn't 1950s but yeah, it's just that look [laughter].</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Umm, I don't think I really have much of an emotional reaction to this one, it's—yeah it just it doesn't really, probably fairly neutral on it.</p> <p><b>And then which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Umm, the lady in the middle.</p> <p><b>And would you consider this a well-known image to anyone else?</b></p> <p>No.</p>

21	42:08.6 - 46:07.8	<p><b>This one, do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the slogan at all?</b></p> <p>No [laughter], part from loving the pun [laughter].</p> <p><b>I thought maybe your grandad might have mentioned this?</b></p> <p>No no, I'm sure if I asked him he would absolutely remember that [laughter], err no I don't recognise it.</p> <p><b>Okay then what is this image in your opinion?</b></p> <p>Err again the same thing, threat of espionage, just they've done it more through a hysterical pun, so, but yeah I mean when I first saw it, you have to like say keep mum out loud then realise ohhh, keep silent, okay, not like what do you want to do with my mum? [laughter]. No, yeah I just— it's quite a clever poster, quite nicely designed. Is that meant to be Churchill with the pipe? Oh no he was cigars wasn't he. I'm sure there was some sort of famous person who had a pipe [laughter] yeah.</p> <p><b>And any thoughts or memories come to mind looking at this?</b></p> <p>Umm, nothing sort of, no nothing really, nothing sort of more so than, what the sort of other images, like with Careless Talk Costs Lives, sort of similar sort of memories of being you know afraid of espionage, but, yeah, nothing new.</p> <p><b>Nothing specific to this one.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Yeah I think probably slightly sort of confused of the sort of time period because it's kind of like sort of Alfred Hitchcocky, but then it's like word war two, but, I think beyond confused it'd be neutral.</p> <p><b>So would you say this is probably a less successful or more successful than some of the others, or are they all similar?</b></p> <p>For me, I'd find that the first Careless Talk Costs Lives with umm Hitler on the wall was the most clear at getting the message across and then I'd say, the next one would be the one aimed at the army personnel that I though Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb, then I think Be Like Dad Keep Mum is the least successful, for me, in this current context.</p> <p><b>Okay, because it's confusing or because it's got less...</b></p> <p>I think because it's just the play on words, it doesn't— this I think Careless Talk Costs Lives and don't forget that walls have ears for me that's very clearly talking about people overhearing you, whereas umm the other two the rely on the sort of pun of mum, you have to figure that bit out first to then kind of get the message, whereas the first poster doesn't require that.</p> <p><b>Yeah, okay to make sense you need some thinking time. And which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The big red poster [laughter].</p> <p><b>Okay and then is this a well-known image?</b></p> <p>Err no.</p>
22	46:07.8 - 48:47.1	<p><b>Okay just a few left...</b></p> <p>Here we go [laughter].</p> <p><b>You knew it was going to turn up...</b></p> <p>It has to turn up at some point doesn't [laughter].</p>

		<p><b>So do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>Oh yeah. You'd have to live under a rock not to recognise that.</p> <p><b>And do you have a sense of where you saw it first, when you saw it first?</b></p> <p>Absolutely no idea, it has just been, everywhere that I couldn't even pick a first time I actually saw that.</p> <p><b>So does it feel like you've seen it all your life basically?</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah, I mean there was definitely a point where it became more popular, like I can remember sort of— I think the first time I saw it was probably when it had that sudden resurgence in popularity and I don't know when that was, so, I don't remember the first time I saw it but at the same time, I know there was a first time, because it did suddenly become really popular.</p> <p><b>Yeah, you know there was a time when you hadn't seen it?</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah. Umm, but now I've seen it so much, it's kind of like remembering that first time it would just be absolutely impossible, it— you walk past a tourist shop and it's there.</p> <p><b>And then, what is this image to you?</b></p> <p>Umm, it's kind of, I think, it's sad because it's lost its original thing, like, now it's just been, like, almost bastardised, it's just been replicated some many time and been used with so many different variations of words, it's just, it's, it's overuse means it's lost its original message, and with the other one the other posters, you kind of, it brings to mind wartime effort, whereas this you know it was a wartime poster, but I have to work hard to make the link, between the poster and the war, it's just become so far removed from it, that yeah I have to actually think like ah what would the wartime message of this poster have actually been when it first came out? It's that struggle now.</p> <p><b>So yeah, you don't think of war when you first look at it?</b></p> <p>No no. The immediate association has gone.</p> <p><b>And now the association is just everything.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>
23	48:47.1 - 50:49.7	<p><b>And with this one, why do you think it has become so popular, is there anything about it that makes it popular?</b></p> <p>I think the message is always applicable. It's a message that just hasn't, it wasn't just applicable during the war, it might have been more so but it's kind of like, you know, it's never lost meaning, it's never lost use, like anyone has a mild panic about anything, like keep calm carry on, you can use it on a day to day basis, I think that's what's made it so, replicated, it's the fact that— yeah it can be used in any day situations it's not just kind of related to the war. Whereas like you know Careless Talk Costs Lives, I mean, I can't see that being applicable to my day to day life like me talking about my job in the NHS is not going to cost someone's life because it is quite dull! [laughter]. Whereas, and like you know umm, Make-do and Mend, again it's kind of like, with like consumerism now and things like that, like you don't have to make do you go to Primark and you buy another like 2 quid top it's that like you don't actually have to make do you don't have to mend, it's probably cheaper sometimes to replace, like, my mum knows a lot about sort of, seamstressing and sort of making things, she's always like oh you couldn't even buy the fabric for the price of that top, it's that kind of thing, you don't make do you don't mend because it's actually cheaper not to do that. Umm, whereas this one, the message is, is still there, oh and the same with like the growing your own veg, you don't need to, because it's cheaper to sort of buy it, rather than get the pack of seeds and all the sort of effort, it's like, yeah, the other ones aren't as relevant now whereas this one, the message is still relevant, and probably always will be.</p>

24	50:49.7 - 54:49.0	<p><b>Do you like it?</b></p> <p>No. [Laughter] I did when I first saw it.</p> <p><b>Yeah. But it's just the reuse that—</b></p> <p>yeah, overexposure.</p> <p><b>Any wider thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at it?</b></p> <p>Umm, not wartime, but it reminds me of when, third year when I was doing philosophy undergraduate, I did a module on aesthetics and philosophy of art and there was a study that said that overexposure to a piece of art actually reduces people's preference on it, so the more you see something, the less you like a piece of work. But then there was a converse study where it was like oh the more you see a bad piece of art the better you think it is [laughter]. Umm, but it kind of, it rings true of that, because I've been exposed to it so many times, it's just that kind of like oh not again, like I just don't like it anymore and it's quite sad because it's quite a nice piece of graphic design, it's simple it's elegant, but I've seen it so much it's just, and you know people say it to you at a time when you really wish they wouldn't, like the time when you just don't want to Keep Calm and Carry On, they're like oh Keep Calm and Carry On! It's like, not now! Not now! So yeah, I think, yeah.</p> <p><b>Okay so we've kind of answered that how does it make you feel.</b></p> <p>Irritated.</p> <p><b>Irritated, okay. Okay it's a bit strange with this one but is there any part of it that draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Umm, I mean it's the whole thing, it's big but it's simple so you literally are drawn to the—</p> <p><b>Okay, then do you think this is a well-known image in Britain today?</b></p> <p>Yes [laughter].</p> <p><b>Yes. Would you describe it as iconic?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>And if you did, what would you mean by that?</b></p> <p>Umm, so if something's iconic, in that sense obviously an icon is something you look at it and you know exactly what it means so like an internet explorer icon, you look at the e you know it means internet explorer, you look at that icon you know what it means. With this, although it's difficult words, how can words be icons, but, it's the sense that you look at that shape and you know exactly what it is, even if it's different colours, that layout, like you couldn't change the layout and retain the same sort of iconography that it has, it has to be in that format with the crown-, it has to have all of that there for it to be, umm, iconic, and obviously if someone is an icon, they're well known, they're well liked, they're well kind of reproduced so like you could say Prince is an icon, you know, you would recognise prince, you would recognise that purple that he's associated with, umm, so in the way that the icon is recognisable by its format, by its colours, by its shape, it's also well known, well replicated and it kind of permeates modern culture, or just culture, so, I think that's how I'd sort of take iconic to mean, well known, well recognisable, and it has to be kind of replicated, not easily replicated, but, is replicated.</p>
25	54:49.0 - 57:34.6	<p><b>Okay, then, do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>Umm, I don't think so, that I wouldn't be able to say definitely either way, probably like 25% yes 75% no [laughter].</p> <p><b>So you think it's possible you may have seen it before but you're not sure.</b></p> <p>Yeah I don't know if I'm recognising it from the previous quiz.</p>



		<p><b>This wasn't in it.</b></p> <p>Was it not?</p> <p><b>No, so if you do think you've seen it before...</b></p> <p>Oh okay then yeah, I think I have seen it then.</p> <p><b>Okay, so still...</b></p> <p>Still not sure yeah, but possible.</p> <p><b>And the phrase, do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>No don't recognise the phrase.</p> <p><b>Okay, and then in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Umm, I mean this I think must've been, this must be later in the war that this happened, because obviously women didn't go into the factories straight away, took a while for them to argue that it made sense for that to happen. Umm, grandad's words [laughter]. Umm, yeah it's that kind of, obviously once all the men had been drafted there was a serious labour gap, and I think my grandad was the one who sort of told me that it was actually that that had quite a sort of pivotal role in women's rights because once the women had kind of filled the labour gap and proved they could do it and do it fairly well, and then they had a sort of sense of independence of worth like in the labour market, at that point it didn't ever really have a chance to revert back. Umm, so it's that kind of reminded me, the other poster, it reminds me of the one with the woman who's flexing her arm with the red bandana on it reminds me of that other sort of, that poster again sort of women, going to work and doing a man's job but still somehow being very feminine [laughter], we're not quite ready to push all the boundaries [laughter]. Yeah that like the women going into the factories, building all the sort of munitions, because the men weren't there to do it and obviously without munitions you can't fight a war, so, yeah.</p>
26	57:34.6 - 1:01:31.8	<p><b>And apart from that any other thoughts or memories you haven't mentioned?</b></p> <p>Umm, well there was one but I've forgotten it [laughter]. Umm, oh I think there were like counter posters I think I remember, umm, obviously like men who felt threatened that women were gonna, come and like take all the jobs and were gonna replace them, I think it was one it was like, was it, I think it was indicating like, that women were gonna start having lesbian relationships because men were going to be replaced in every single aspect so it was like oh there jobs aren't the only thing they're going to take. I don't know where I saw it, umm, but yeah it was like a sort of, basically indicating that perhaps women would suddenly all become lesbians because of that and then there was like another, I think there was another umm, the women's like navy or something, some sort of women's department and umm, I think this was a story I read on the internet, so how factual it is or whatever I don't know, but I think it was someone else's wartime anecdote, basically this man, or there was this higher officer who was afraid that all the women in his department were becoming lesbians or whatever and he really trusted this one lady and was like I need you to go in there and find out about all these lesbians and get them to hand in their resignations, and she was like oh well if that's the case mine will be the first that'll have to go in. But because I think he had such a sort of level of respect that he was a bit like oh okay and like backed off, because there was apparently quite a high rate of lesbian relationships like in his department [laughter], but yeah I, weird that a poster can lead you on to thinking of that, but [laughter] yeah. Yeah just that kind of like, yeah women sort of like empowerment and like a sense of their liberation, I know that's not what that is meant to kind of symbolise when she's looking more towards the men who are going to war, but that kind of image, it kind of signifies like a sort of sense of us finally like as women moving forward a bit, breaking traditional roles, breaking some boundaries.</p> <p><b>So it is an empowering image?</b></p>

		<p>Yeah, yeah.</p> <p><b>When you look at it you feel—</b></p> <p>Yeah I feel like it's the start of something [laughter].</p> <p><b>And so how does it make you feel, like positive would you say?</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah, positive, empowered, like proud.</p> <p><b>And then which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Umm the lady in the centre.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p><b>Any other associations with any of the specific objects?</b></p> <p>Umm, oh my grandad's obsessed with planes, absolutely obsessed with wartime planes [laughter]. I mean to be fair he did, when he had to do his service, obviously after the war had happened, he was in the RAF so he was working on planes, so he has a justification for liking planes but [laughter], yeah, the word spitfire is something I don't want to hear too often. I mean that would be a spitfire, I don't know [unintelligible] names like mosquitos, It could be a spitfire, I don't know, but it'll be one of those.</p> <p><b>Your grandad would know.</b></p> <p>Yes, he would know by the silhouette [laughter].</p> <p><b>Okay and then would you say this is a well-known image.</b></p> <p>Umm I don't think so.</p>
27	1:01:28.0 - 1:04:07.5	<p><b>Okay then last one. Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>Err no actually no I don't, I'm surprised.</p> <p><b>And do you recognise the words?</b></p> <p>No. Again surprised.</p> <p><b>You're surprised.</b></p> <p>Yeah. I thought, because Churchill's just so well-known and so much of the stuff he's sort of said is well known, I'd have thought I'd have recognised the poster, and I'm assuming that's a quote from Churchill but, no I don't know either. I'm surprised.</p> <p><b>Okay so because there are a lot of posters with him on it you'd expect—</b></p> <p>Yeah, you'd expect like most posters of Churchill would have been so many times, because he's just, he is Churchill, but umm, yeah I don't recognise it.</p> <p><b>Okay, in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Umm, I mean actually this one I think has the least clear, message, I don't feel like I can get an immediate sense of what it's trying to say, because I don't think I really understand— why we need to go together. It seems like it's trying to unite people, but I, I think I'd have had to have lived through war to kind of understand the message behind this one, I feel like this is the most sort of context dependent, the other ones you can kind of get an idea but this one it's just a bit like, yeah I don't, I don't have a kind of clear sense of this poster.</p> <p><b>Okay so looking at it now the message is confusing, you're not sure what—</b></p> <p>Yeah like I kind of understand there's like a sort of sense of like oh unity and you know camaraderie and patriotism, but why that message is needed I have no idea, the other ones I understand why that message is needed like munitions need to be made by women, vegetables need to be grown to support rations, clothes need to be mended, words need to be kind of kept under wraps, this one, no idea why they need that message to be out there.</p>

		<p><b>Okay so lack of practical reasoning.</b></p> <p>Yeah, yeah.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
28	1:04:07.5 - 1:07:47.0	<p><b>Are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at that?</b></p> <p>Umm, I think probably like mostly mixed emotions towards Churchill. I'm never really sure how I feel about him, as a leader, and I think part of that comes down to my grandad who has somehow, even though he kind of lived through the war, he's managed to kind of not end up idolizing Churchill, I think he's kind of always said like yes you know he was prime minister when the war was one and that contributes to his popularity, but actually, was he a very good prime minister? Mmm, like, it's kind of, the war is why he's popular, not necessarily because of who he was actually as a politician and his policies and that, so I think it's kind of, he's really good at kind of having a lot of, looking at both sides of things, and he did that with Churchill and it's just like you know at the end of the day he was a politician and people don't really remember his policies, like I couldn't name you a single one of Churchill's policies, but I know he was prime minister during the war and, yeah it's kind of that like, not turning him into some sort of like god like figure just because he was prime minister when we won the war, because my grandad hasn't, and I always think like oh you know if he doesn't think Churchill's all that and he was alive when the war was won, you know, there must be something else happening with the man behind the icon.</p> <p><b>So yeah we need to think more carefully about it if he thinks that about it.</b></p> <p>Yeah, yeah.</p> <p><b>And how does the image make you feel when you look at it?</b></p> <p>Umm, Funnily enough this one feels the most threatening, it has the kind of, all the others had umm cartoon imagery apart from the one with the boot and spade, but it was idyllic and sunny and wonderful, this is ominous, this actually has imagery of war it has tanks it has smoke, it's clouded over, it's got planes flying in formation, even Churchill looks weirdly threatening there, like it's quite an ominous poster and it's the most realistic representation of war out of all the posters we've seen so far, so it's a bit more, it's more unnerving. It doesn't have that same idealised view of the war that the other posters try to portray, this is a bit more nitty gritty.</p> <p><b>So a bit more real, and therefore unnerving.</b></p> <p>Yeah, because obviously the war wasn't good [laughter].</p> <p><b>Yeah I think we can agree on that.</b></p> <p><b>And then which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Umm, I think Churchill's just that bit of his face and then the planes, but yeah definitely Churchill's little old face.</p> <p><b>And any specific associations with wither of those things?</b></p> <p>Umm, I've been recently trying to read Catch 22, that's a hell of a wild ride, but the main character in it he's American, but he's a bomber I think pilot, yeah he's a pilot in World War Two even though he's American, but the way it's written I don't know if the writer knows anything about the war or anything but that just kind of intense fear, and that like lull before the storm of like flying in formation into battle, like there, obviously they probably weren't because it was taken for a photo, they might have been actually because they could have been flying towards a battle and the fact that some of them might not have come back, and it's like you don't know if that photo was the last photo taken of some of those pilots, and it's, you know, that's something I've always been like ohh, and the same with the people in the tank, but that I think it reminds me of that, that kind of just like how terrifying it must have been for those people who actually were going to do the fighting and going and flying those planes and going in those tanks, and I think that's probably a product of the fact that's a more realistic poster, is it actually, the kind of negative</p>

	<p>like, yeah, a lot of people died in that war and it was pretty horrifying for a lot of people.</p> <p><b>So you start thinking about the actual people?</b></p> <p>Yeah, yeah, yeah the people are brought into this poster which it wasn't in the other ones.</p> <p><b>And then do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>Maybe, I wouldn't be confident to say yes or no on this one, I think for maybe people who know more about Churchill yes, but, because it has a photo of him on it it's more likely it's well known, so I wouldn't say just because I haven't seen it doesn't mean it's not well known.</p> <p><b>Would you consider it iconic?</b></p> <p>Potentially because it has Churchill on it and obviously he is a bit of a kind of cultural icon now.</p> <p><b>So he in himself is iconic...</b></p> <p>Yeah, which if the poster's well known would make it an iconic poster, because of Churchill.</p>
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### Interview 8: EB1154

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant EB1154 on 23 August 2017 at the participant's home in London.

- Year of birth: 1930
- Age bracket: 1925-1930
- Gender: Male
- Highest level of education: Some College or Further Education
- Birth region: London

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 7:07.9	<p><b>To start with can I ask you how the Second World War features in your own life? So, basically give me an idea of the memories you have from the Second World War.</b></p> <p>Alright, I was born in 1930, therefore when war broke out I was nine, and I got evacuated, in other words separated from my mother and father at nine, one minute I was living in London, drinking milk out of a bottle, and the next minute I was in deepest Cornwall drinking milk straight out of the tit of a cow. The property was so remote it collected the rainwater and we drank from the rainwater, there was no main drainage so there was an earth closet, the paper in the toilet was newspaper, the radio was via a battery so when the battery was getting low you put your ear to the speaker to hear whether Benghazi had fallen or whether we'd recaptured it from the Germans. The light was via a paraffin lamp, it was a smallholding with a cow, by the way the first day I arrived in this place called[unintelligible], it was heavily bombed, when I say heavily bombed, it was just a hamlet of three houses and the bombs fell in the fields, what happened was the German [unintelligible] was being chased by a, I don't know a spitfire or a hurricane anyway, after that it was of course peacefully quiet, we could see Plymouth burning on the horizon, a bright glow, err, my, I had a five mile walk to school, I used to rub my hair with</p>

		<p>Harrison's knit oil or cream, I had a knit comb and take the knits out of my hair, because knits was rife in the school, I wore heavy hobnail boots which I used to [unintelligible], I took the cows to the field on my way to school, picked up the cows on my way back from school, I milked the cows, we put the milk in a separator, we made cheese and butter. One day a swarm of bees arrived, or rather a queen bee, and landed on an apple tree, the two people I stayed with were very nice to me, very nice indeed, he dressed up in his bee outfit and he shook the bees into a hive and we kept them and added to the collection of bee hives that we had, we used to have honey. If we wanted a chicken we went down the back of the garden, got a chicken, chopped its head off, watched the chicken run around. The cat was very cruel, it used to catch a mouse, and then it would play with it for hours and knock it from paw to paw, and eventually it would kill it. So by and large I've got happy memories of being evacuated but err, it wasn't particularly pleasant being away from your parents, I used to get regular letters from my mother.</p> <p><b>How long were you away?</b></p> <p>I was away for, well once the, I came back just in time to experience the doodlebugs in London. I was with my aunt in Hampstead and, at Belsize park, and a doodlebug overhead cut out so we headed for the underground as a lot of other people did and we were running down the staircase but of course the grownups took the wide tread and I with my little feet was consigned to the tiny tread which was really quite exciting, running down there and trying to keep your footing without falling over. Anyway, then came the V2, now the V2 that was really a frightening experience, and if Hitler had had an atomic warhead instead of TNT, then we would have had to capitulate just like the Japanese did so it's as well the Americans developed it first. Umm, I could go on and on, I've said enough.</p>
2	7:07.9 - 10:08.3	<p><b>After the war have you found that you've talked about it much, like your experiences, with other people?</b></p> <p>No one's interested, it's just personal to me.</p> <p><b>Yeah, so it's personal, just your childhood memories?</b></p> <p>Yeah, yeah. I mean a lot of people who worked in Bletchley were under the official secrets act and couldn't tell their next of kin what they did, so I wasn't under any constraints, I mean people of my age, I've got a lot of friends and you know we sometimes reminisce about our national service or being evacuated, but I mean it's not a constant topic of conversation. It seems like a distant- I sometimes wonder whether it all really happened, or whether I can to, because it's so long ago [laughter]. What I do remember was lying on my back, because 1940 was a beautiful summer, in this long grass you could lie back you could look up into the sky and you'd see all these fighters having a battle in the sky, it was really quite exciting, you could watch it, all having a go at one another.</p> <p><b>Was it frightening?</b></p> <p>Well it didn't frighten me, I was all set, just looking up at it, but it was quite exhilarating seeing them having a go at each other. And of course they were only boys, they were probably, probably 9 years older than I was, only 9, what they went through. You saw a lot of people with terribly burnt faces, so they were the pilots that got caught in the aeroplane, I mean what was his name, Macindo or something like that, they were the pin, but they were called the Guinea pigs weren't they, so that was for skin surgery, they were terribly disfigured, because skin surgery was at a very early stage and you almost you turned away because they looked so bad, what they must have gone through, frightening, anyway.</p>
3	10:08.3 - 16:56.6	<p><b>Okay I'm going to start by showing you image then, this is very similar to the survey, but with a few more images, but some of them were in the survey, and you've already talked about them a little bit so the first one is this one. Do you recognise that one?</b></p>

		<p>Yeah of course I know it.</p> <p><b>Do you remember when you saw it or where you saw it first?</b></p> <p>Well it was probably in Truro or somewhere like that. I mean when I was evacuated, we— the only of this house he grew everything, we had fresh potatoes, you name any vegetable, there was a vegetable patch, so if you wanted some potatoes- I mean the other thing I remember about this woman which was incredible, there was a fire, I mean if you wanted a cup of tea, there wasn't an electric kettle, you put this great big brown galvanized kettle with a big spout and there was a fire and next to the fire was what I can only describe as an oven, and if you wanted water to boil it would take about 15 minutes to get a cup of tea, not instant like an electric kettle, and if she wanted pastries, she used to spit on the top of this oven, and depending on how quick the spit evaporated decided whether it was right for bread, or cakes, or Cornish pasties, she was brilliant this woman, absolutely fantastic cook, I've never had Cornish pasties or food like it, it was brilliant and totally fresh, you just went out and picked it and brought it back, anyway, that's Dig for Victory.</p> <p><b>Do you remember the phrase being used at all during the war - the Dig for Victory slogan?</b></p> <p>Well it's just on a piece of paper.</p> <p><b>So you remember seeing it written down.</b></p> <p>Oh yeah on the radio and things, yeah, yeah, I mean basically we were nearly starved to death, if you go to the— the war rooms, well you'll see a record of how much- they were trying to starve us to death, by sinking all our ships, and they nearly succeeded, and if we hadn't had that stretch of water and air superiority, then they would've landed, and you know all this joke about Dad's Army, I mean it really was, I mean we make a comedy programme about it, but it was frightening, I mean you know, some of the childish things they got up to— all the road signs got twisted around to confuse the enemy, I mean the enemy had got plans as to who was going to live where! Hitler was going to live in Blenheim palace, and the royals whoever it was, one of them, was going to be made a puppet head wasn't he, which one was that, not the one who abdicated, but another one lower down, I mean the royals were quite tainted with Hitler, they were, they were, after all they're Germans aren't they, I mean I'm half German. That was well publicised. I mean golf clubs got turned over to grow— I belong to a golf club and part of, once some of the fairways were turned into fields for growing things.</p> <p><b>So you remember seeing that when you came back to London?</b></p> <p>No, no I only know about it because I joined the golf club in, about 1954, so I didn't know of the golf club, when it was actually used, because it got turned back into the golf club. You can still see, the field, one of the fairways goes a bit like that, where they, I don't know what they would do, they channelled them, channelling don't they, I don't know for whatever vegetable or whatever they were growing, but er yeah I remember that.</p> <p><b>Do you think this is a well-known image by other people in Britain?</b></p> <p>I doubt it. Well the reason I say that is, it's part of my memory bank, whereas you never see that advert anymore, after all that's all it is— so I should think, a lot of people have come from abroad, I shouldn't think there are too many poles in Boston that would know too much about that.</p>
4	16:56.6 - 18:07.7	<p><b>Then I will move on to the next one, which is this, do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>Well to be honest no I don't. In fact I would say that's the first time I've ever seen that. It's the same message, and the other's much more direct.</p> <p><b>Would you say that this one is more successful than this one?</b></p> <p>Oh far more, yeah it's too complicated.</p>

		<p><b>Are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at?</b></p> <p>Well I've never seen it before.</p> <p><b>No but anything else, just looking at it now, does it bring to mind?</b></p> <p>Well I think it's very poor by comparison to the one you showed me previously.</p>
5	18:07.7 - 23:08.9	<p><b>Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>Yes. I'd associate that with utility, what was the— there was a special symbol, what was it, the furniture and everything had a special symbol on it.</p> <p><b>Yeah I think utility was the term wasn't it.</b></p> <p>Yeah utility symbol, yes. Yes I mean the women were very enterprising. If they got married they'd turn their wedding frock into something to go dancing in or— or they would colour their legs and put an imitation line down the back to make it look as though they were wearing stockings.</p> <p><b>Do you remember seeing that?</b></p> <p>I do remember seeing it yeah [laughter].</p> <p><b>And so you remember people you knew patching clothes and things like that?</b></p> <p>Well, there was more when I came back, I mean that was more what my mother did for me, I mean she used to make clothes for my, dressing gowns and, she had a singer sewing machine, so it didn't happen when I was evacuated it happened when I came back.</p> <p><b>And this slogan, Make-do and Mend, do you remember using that?</b></p> <p>Well that's what they had to do, yes.</p> <p><b>So people actually said those words?</b></p> <p>Well, yes I would think so yes. Waste not want not, that was the more often used. And of course in those days, it wasn't a throwaway society, I mean I used to darn my socks, I used to repair my shoes I used to put blakies on them, umm, if a pen broke I'd get it repaired, I wouldn't go out and buy a new one, umm, we never threw anything away, it cost money, and of course people were poor, by comparison people were very poor, I came from what I would describe as lower working class, my father was a gardener and during the war, my father, who had bad varicose veins was exempt from military service, but he had to do heavy rescue, and heavy rescue meant that when bombs fell, he had the unenviable task of finding body parts in bombed buildings, that's what people had to do.</p> <p><b>Do you have a sense of where you might have actually seen this image?</b></p> <p>Well they were everywhere weren't they, billboards and those sorts of things. I don't I mean, when I was evacuated there was no television, when I came back I think we used to rent a television, I remember this television was so bad that the picture would used to revolve, and believe it or not, I mean you could bang it and sometimes it would stop it revolving, but you could actually watch, your eyes and your brain would accommodate a revolving picture, not very pleasant, but...</p> <p><b>But you'd get used to it.</b></p> <p>You'd get used to it, yeah.</p> <p><b>So that must have been early 50s.</b></p> <p>Yeah, well the war was over in 45 wasn't it, so yeah I would think 43 probably.</p> <p>[PAUSE]</p>

6	23:08.9 - 29:50.5	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the Mrs Sew and Sew as a character at all?</b></p> <p>Not really no, just Make-do and Mend, I mean there must have been other Make-do and Mend adverts.</p> <p><b>Oh yes.</b></p> <p>And that's not one I remember.</p> <p>Have you got any idea, I mean there must have been a print roll for these, can you categorise them into, I mean that Dig for Victory with the chap with the foot on the spade, that must have been reproduced millions of times, but that would think was probably I don't know ten thousand or something.</p> <p><b>Yeah for some of them we know quite clearly, so that Dig for Victory one was printed nationally many times, but some of them it's more difficult to tell if they were more local sometimes and the records are more local, but yes possibly...</b></p> <p>I mean do you think they if you like targeted a mining area differently to the way they would target for instance?</p> <p><b>Definitely yes, well I mean certain adverts would be, they'd try to design ones that would be universal, but there were specific campaigns around different areas on different topics.</b></p> <p>Right, I mean it's very interesting. It's umm, I won't go into it so much, I mean it's the same point, basically I think it's an English company, it's called Cambridge electronics, that is credited with putting trump in the white house and they did it, because, there's so much, because people are on Facebook and chat and all this twitter, and they can analyse data, and they can, the guy who was producing this programme, they produced a profile on him, and he said it was spot on and what they did they then had, I don't know sixty of seventy adverts and they were all tailored slightly differently to the individual's profile which they then said to them, I mean you know all about this, so they can now influence your mind on a personal basis, is that what all this is about?</p> <p><b>In what sense?</b></p> <p>Learning how to target individuals through tailor made adverts, or not adverts, or anything, elections, is that what—</p> <p><b>No no not really.</b></p> <p>Is there a deeper meaning?</p> <p><b>No in that sense, it's more about, looking back to the beginnings of this sort of thing. It's not about targeting particularly, because most of these examples were national not targeted particularly.</b></p> <p>But you say some were targeted...</p> <p><b>Some were but I'm not studying those, what I'm thinking of is things like the ministry of information would produce for factory workers displays explaining how the material made help the war effort for example, that would be an example of a very targeted piece of advertising, that they'd do.</b></p> <p>So it was really quite rudimentary.</p> <p><b>Well yeah, but I suppose at the time, they put a lot of effort into trying to target groups, yeah.</b></p> <p>But I mean we're now talking about the most powerful man in the world being elected via, targeted adverts.</p> <p><b>Well it's all about the data we collect, which didn't really until the internet we couldn't collect anything like the data we can now, so now everything you do is being tracked.</b></p>
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7	29:50.5 - 33:23.5	<p>The next one I do remember. I can remember that upside down. The one I actually liked, was, it was Hitler under the table, that's the one I thought was really quite hilarious. Err, — Careless Talk Costs Lives they must have done hundreds and hundreds of these, in different forms. And of course the guy who did it, oh yeah it does have his name on there, he used to do— what would you call them, err, in the daily papers, [pause] What's that called?</p> <p><b>Cartoon.</b></p> <p>Yeah a cartoon. It's a funny word isn't it cartoon. I thought it was artists that use cartoons, in the old days they used to sketch it out on a piece of paper and then they used to prick it through and then [unintelligible] it on the canvas. That was a cartoon. Okay, so there we go.</p> <p><b>Do you remember, not necessarily this particular one, but you liked the other one, do you remember where you saw it?</b></p> <p>Ah it's all over the place...</p> <p><b>On...</b></p> <p>Billboards, all sorts of things, newspapers, oh newspapers of course, I don't know, well we must have had a newspaper because we used to wipe our bottom on it.</p> <p><b>Okay, and you said, Fougasse who drew this, you saw other cartoons of his before that do you think?</b></p> <p>Well I, yes, I don't know whether I'm dreaming you know err, matt for instance I think he used to do those sort of things. What's his name anyway?</p> <p><b>Fougasse.</b></p> <p>Fougasse.</p> <p><b>It's a pseudonym. So there were eight of these designs.</b></p> <p>Yeah I mean it's very distinctive in the way he drew faces and things.</p> <p><b>Are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at that?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
8	33:23.5 - 34:16.6	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>I do yes, same thing.</p> <p><b>And again do you know where you might have seen it?</b></p> <p>Papers and adverts, certainly not on television because that wasn't around then, no one had televisions.</p> <p><b>Do you remember the phrase keep mum?</b></p> <p>Yes, yes.</p> <p><b>Did people say that or?</b></p> <p>Not really. Careless Talk Costs Lives, that was the thing people used to say.</p> <p><b>Anything else that comes to mind?</b></p> <p>Not really, no no not really.</p>
9	34:16.6 - 36:53.7	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p>

		<p>No never seen it before.</p> <p><b>Okay and again, this particular slogan, Be Like Dad Keep Mum,</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>You don't remember anyone saying that?</b></p> <p>No. They never produced much of those did they.</p> <p><b>Not sure on this one, we don't have data on that.</b></p> <p>In fact I'm amazed how many you're showing me that I haven't seen.</p> <p><b>Well there is a huge amount of these, this is one tiny sample. There are hundreds of them. But there are, you know, I've tried to pick some that, so this slogan, there are only a couple with this slogan on, but it's a slogan that people often mention so,</b></p> <p>Well it's quite a catchy little thing, Be Like Dad Keep Mum, quite clever. Interestingly the man's smoking a pipe, that's what they used to do. If you went on a bus, the top of the bus, you could hardly breathe because they were all smoking their pipes up there.</p> <p><b>It was all rise to the top.</b></p> <p>You know the top level, people would go and sit in the seats and puff away at their pipes. They were all smoking pipes, you had to break the air to get to your seat, it was frightening.</p> <p><b>I suppose you got used to that though, as everyone was smoking, in every building.</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah yeah, well you know people were doing all sorts of things thinking well you know god knows I might have a bomb on me tomorrow, so they only live for the day. It's not very nice having bombs dropped on you, you could hear the German engine going buh buh buh buh it wasn't a pure engine roll like a Rolls Royce, they did that to save energy apparently.</p> <p><b>So you could tell—</b></p> <p>You could tell a German from ours.</p>
10	36:53.7 - 40:02.4	<p><b>Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>Yeah course I do.</p> <p><b>Do you have an idea when you first became aware of this?</b></p> <p>No. It was around everywhere.</p> <p><b>Do you think you saw it during the war?</b></p> <p>Of course I did yeah. You wouldn't see it after the war would you.</p> <p><b>And do you know where you might have seen it?</b></p> <p>Well papers and that, I mean it's the same reply really.</p> <p><b>And you say you don't think you've seen it in recent years?</b></p> <p>I did see something like this, and it struck me as quite funny, I think it said, Keep Calm and Carry On organic, have you seen that?</p> <p><b>Well there's quite a few different ones, people added an extra word to it.</b></p> <p>Well it was an organic shop, selling organic food and it says Keep Calm and Carry On organic, the poster itself, it wasn't scribbled.</p> <p><b>Yeah, yeah.</b></p> <p>It struck me as quite clever. So as an update.</p>

		<p><b>Yeah so there are quite a lot of these, as obviously it's quite easy to redesign on the computer and add a word and change it to like organic for example, or keep calm and drink tea or something like that.</b></p> <p>Oh right.</p> <p><b>So it's been reused as a marketing thing.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>And how do you feel about the sentiment of the image, Keep Calm and Carry On?</b></p> <p>Well you had no choice did you, you just had to carry on.</p> <p><b>So you think it worked as an image?</b></p> <p>Well whether it worked as an image or not, the practical implication was that you couldn't do anything else, if you're living you've got to carry on haven't you. Keep calm and die [laughter].</p> <p><b>And do you think this is a well-known image in Britain now?</b></p> <p>Oh yeah. Well as you say marketeers have got hold of it and broadened its appeal.</p>
11	40:02.4 - 41:26.6	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>Yeah course I do.</p> <p>It's almost Russian looking isn't it. The Russians were great at producing all these, I went to an exhibition, where the hell was it, I didn't like it all that much but my son took me, umm, I think it was Victoria and Albert, umm, they were quite revolutionary weren't they and, anyway my son's into all that sort of stuff, I didn't like it particularly, but you know, there were all these great heroes, hammer and sickle and [unintelligible] workers.</p> <p><b>Yeah those revolution designs.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Again do you have an idea of where you saw that?</b></p> <p>Not really no, I mean same answer basically. Adverts, billboards. Are we almost done now?</p> <p><b>Yeah.</b></p>
12	41:26.6 - 45:49.5	<p><b>Last one, do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>Yeah course I do yeah. I mean what is interesting really, I mean the, the Americans doubted whether they could trust Churchill because he was always sloshed, I mean he used to have a schooner of sherry in the morning as an eye opener and he would be puffing away at his fags, hence the expression you need a Churchillian gene, because he did all the wrong things and he lived to quite an old age, and he wrote hundreds of books.</p> <p><b>He achieved a lot considering—</b></p> <p>And of course he was all for retaining the empire, but the Americans wanted to strip us of the empire so, they basically held us to ransom didn't they, we were broke and they lent us some money and we had to pay the price of the piper. When I was a schoolboy the whole world was covered in red, so, that was a great place, Canada was red, Australia was red, all those things change. All empires decay.</p> <p><b>Do you remember the phrase?</b></p> <p>Yeah course I do.</p> <p><b>What hearing him say it on the radio?</b></p>

	<p>No, no, no we fight them on the beaches that's the one that aroused, you know, it was like, the thing is, you realise as you get older all they really done is copy what other people did, I mean, was it Elizabeth I she went down to— — anyway she went down there and she said I've got the heart of a man I've got a body of a woman and you know it's all rousing stuff, same idea.</p> <p><b>Any other thoughts that come to mind?</b></p> <p>Not really no.</p> <p><b>Okay so that's my last one.</b></p> <p>It's interesting isn't it, we've got, [PAUSE] Napoleon's got drinks named after him— I don't know what's named after Churchill.</p> <p><b>Yeah I can only think of insurance!</b></p> <p>Yeah, I mean Hitler's name is verboten, but I mean Napoleon did as much damage to us as Hitler did.</p> <p><b>I suppose that's the closeness in time.</b></p> <p>Yeah I suppose so.</p> <p><b>The memory is too soon, too raw.</b></p>
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### Interview 9: 6143866229

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant 6143866229 on 24 August 2017 at the Parcels Yard, 48A London Rd, Leicester LE2 0QB.

- Year of birth: 1969
- Age bracket: 1966-1975
- Gender: Female
- Highest level of education: Advanced Graduate work or PhD
- Birth region: East Midlands

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 3:21.6	<p><b>Before I show any images, the first questions are about, to try to help me understand how the Second World War features in your life. So do you have any family memories that have been passed down or anything like that?</b></p> <p>Yes, yes, some from my dad's side, his father was stationed in Scotland and he was the story is he was a chocksman, so he would remove all the wooden chocs that stopped the planes moving forward, and he did that in Scotland because he was not medically fit to actually fight, umm so that was going on, my dad was born in 1939, he was born six or seven miles from here, but they also had a Canadian pilot living with them, so that was a story that I've grown up with as well. And that's possibly it from the family side. Not really many memories from my maternal grandparents or anything like that, some from paternal gran- but that's world war 1 as well, not World War Two. So yeah my grandad being chocksman in Scotland and— and stories around things like say, them telling me like, the doodlebugs coming over, stuff like that, umm, I don't know how factually accurate they were, because there was bombing this area.</p> <p><b>So this was all this area?</b></p>

		<p>Yeah, Leicestershire so further out, but there was an airfield and there were aircraft crashes and things like that but I know some of that factually from my knowledge, but yeah the story of my grandad and the Canadian air force pilot, I have a photograph of him as well, there is a photo of him, didn't know his name, but the photo of him, I think he lived with them. Yeah, so that's about it in terms of the Second World War.</p> <p><b>And are they quite open about talking about all that?</b></p> <p>Yeah definitely. I never met my grandad, he died when my dad was 19 so way way before I was born so I never met him. My gran she died about 20, 30 sort of years ago so I never really spoke to her about the war because I was too young to really, I knew of it but I was too young to talk to her about it, umm, but so I only know of the other things from what's been handed down, not really anything first-hand and as I say not much from my material side, really other than stuff we've learned out of interest that we've gone and researched maybe and picked up.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
2	3:21.6 - 4:51.8	<p><b>Did you learn about the Second World War at school?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>What did you learn? Was it high school?</b></p> <p>Yeah it was high school and we did— see I can't remember if we did it like for around it was o levels in those days, CSEs and O Levels, I don't know if we did it then, but certainly we grew up knowing about it and particularly, I did an a level and we learnt about Nazism, but I can't remember exactly when but definitely the rise of fascism the rise of Nazism specifically in Germany, the third Reich umm, less about, British history military, we didn't learn about any of the key things, it was more about the Germans, yeah the German side, not about the Italian side either, not about the Russians necessarily. I learnt about Stalin, but that was to do with communism I think when I did a module in a level studies for something like that. Umm, but that was also because we were in the middle of the cold war, so that, yeah, and I went to quite a political school I think, on reflection [laughter], yeah so, but I can't remember, I don't know if I was taught the dates of it at school or if I just knew them growing up, like the dates when things happened or what so, can't remember much more than that in terms of school.</p>
3	4:51.8 - 8:06.1	<p><b>And then apart from school and family, have you had an interest in the Second World War in any other way, so museums, books, TV...?</b></p> <p>Always, yeah always been interested in it, or for a very long time. History was my first kind of major love really, history and film, so, watched a lot of the war films, one of my favourite films of all time is the wooden horse, escape stories stuff like that, the great escape, but the stuff around the war camps, the POWs. I must have learnt about the holocaust at some point but I don't know when or where or how, umm don't necessarily think that was at school, maybe not sure...</p> <p><b>Could have been TV?</b></p> <p>Could have been yeah. Umm, and I've got a lot of interest, this will sound geeky, and it's got more and more interesting to me, I've kind of moved back to history the longer my other career has gone on really, so I've got, I'm interested in the military history, the social history too, like around evacuees and things at the minute. But the military history, some of the other, some of the campaigns, and increasingly more recently as well, the different perspectives of it, the different voices that come out, so like you know thinking what would it be like for a German in the war and stuff not just the British perspective, umm, so it kind of a random history really, and a random interest, and things like, I like machinery and umm, that sounds really strange, good lord, like I'm interested in- so when I went to the states for a holiday I went on one of the American war ships, because of course that's a different umm, it's based in New York, the intrepid and that fought in the Pacific</p>

		<p>against the Japanese now that's, and it's a curi- it's interesting because we were never taught a lot, I know when Pearl Harbour was and stuff like that, but we don't learn about that necessarily, or you learn that the Americans came into the war late, but actually what their experience would be fighting in the Pacific was, except for films like form here to eternity and stuff like that, I don't actually generally watch a lot of war films, but I like some of the older ones like the thirties forties ones and stuff like that, and really quirky films. Another one of my absolute favourites Green for Danger, which is set in a hospital, it's 1940s film I think, possibly even during the war itself with Alastair Sim it's one of his first films and it's about a group of surgeons at a kind of field hospital here, and doodlebugs go over and there's a bombing and one of them is a spy, one of the doctors is a spy, so it's kind of like a drama, but that's, I love black and white films so I've always kind of picked up some quite old ones from that and some of the information. That's a very garbled answer sorry. And I read stuff, I read books and things so, yeah.</p>
4	8:06.1 - 10:56.1	<p><b>Then I will move to the first image.</b></p> <p>Okay. I don't know if it's relevant, can I just add something to that last bit, in terms of the question, so some of the stuff I've really been interested in, I'm a big supporter of things like the umm, Oh god I was going to say [unintelligible] see now that dates me, it's not it's the royal British legion, poppy appeal so like veterans and the importance of veterans' stories and things like that, and particularly some of the older ones who are no longer around from the first world war, but that's increasing in terms of some of the Second World War veterans as well, so that's another element where I've always been interested and like reading things on social media like their stories and stuff, so whether it's first, second, and it the interest for me gets, like with the film Dunkirk, there's been a lot, so I've heard a lot of other stories about Dunkirk that I didn't know about, because it's a different bit of the history it's kind of shelved a little bit, so yeah so stuff like that I've picked up as well.</p> <p><b>So that's like stories the British Legion have posted online and things like that?</b></p> <p>Yeah, I think and sometimes they're survivors stories really and kind of umm, some of them might have been for help for heroes although they tend to be more modern, but definitely some of the stories from Dunkirk and also there's more now recently about, obviously because of the anniversary of the first world war, but stories, but some of those people were also in the Second World War as well, so some accounts in small detail, things like that, so yeah.</p> <p><b>Have you seen the Dunkirk film?</b></p> <p>I have and I saw another one the other day, it's really interesting Dunkirk for me for lots of different reasons, it's not what I expected at all, but I also saw another one the other day, which slightly informed my answer to the question about called land of min, which is about German soldiers clearing the beaches of mines in Denmark, I didn't know that, so that's really a very very different perspective because its set in 1945 and what they then had to do, I don't know about Denmark, I know Denmark were in the war but I don't know what happened, because it's not what I was taught and it's not what I've grown up with, I've grown up with the British perspective, so, yeah, so it's interesting. Dunkirk is very different to what I thought. Yeah accuracy might be an issue, but, yeah, yeah, very interesting.</p>
5	10:56.1 - 13:27.2	<p><b>So the first one, you've seen before?</b></p> <p>Oh yeah, yeah I like that.</p> <p><b>So you did recognise this?</b></p> <p>Yeah I did, yeah, yeah. I saw a picture on one of the sites I follow on twitter yesterday of the allotments in London, a real picture of some of the allotments for</p>

		<p>Dig for Victory and these are the allotments- and you can see there they are and stuff, so yeah, but Dig for Victory I remembered.</p> <p><b>Okay, can you think of where you've seen it or where you might have first seen it? Why you know it?</b></p> <p>Not— I wouldn't know where I first saw it.</p> <p><b>But any memory of seeing it? It's tough I know.</b></p> <p>That is a really difficult question, I— possibly in, probably in books I would think, it wasn't something that was say on the wall in the house, there was no, there was absolutely no memorabilia growing up, no nothing, no souvenirs or mementos from the war at all, expect the photo of the Canadian airman, so there were definitely nothing like this, nobody would have shown me this, this wouldn't be like a family like oh we've got this and this is a record of it, nothing like that, I would have seen it probably in a book or learnt about the phrase, it's the phrase is possibly like the memorable thing rather than...</p> <p><b>So you think you possibly, the phrase you remember better?</b></p> <p>Yes, the phrase is probably more a thing, but then the image is, I did know the image, or I think I know it, but the phrase Dig for Victory, yeah definitely, so,</p> <p><b>You learned about the phrase probably?</b></p> <p>Yeah I think so, at some point or that it was a sense of people pulling together, turn your garden into allotments umm, it may have even been in a recent animation, roman briggs's one possibly, turn the garden into, he had a shelter in the garden and you know did plants and things and cooked veg for, everybody was doing vegetables and stuff so, but I don't know exactly where that knowledge has come from.</p> <p><b>That's okay, it's tough.</b></p> <p>Yeah, very.</p>
6	13:27.2 - 15:40.3	<p>[PAUSE]</p> <p><b>So this one is a really vague question, it's deliberately very vague as I just want to see how your respond to it.</b></p> <p>Okay.</p> <p><b>In your opinion, what is this image?</b></p> <p>What is it?</p> <p><b>It's a call, it's a, brilliant question...</b></p> <p>People get really annoyed with this question.</p> <p><b>I really like that kind of question. It reminds me of how I think at work, like deliberately vague.</b></p> <p>What is it? What's the exact question again?</p> <p><b>What is it? What is this image in your opinion?</b></p> <p>So the photo is of somebody digging the soil, and there is a kind of command, or an instruction, to dig your garden or dig your, it's not specific, but that we have to, or we, British public, people at home, have to dig the ground, to plant things for food cos of the rationing and by doing that, we would win because we could keep going. Err, imports wouldn't, the food wouldn't have been the same in them days anyway, but it's an instruction, and because it's got the word victory in it, it's almost like a direction, you'd be crazy if you didn't kind of turn your garden over, it's part of you having an input in the war effort, and that is it really, but it's quite a graphic one as well, so you're in no doubt that you've got to dig stuff up, plant things, potatoes or whatever, so yeah. I think it's a man's, it seems to me very male</p>

		<p>as well, but yeah. Cloudy skies, I might have said that last time, something to do with cloudy skies, clouds on the horizon, but, yeah, so,</p> <p><b>Yeah, okay.</b></p>
7	15:40.3 - 19:47.8	<p><b>The fact that you do know it, is there anything about it that makes it memorable to you, so is there any reason you think you've remembered this one particularly?</b></p> <p>The phrase, it's the phrase, the image is quite powerful, cos there's no faces, it's just a very stark image, the fact it's red is like a warning, so a kind of, you know red is a colour for ooh take notice like an alert or a signal, the font is also interesting, I'm interested in fonts as well, so it's quite a , it's big, it's, you can't miss it, particularly because it's red maybe more than umm, yeah so it's obvious, it's really obvious...</p> <p><b>So simple...</b></p> <p>Yeah simple, clear, the message is absolutely— yeah.</p> <p><b>And then, are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind that are triggered when you look at this, anything at all?</b></p> <p>Umm, stuff around England as a kind of nation of shopkeepers, England as a nation of, we have a lot of green land and you know like the garden of England, Kent and stuff, which would have been heavily fortified anyway, that everybody could do their bit, which I think happened anyway, I think I know that that happened like people making their gardens if they were flowerbeds into things. People grew more stuff in those days anyway, so I don't know how big a difference it made to production, but it was the only way you could supplement your rations really, umm, I'm also, cos I know we had POWs here, we had Italian POWs in Britain, I don't know if they did a lot of the digging and farming on places like that, because the men, a lot of them were away, so yeah, but kind of we're a farming nation in a sense maybe, The cloudy bit, yeah, the kind of, cos there's no reference to actually what's going on, there's no reference to victory about what, it's not like the word cup football, it's like, we know what this is about.</p> <p><b>You need the context?</b></p> <p>Yeah, or the context is, yeah, yeah it is yeah, there's no flags on it or anything, but that does strike me as male rather than, yeah.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel, looking at it?</b></p> <p>Oh that's a really good question.</p> <p><b>If nothing then that's fine.</b></p> <p>What it makes me feel?</p> <p><b>If there are any emotions.</b></p> <p>I think, if I saw that it makes me feel like, yeah, yeah, yeah, pull together... and that's slightly uncomfortable, in the sense of... in terms of nationalism, yeah, yeah, pull together, we will defeat enemies... that is slightly uncomfortable, now...</p> <p><b>Yeah, so the fact that it works, it works...</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah yeah definitely, yeah in some ways it makes me feel like patriotic and that has a double edged sword, now, that's a very, that's an uncomfortable thing I think currently and I wouldn't have felt that years ago... but at the same time it's like this is part of my history, I'm English, I'm British, English, and this is part of my heritage, and we did have a huge, you know we were at war, but that kind of nationalistic stuff is uncomfortable, yeah, at present, so.</p> <p><b>That's interesting.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>



8	19:47.8 - 22:45.5	<p><b>And then which part of the image draws your eye first when you look at it?</b></p> <p>It's umm, first bit, it's the words Dig for Victory I think, even though the photo is powerful, but it's that, that's the kind of the key bit, cos it's so powerful on the red, it's the red and the clarity of the font, there's no, it's the simplicity and a clarity, there is no messing, this isn't a fancy font, it's this is what you're doing, we need this, short of saying we need you, this is clear, so.</p> <p><b>And then do you think this is a well-known image in Britain generally by other people, would you say?</b></p> <p>Umm, yes yes, in circles of people that are interested in this kind of thing, and depending on people's age. I have a lot of colleagues who wouldn't have ever seen this and wouldn't know it at all, it's not even part of their world.</p> <p><b>So interest?</b></p> <p>Yeah, so I think it's a generational aspect, I think generationally, umm, yeah. People might be interested, just in the phrase, might be aware of the phrase rather than the image, so.</p> <p><b>Would you refer to it as an iconic image?</b></p> <p>Err yes but there are more iconic ones I think, but yes.</p> <p><b>Why?</b></p> <p>Why is it iconic? Why would I say it's iconic? Again it's the overall effect it's the direction, it's the implication that if you do this you are contributing to winning the war, umm, it's powerful, it's very powerful, it's obvious, it's immediate, there's no subtlety to this, and I think it maybe is iconic because of the fact that everybody can do something you don't have to be flying a spitfire or a hurricane, or you know Lancaster, to be part of the war effort, you can do this to help, so.</p> <p><b>So it's universal?</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah definitely, yeah, so,</p> <p><b>Right then that's that one.</b></p> <p>Hope my answers are okay.</p> <p><b>Yeah, yeah.</b></p> <p><b>[PAUSE]</b></p>
9	22:45.5 - 25:48.0	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>No. No, sorry. Er no.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise any of the words?</b></p> <p>IWM—</p> <p><b>Yeah just the...</b></p> <p>That's imperial war museum obviously. The Grow Your Own Food, but none of the rest, cos grow your own sounds like a current phrase anyway, no idea about any of the rest. Wow, that's so interesting.</p> <p><b>Okay, then in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>This, oh this is almost like a translation of what the Dig for Victory could be, so there's two images, it's kind of translating what people, you can have a patch of ground however big, and if you dig it, fork it, rake it, and plant stuff you can then have those things on your table and have a nice varied diet on your plate. Oh and that, I've realised what that is, that's an airman's or an army cap, so the fact that that's there it's either the person that lives in the house, that this is related to or you're fighting, again it's you're fighting, you're part of the cause to help— every piece of land, every available piece of land must be cultivated cos we don't want to run out of food, but it's kind of the ground, the table aspect and the fork, the knife</p>

		<p>and fork, and again it's the red, the red, image, so yeah it's kind of like a translation of this is what it can be if you grow stuff.</p> <p><b>Would you say it's a better or worse image than that one?</b></p> <p>Better or worse?</p> <p><b>In the sense of successful, if they sort of have the same message, a similar message, which works better?</b></p> <p>This is far more powerful, this is much more of an immediate hit, that one is more subtle, that maybe give people clarity, if they needed like an idea of what does that look, what does Dig for Victory look like, it's this, this explains it, gives it more depth, so people can see— they can relate to this on a personal level, this takes it into your house, so this isn't, this could be about farming as opposed to people's gardens, this says you know every available piece of land, it could be, twenty foot in your garden, or six foot in your garden, a yard, you can grow something in a pot or a box, so, it translates it, it makes it more available in a sense what could happen, so, it's a nice image with the food as well, salad stuff.</p>
10	25:48.0 - 28:48.6	<p><b>Are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at that one?</b></p> <p>No, not at all, not with that, I've never seen that so no. No, only actually with the IWM logo but nothing else. No.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Hmm, I'm intrigued by it actually, I'm intrigued as to why I've never seen it before, why I've not seen it, it's, I couldn't figure what the cap is, I couldn't figure out what the object was, but that's a really powerful image, that's quite, that has an emotion to it, for me. It's like somebody's absent, it's like somebody's missing, which was the case people were away. It's very, also it's like kind of like very— it makes me feel like there's umm, it's more of a thought than a feeling though, it's like it's ordinary, cos it's an ordinary table, knife and fork, cup of tea, plate of food, there's a simplicity to it. It's the cap that's really quite powerful, that, somebody's missing, yeah somebody's away or missing, you know lots of people were missing. The red knife and fork is, interesting, I don't know if there's different symbolism with that. Why is it red, unless it's to— unless that's around Nazism, and the flag I don't know, but, like the swastika, but yeah. It's not as instantly powerful as the other one, but that has taken me by surprise, that's almost upsetting in a sense...</p> <p><b>Okay and then which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Umm, originally it was the plate, and then I was like what's that, what is that, I couldn't figure it actually for quite a while, the red forks, but the kind of the fact that they, the spade and fork gardening tools but then they become like the table legs, so it's that, umm, yeah.</p> <p><b>So it starts with the plate and then...</b></p> <p>Yeah the plate and then it moved, yeah, yeah. Yeah. Nice neat little rows of stuff [laughter], but yeah.</p> <p><b>And then would you say this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No, not at all, no.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
11	28:48.6 - 33:06.3	<p><b>Next one, do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>I remember this from the first thing, umm, I can't remember what I said, the phrase, it's the phrase rather than the image. That's not familiar, this Make-do and Mend I think is the bit. Yes, Make-do and Mend. That's potentially a family phrase.</p> <p><b>Yeah I was just going to ask do you remember people saying that?</b></p>

		<p>Yes and still do, still do, that's a family phrase from both sides of my family, parents, grandparents.</p> <p><b>Everybody or is there a gender difference do you think?</b></p> <p>Possibly more female. Yeah more female, less on my generation, more kind of parental and grandparent level. Umm, it's not a phrase my sister would use at all, possibly some of my cousins elsewhere, that maybe are interested in their own home, they do their own home stuff like sewing and whatever, but yeah.</p> <p><b>So did that go with that, when that's being used your family, is that going with a lifestyle...</b></p> <p>Yeah kind of, sort of but not, some of it is kind of, I think some of it is to do with yeah lifestyle maybe more when I was growing up, it's the phrase now that might get applied to something, rather, to a specific thing like, oh I don't want to throw it, my mum might say oh I bought this top and I don't want to through it out so I'll Make-do and Mend it or whatever, more when I was growing up probably like different times, because we were quite poor relatively when I was growing up, no abject poverty, we were kind of well off enough but there wasn't, we weren't materialistic really, you know, so umm, yeah. It's an interesting image that one.</p> <p><b>In your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>So this is an image of what women can do, oh yes there's a gender bias I hadn't even thought of that before, but yeah there's a gender bias on this, that women and potentially, this feels like not this feels quite middle class, I don't know if I put that on my previous answers but this feels quite middle class, it seems like quite nice clothes, you know there's a kind of elegance to this, going through- tights and stockings they were hard to get I believe, they were, you hear stories about them being on the black market and people using gravy browning and stuff like that, umm, yeah it's kind of like maybe you can use, maybe something can be made from your wardrobe, is it being used, could the fabric be used for something else elsewhere maybe on the fronts in France wherever or Germany, wherever people are fighting, umm, they look like male trousers though so, yeah. I've not noticed the logo before that's not one I'm familiar with, umm, yeah, it's that kind of, utilising what you've got, don't hoard anything, don't just have stuff, use your wardrobe, you know. Don't ahh, sorry, don't buy new stuff because we need the wool for making clothes for the army and navy and the royal air force, the wool and cotton and whatever is, the clothing is made of, is needed for uniforms, is needed for the army, not for you, so you've got to keep on with, you don't need new clothes, you don't need a new dress, they need stuff, so there's that. Or for people who've lost things through the Blitz, if they've got no clothing, no house no nothing, people need your clothes maybe. Does that answer, sorry I go right off tangent.</p> <p><b>No that's good.</b></p>
12	33:06.3 - 36:03.6	<p><b>Okay and then are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>Not really, not memories, apart from the phrase. The thoughts are, it's quite stylised, it strikes me as being quite late in the war actually, not early, strikes me as a 40s style. it's quite simple, the message is clear, the pink and the green it strikes, green is like England the green and pleasant land kind of thing, so it's potentially like other connotations to it, but the pink is maybe it's designed for women to look at, you know ooh, yeah, it's gender oriented [laughter] I think, yeah.</p> <p><b>Okay and how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>— Like you want to do something, like I need to go through my wardrobe [laughter].</p> <p><b>So that, basically, that has told you what to feel?</b></p> <p>[laughter] Yeah exactly, it's quite commanding, in a nice way it's quite commanding, there's only a couple of things on the rack, you know, there's a hole</p>

		<p>in that she's looking at what she can use, it makes you feel like you want to be thrifty, and contribute, so,</p> <p><b>So is it motivating would you say?</b></p> <p>Yeah I think so, it would motivate me [laughter], but that might be a class thing. Yeah.</p> <p><b>And then which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The rack of clothes I think, that and this, less that, it's this and the rack, yeah. Yeah and second that yeah. I don't think I'd noticed this is a hole I didn't notice that in the first time I saw it but yeah. It also makes me think now, although I wouldn't have noticed this before necessarily, it's white British, it's white British, you know. Er yeah.</p> <p><b>And then would you think this is a well-known image by others?</b></p> <p>Umm, no not necessarily, maybe with women of the generation that were in the war, maybe women that were say like 30s 40s in the war, yes, potentially. So, yeah, housewives, people that were kind of at home maybe, or were raising families, not necessarily younger, I would imagine some of the older people as well, like at the time but not, I wouldn't have said it's as well known in some ways.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
13	36:03.6 - 38:47.8	<p><b>And then, next one, do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>No, [gasps], these are brilliant, no, that's fascinating. That's absolutely incredible.</p> <p><b>Any initial reaction to it?</b></p> <p>That just wow really.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise this phrase?</b></p> <p>No, although, there's a family phrase, you know oh like you're such a so and so, nobody really knows, actually I don't know what the origin of that is but you're such a busy, nosy so and so. So so and so is interesting but not necessarily in that form. It's intriguing cos it's a mannequin it's a doll it's something that's been created, which is then to go off and create mend stuff. I'm assuming this is an ironing board, I don't know. It's power- it's yeah, there's a lot of detail in this, like the needle and the thread, yeah.</p> <p><b>And what is the image?</b></p> <p>Oh the image is of a made like a doll to represent a woman, mending something, repairing something, using two different types of fabric or cloth to make one whole thing, it's telling you to Make-do and Mend and to kind of not throw things out maybe, umm it's very positive, it's a Mrs, it's a housewife it's somebody who's married, somebody contributing to the war effort Umm, she's kind of quite— she's quite bright and lively looking. The fact it's not like a drawing of, it's not a human but it is, it's like a doll form, is interesting. Her pinafore and things like that it's quite striking, there's a [unintelligible], but I don't know what this is, I don't know if it is an ironing board or what, or whether there would be like local information like say sewing circle or something stuck on that maybe.</p> <p><b>So that's right, yeah, that's what it was.</b></p> <p>Is it? Okay. Wow, blimey, that's quite an intelligent guess for me. Yeah.</p> <p><b>[PAUSE]</b></p> <p>And the board of trade thing again. The trade, that kind of doesn't, I don't know what the board to trade was, but yeah, so,</p>
14	38:47.8 - 41:53.8	<p><b>Okay, and then are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p>

		<p>Not memories at all, I like it it's a really interesting image.</p> <p><b>So is it a positive image to you?</b></p> <p>Yeah, yes, I think yes it is. She's smiling, I mean even though it's a doll type figure, like a cloth doll it's not a plastic doll, because plastic was not so much around then, it's a cloth doll it's a friendly face it's smiling, she looks quite well dressed, so there's almost like an indication that your lifestyle doesn't have to change means you can carry on, it's quite galvanising it pulls people in again, and particularly if this was a, can't believe it was an ironing board, but, because it kind of fits with the thing, and it there was a local thing, you'd think even if, cos a lot of women in those days were taught to sew anyway, most people could sew in the those days, most women could, so even if you didn't know how to there would be someone to help you. It's very positive, it's quite, it's not depressing it's not a kind of negative image. And it's like somebody else, it's a woman telling you to do something, it's not an authority figure telling you to do something if you like, it's like an individual, it's a woman telling you to do it. it's different to the other image, where the lady is going through, she's doing what the action has said, this person is telling you what to do and it's from a gender perspective, so, yeah, interesting picture.</p> <p><b>And, so, in terms of how it makes you feel, just positive?</b></p> <p>Yeah positive, like I would Make-do and Mend and be thrifty and like go- yeah. Yes definitely, like a might pop along to one of the events. Like I could do this, yeah.</p> <p><b>And then which bit of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Umm, that area there, the doll type face, the needle.</p> <p><b>So the whole-</b></p> <p>Yeah it's the figure, yeah yeah the figure, that's it, and then the Make-do and Mend is very striking and then secondly the Mrs sew and sew. And then that bit and then this, but before I knew what it was, but yeah the kind of the brightness of the colours and, yeah.</p> <p><b>And then do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No not at all, no. Not from, no. It's not for me, so,</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
15	41:53.8 - 44:05.5	<p><b>Next one, which was in the survey.</b></p> <p>Oh yes, yes it was.</p> <p><b>Did you recognise that before?</b></p> <p>No, no not at all.</p> <p><b>And did you recognise the slogan?</b></p> <p>Err yes, the careless bit not so much so, I'm much more familiar with the loose lips sink ships one, but yeah walls have ears that's definitely a phrase that I've grown up with.</p> <p><b>So you heard people say that?</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah and I still use that.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>That's a common phrase, I think it's almost like an embedded language phrase in like English language, British language. I say it at work, oh walls have ears, yeah! We're quite a paranoid organisation [laughter].</p> <p><b>So you'd mention that, you know if you're talking about something, somebody...</b></p> <p>Yeah, absolutely yeah, that's a very, and that's definitely a family phrase, that's a phrase I would use, not commonly now, but yeah definitely. The idea that you're</p>

		<p>talking, umm, can kill, that was shocking for me, cos it took me a while to figure it on the original one, so yeah.</p> <p><b>So what is this image?</b></p> <p>Oh so this is an image of two ladies, look quite well to do cos they're having a nice tea stand, this is maybe a different class perhaps, they're having a chat, they're having a gossip over tea and cakes, possibly running away with their conversation and in the background somebody's listening, Hitler is listening, Hitler stroke the Germans are listening, and they can hear everything you're saying and you're gossiping is dangerous, so don't forget walls have ears, you know, people are listening, things are, you don't know, you've gotta be stopping that, yeah, so,</p>
16	44:05.5 - 52:03.4	<p><b>And then, are there any other thoughts, memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>Not memories as such cos I hadn't seen the image, but the thoughts are it's quite striking, this is very powerful, because it's like Hitler himself directly is listening, not just Germans per say, it's like Hitler himself is listening and the threat of it, the, it's very stylised, it's nice, it makes a nice wallpaper pattern. I'm intrigued by the depiction of his face actually because it looks like trees which reminds me of forests like the German forest, umm, things like that, I don't know. It feels quite middle to upper class this to me, aimed at women, again quite patronising perhaps women are always gossiping and that kind of thing. Umm, there's a sense of life carrying on as normal, but it can't because walls have got ears and the Germans are listening, umm, and it's dangerous, cos your thoughtless tittle-tattling if you like could end up with somebody being killed cos like what are you sharing.</p> <p><b>So when you realise that the wallpaper, did that change the, sort of how you felt about the image?</b></p> <p>Yeah, it's much more menacing. It's much more, for me it feels quite menacing, it's like ooh, cos at first I was like oh that's a nice thirties pattern [laughter] and then you see what it is. It's quite umm, it's feels quite menacing, quite insidious, there's kind of like a nastiness to that.</p> <p><b>So in terms of how it makes you feel, is it...</b></p> <p>Oh cos it, it kind of draws you in a bit, cos you, yeah like that doesn't, it's not a safe image, it's not a kind of, and it's a different one to the other one cos it's not about, it's about what I can do or what I shouldn't be doing, but it's much more threatening, there's a much more powerful threat in this one, the other one's a bit about what you can do to help, this is much more about the threat, much more about the threat, and, yeah like, they're listening, even if we've not been invaded they're listening, they're everywhere, yeah, horrible, it's not a nice image, once you move up you kind of see that I saw that bit first then moved up.</p> <p><b>So yeah you started with this, and then noticed the wallpaper.</b></p> <p>And this is quite striking, it's all quite striking, but there's a draw to the upper part of it. But I'm sure I didn't remember it.</p> <p>Because there are some other very similar ones to this, so you don't think you've ever seen anything at all like that?</p> <p>No. Hitler on wallpaper would've terrified me as a kid, it's still not kinda nice [laughter], there is something quite powerful. And it is quite simplistic and stylised, but there is no doubt what that is, it's clearly identifying a specific individual so yeah.</p> <p><b>[PAUSE]</b></p> <p><b>And would you say it's a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No, no, umm, not the actual picture, no, not to me, that and this the phrases are memorable, like, yes. Because these might have been repeated on several other things, but actually the image, no.</p> <p><b>Yeah, so you'd expect other people to know the phrases?</b></p>

		<p>Yeah, it's a very everyday image, it's an image that unlike maybe some of the other ones that everybody can relate to that, everybody's having tea, not necessarily with a fancy, maybe that's a class thing like a kind of you know umm, but people can relate to this, people chatting, yeah, talking, that.</p> <p><b>Okay, next one-</b></p> <p>It's really interesting, I'm just thinking, I hope it's okay to say it I'm just really intrigued by something, cos my response to that I don't know if my emotional response to it has changed because of all the current context around swastikas being present on the streets in certain countries, the increasing rise of the far right and the sign of the swastika being back and very present on the media and, which I utterly despise with every fibre of my being I despise it, and I don't know if therefore the link to this I am more horrified and find that more threatening now because it feels like there is a greater threat now, even compared to when I first filled in the questionnaire for you some months ago, so I don't know if that's, maybe not relevant, but I'm just, I hate that.</p> <p><b>That's really interesting, so that there's been a recent change in current affairs means its more menacing, more real maybe.</b></p> <p>More real, and not necessarily in Britain, swastikas are you know, I've not seen a swastika here, not— it's stuff maybe in the states, where it's on the news big, the far right marching, the far right is active in Europe and it is here too, but yeah, so I don't know if my perspective has shifted and I'm more horrified by that now than I was before because of that, what's informing the thinking. Hope that doesn't complicate your...</p> <p><b>No no that's really interesting, it's possible...</b></p> <p>Yeah this is the Third Reich, yeah,</p> <p><b>It's a comic, it's kind of funny image, but then, maybe it would have been funnier if it wasn't so, real.</b></p> <p>Absolutely, so threatening, yeah. And I think there's also that modern thing of you know we know that people are listening we're constantly being watched there's all CCTV we can't do anything private, our conversations are being watch and intelligence is different these days, it would have been more shocking then that people were listening, spies and stuff it's a bit more mysterious in a sense, but yeah, but that, it just struck me, so, And there's a deadly threat with this, there's something about this is a deadly threat...</p> <p><b>What the 'lives'?</b></p> <p>Yeah. Whereas the other ones are about helping the effort, this is about, if you don't, like in a sense, I think they're all, yeah they're all about helping the effort, yeah there is something deadly about this, not just with him in the paper [laughter] so, do tell me if I'm talking too much.</p> <p><b>No, no it's fine. [PAUSE]</b></p>
17	52:03.4 - 54:36.1	<p><b>This one you might remember as well.</b></p> <p>I remember it from your, yes from the first thing, yes, love this.</p> <p><b>So you didn't recognise this before?</b></p> <p>No I didn't recognise it, no.</p> <p><b>And the slogan you didn't know.</b></p> <p>Not the Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb. I mean it's just such a ridic- oh seriously, it's just awful [sigh], but it's of the time, gender wise really. Careless Talk Costs Lives, it's quite, it's a smaller font than apart from that little on, it's quite, again the red it kills, this is deadly, but it's quite glamorous this, this is again it feels like there's a class level to this, I think I might have put that on the original ones, but there's a class- this is a glamorous cocktail party, this is London, this is not Coventry blitzed out or Leicester, this is London, this is kind of, or home counties</p>

		<p>maybe, glamorous, they're all in the military, of one of the forces, smoking drinking having a nice time, she's like a femme fatale kind of thing. Sorry I'm not even answering the questions—</p> <p><b>No, no it's good you've already answered...</b></p> <p>Yeah glamorous-</p> <p><b>What is the image?</b></p> <p>It's a cocktail party kind of scenario, or like a soiree or something like that, yeah.</p> <p><b>And then, what's the difference in terms of message between those two?</b></p> <p>Oh, oh well, ah, well, this is aimed at men, I think generally, this is aimed at men, don't be seduced, because she could be a spy and, she might look beautiful, she's certainly not stupid, she's not so dumb, she might still be a bit dumb [laughter], a bit dumb, but like don't be seduced, don't get sharing all your secre- and it's aimed specifically at the military as well the services the forces, otherwise why would they be in, they'd be ordinary people, sort of you know non ranked. It's the glamour and kind of she's listening to everything while they're chatting away and, you know, there is a kind of umm, erotic or kind of seductive aspect to this one, err, pillow talk, that kind of thing.</p>
18	54:36.1 - 59:06.6	<p><b>Are there any other thoughts or memories come to mind?</b></p> <p>Not memories, thoughts are it's really interesting in terms of colour tone, the red stands out like the careless talk is reflected in one of his military badges or something, or elements, but also her lipstick, there's like a danger, her lips, don't be going there, it's telling you to stay away. There's a kind of relaxed informal bit to it in the sense of this is a cocktail bar, they're not fighting at the minute, they're having a break, I would imagine these are officer class so there's a rank aspect to it, military rank aspect, umm, or forces aspect, they're having a drink, you know it's, yellow there's something about yellow, umm, I don't know there's something about the tone, the quality the tone to it that's, kinda candlelight but it's not there's something quite, I don't know there's something I can't quite put my finger on with the colour tone and you know. But they're all fawning all over her you know, they're all but she's dangerous, she's like, glamour lady gone, yeah, so,</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>— Umm, it's an interesting one, it— almost like it's not, if I was at the time it's not aimed at me it's aimed at men, umm, I don't, that offends me, like she's not so dumb, but at the same time that's of its time and it's the kind of yeah yeah don't be taken in, stupid men [laughter], like don't be taken in cos she's dangerous she could be a spy. It makes me think she's a spy, yeah that she's actually German but pretending to be British of English or whatever, umm and, that she's yeah dangerous, she is deadly, like Mata Hari.</p> <p><b>Okay, so you see her as the villain of this picture?</b></p> <p>Kind of yeah, yeah. But they're just falling for it. She's just there, they're chatting amongst themselves, but actually she's listening in and she's got a face that is as innocent, sort of innocent, not innocent, but kind of she's just sitting listening and glamour and all the rest of it, so yeah, it's quite a seductive image for me that one feels like. She's not so dumb, yeah.</p> <p><b>So apart from the offence, do you like the image?</b></p> <p>Yeah I do actually, I quite like it, I like the fact that, it's the first one with men in it, apart from the leg on the first one maybe, like there's men depicted and there's forces depicted, umm, it is definitely class one, there's a definite class aspect to it I think, but I do like it cos it's different, it's quite a different one. And it's quite an interesting, I mean it's offensive but in some ways it's hard to be offended by something that was of its time. If somebody put that on a poster now I'd be outraged, but that's what it was then, you know, so, yeah, I like it.</p>



		<p><b>Okay and then which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Her in the middle, and the lips and this, well maybe the phrase first and then that, but yeah. I can't really, yeah, er maybe this first then that bit is very quick it's like seconds, and then them. I think it took me a while when I first saw it on the first questionnaire, I then realised that they were forces, not like ordinary civilian types, so,</p> <p><b>And then would you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No, not necessarily, no. More well-known than some of the other ones, like the doll one the one that was like the doll, and possibly more well-known than that one but not, yeah, But still not, not like iconic. Yeah.</p>
19	59:06.6 - 1:02:21.1	<p><b>Okay, then, do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>No, no. Oh my god!</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the slogan?</b></p> <p>No [laughter], the meanings in it, no, no that's shocking. No I don't. I've never seen that. It's beautifully artistic, there's a beautiful art quality to that, it's quite stylised thirties kind of style. Umm,</p> <p><b>So what is this image?</b></p> <p>— So this is an image of a man with a thing pinned to his back, he's smoking a pipe, he's very kind of classy, like there's a kind of at home by the fire smoking your pipe kind of thing, telling you to stop talking, keep quiet, Be Like Dad Keep Mum, because women wouldn't have been necessarily earning money in those days it would've been male breadwinners if they were at home, men out fighting and all the rest of it, but keep mum, don't talk, but this time the Careless Talk Costs Lives is not in red because the poster is red there is a big enough image on his back, I don't know why he's got it pinned, it's interesting, but it's quite there's a kind- I was thinking whether there's a class element, but maybe there's not because, because everybody potentially wore a shirt and a waistcoat back then in those days maybe. It's such a, oh it's so sexist, Well I think it is anyway [laughter].</p> <p><b>Is it more offensive or less offensive than the other one?</b></p> <p>Similar levels of, similar in the sense of oh lord you just wouldn't be able to get away with it now. Although, but it's interesting because the, what it's implying, there's different layers of it and they're kind of social constructs from now as well and kind of you know 70 odd years on, but keep mum that idea of keeping mum keep quiet, cos your dad does, it's almost like this is a message for children, this is a message to children really, Be Like Dad Keep Mum, but it also makes me think that, and I still know some people do who call their husband or wife ooh mum or dad, so there's a kind of—</p> <p><b>Could still be...</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah it could be all sorts of things so, it's just telling you to stop talking, or be careful, keep quiet, cos your dad does or the man does, so you've got to stop, you've got to be exactly the same. Yeah. It's an interesting image. Is it Churchill? Is it meant to be the back of Churchill, cos he's got the pipe, did he smoke a pipe? He smoked cigars didn't he. It's interesting I just noticed like his little moustache thing but yeah. It's a really interesting image, really interesting.</p>
20	1:02:21.1 - 1:05:58.6	<p><b>Are any other thoughts or memories on any part of it?</b></p> <p>I love the colouring on it actually, it's very powerful, umm, it's really like, notice this, you've gotta stop doing it and the red face as well is interesting...</p> <p><b>Because it's got a similar meaning to the others, but you said about these two that they have sort of the deadly element, do you think that doesn't have it?</b></p>

		<p>It's a bit more comic, it's a bit more kind of, fun, not fun, it's not as, there's not as deadly an aspect to this, because it's much smaller and actually, it's the only one that's got an exclamation mark at the end of that, which alters the tone a bit slightly for me. It doesn't feel as, dangerous this, which makes me wonder if it's an earlier image, a much earlier image like 39 40 or you know where some of these are much later, umm, yeah it's, and the font isn't as, although the fonts are interesting on those, but yeah, it's like a poster within a poster, an image within an image.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>There's not as much menace- I don't feel as like, if I was looking at this it doesn't make me feel that it's, as threatening. There's not a kind of menace in this, it's telling you what to do but it's not menacing. I'm much more struck by the artwork on this one, and the kind of umm, the stylised aspect of it and it makes me curious about who did this and when, I'm more interested in the when it was, what stage in the war rather than, than actually what the instruction is. So it's slightly more random and a bit more abstract, like why is it on his back, why is there a safety pin, why has he got this on his back? But maybe that's just me [laughter]. it's just quirkier, it's not as, it's not got the same level of power, the same impact as the other two like those two, yeah no.</p> <p><b>And then which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>This, the language yeah Be Like Dad Keep Mum [laughter] and then, oh gosh okay, yeah the language there, and then you realise, and then it's, it was the safety pin bit as well, it's just quite curious this.</p> <p><b>It is odd that one.</b></p> <p>Yeah very. But it is a British one though?</p> <p><b>Yeah they're all British.</b></p> <p>Yeah, interesting.</p> <p><b>And then would you consider it a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No, not at all. Like why has he got a red face, why is he so red? It's really curious. It's an intriguing one [laughter] but it doesn't, for different reasons, it has a different level to it.</p> <p><b>Yeah we feel like we know less about this one, random is the right word.</b></p> <p>Yeah, there's not as much in it almost as the other ones as well.</p> <p><b>Yeah less to go on.</b></p> <p>Yeah, yeah.</p>
21	1:05:58.6 - 1:10:22.3	<p><b>Next one is, an inevitable one.</b></p> <p>Yeah, yeah.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>I do.</p> <p><b>Do you have a sense of where, when you first saw it?</b></p> <p>Probably in the seventies, when I was a child, probably, but I don't know for sure, that might be false.</p> <p><b>So you feel like you've seen it most of your life?</b></p> <p>Yeah and heard it. But, I don't know, that's really interesting, because it makes me wonder if it wasn't in a TV series like Dad's Army or some of those comedies from the sixties, seventies, were they phrases that were used and I've just transposed it, but the image is familiar, the image is familiar, so, I only learnt the other day, off social media, the difference between the crown of the king and the crown of the queen, and that that's the king's crown which obviously he was a king at the time, yeah. Such a powerful image.</p>

		<p><b>So in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>So this is an instruction, this is a, this has come from the king, this has come from the head of the country, from the crown anyway, telling you not to be worried, it's saying, don't get frightened, carry on, just yeah, Keep Calm and Carry On, don't worry, or don't not don't worry but don't stop don't panic, which makes me think this possibly came at the point in the Blitz and the point at which the war really was starting to really have a big impact here at home, not necessarily over there but here, it's telling you to, just be normal, because we will not be ground down, like that kind of normalcy bit yeah.</p> <p><b>Because obviously it's used quite a lot today, does your interpretation change seem different thinking about how it's used today compared to wartime?</b></p> <p>No not necessarily, umm, only in the sense that we're not, well there are wars we're involved in but we're not at war per say, but umm, no but interestingly, like one of the answers I gave earlier, in terms of the current threat level, not necessarily terror threat level being difficult, but the noise in the States and the kind of you know North Korea USA, there's a sense of Keep Calm and Carry On in that sense which is different to say four months ago or pre November. But it's a situation that can apply to everything like stop catastrophising, I don't know if it's a phrase that appeals to me as a therapist as well you see, like my career kind of, you know and not— there are no crises just Keep Calm and Carry On, breathe, we're all okay.</p> <p><b>So it fits with the advice that you give?</b></p> <p>Yeah kind of yeah, and, yeah. It's such a powerful image, it's probably the most iconic but people don't necessarily know why, and it's come from the crown, the others don't have the crown on except in some of the iddy biddy logos like board of trade, it has the crown on it, it's like the King is telling ya, it's all okay, but it's not okay but we have to carry on [laughter] it's definitely not okay. Yeah. It's an interesting message.</p>
22	1:10:22.3 - 1:13:17.7	<p><b>You've kind of touched a little bit on this but, because it is used now and people do know it, what is it about it do you think that means that people use it now? Is there anything about the image itself that means its popular now?</b></p> <p>Font, I think there's the font, because people are interested in fonts and the messages. I think the sense that maybe life is so crazy at times, hectic, busy, stupid, ridiculously overwhelming at time, that a sense of, Keep Calm and Carry On just ignore the rest of the world, move forward kind of thing, it's interesting cos again as a therapist in terms of say mindfulness and kind of an awareness of the need to be calm and still while all the madness is outside, you know, you can't stop the madness necessarily, but you can remain calm and centred, so I don't know if my background if my career kind of informs that, umm, I think it's striking, it's really simple, you can stick a load of things on it, like I've seen what somebody in our office has Keep Calm and Carry On auditing your files [laughter], keep calm and keep compliant, keep calm and have a cup of tea, keep calm and eat biscuits, keep calm and stroke the cat, you know there's a million and one things you can apply it to a million and one things. What I don't know about is whether or not the crown gets put on every one— I shall check the posters tomorrow at work but yeah, but it's so transferrable to so many situations, it's still current, it's still, cos the keep calm bit is the bit that's maintained, and the font usually, different colours, cos this isn't so alarming, you know now, well it is but, in a different way yea. It's brilliant, it's such a brilliant piece of, whoever designed that was a genius, absolute genius whoever did it, it kind of makes me sad that I don't know who it was.</p> <p><b>Yeah, we don't know who it is either.</b></p> <p>We don't know who it was. Whoever did it—</p> <p><b>Not a person, one person, it was probably a committee actually.</b></p> <p>yeah yeah possibly yeah. it's brilliant, I mean it's such a fabulous piece of imagery, cos it's just so simple, there's no people on it or anything, it's just words and the crown, the crown is powerful in it cos it's big, and the sense of a figurehead, is</p>

		<p>something of a, royalty, you know, figurehead sort of, we're alright the king said we can carry on, it's bad but it's not that bad, we will defeat them, there's very much that aspect, we will defeat them in terms of morale and this was a morale one I think from what I understand. Yeah. It's brilliant.</p>
23	1:13:17.7 - 1:17:23.9	<p><b>How does it make you feel? Does it work?</b></p> <p>See that's interesting because there's so many common connotations you see it so much that it's almost lost its impact, it's quite jokey now, so it, and the keep calm and have kittens, those kind of things, it kind of minimises the power of it, but as this on this background as the original is intended- is, it's immensely powerful. It has an instant impact a bit like some of the first images, it's powerful it has a huge impact, and it's the sort of thing that makes me think if I was, in a situation, because it's telling you to do it there's an automatic suggestion the power of the suggestion, yeah keep calm it's okay, we're in a bunker or a, underground station like you know you're bombed, underground, what were they called, shelters, bomb shelters, you would look at that and it would be like, it would centre you I think, it's so powerful.</p> <p><b>It's a bit of a weird question with this one, but which part of it draws your eye first, is it just the words?</b></p> <p>It's the words, the words, the crown, the words and the colour and then the crown, yeah. Yeah. Cos it's so, cos it's red, and it's interesting because it's not, red is normally used as the threat mechanism or like instruction, and this is an instruction, cos they don't want mass hysteria, mass hysteria is dangerous, but, so it's an instruction but it's a nice instruction, carry on. Yeah, carry on.</p> <p><b>And you did describe it as iconic, what would you mean by that exactly?</b></p> <p>Ooh, that's a fabulous question. It's memorable, its design is so powerful that it's actually become modern, it's timeless, it's of its time but it's also timeless, you could apply that, well, it's crisis relevant, you could apply it retrospectively to other things, but certainly it's current as well, it's contemporary, the need to Keep Calm and Carry On and stop fretting about lunatics in charge, umm or try not to, umm, the colour, the use of the crown, the font, the font and the font size, the whole umm, the whole artwork as a piece of work in itself is, it just makes- it's complete it's just perfect, it's a perfect piece of propaganda stroke marketing stroke, not marketing, but yeah propaganda, it's not propaganda necessarily, but what's the word I'm looking for, it's a perfect piece of umm,</p> <p><b>Publicity?</b></p> <p>Yes, yeah of information, yeah, it's perfect. It's extraordinary and I don't know if there are many, images like this that stand up to this in terms of iconic, except possibly photographs like say Churchill and the v sign, umm, phrases, certain key phrases, but they're heard rather than on. I don't know if there's many other things like this ever actually, since like printed media, so, It's a remarkable piece.</p>
24	1:17:23.9 - 1:20:21.0	<p><b>Okay, two more.</b></p> <p>Okay.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>Yes. Yes I do yeah.</p> <p><b>Where do you think, or when do you think you might have seen that before?</b></p> <p>I think I've seen this quite recently in the last couple of years, to do, and from things like, umm, I think so. If I saw it before I don't remember, but I think from my interest in kind of military history and industrial heritage and some of the things I've been on around industrial, industrial heritage in particular one, umm, in Lincolnshire around aviation. I know that women were pulled into- historically I've always known that women went into the factories, there was an art piece down the road actually here [unintelligible] by women who worked in Nottinghamshire, for</p>

		<p>the munitions work and there was a big explosion and stuff, so I've known about women being involved by I think I only saw the poster in the last couple of years, from some of those things. Brilliant.</p> <p><b>What is this image then?</b></p> <p>Oh so this is of a woman, it's a very joyous picture, it's really positive actually, it's of a woman, like she's kind of expressing like, ooh there's tanks, I've just noticed the tanks, I noticed the planes, the planes are what you see the Lancasters, the Lancasters, some of them are lances I think, but like, and the factory and, that she's made a part in it and she's almost like this is celebratory, celebrating her role that she's helped to create these things that are now off in the skies, bombing raids, so umm, or tank parts, factories and things, yes, so, it's really positive. It's a beautiful image actually.</p> <p><b>Why do you think you've remembered it, you know you said you've seen it recently, but is there anything about it that makes it memorable, do you think?</b></p> <p>I think it's, her image, I think the celebratory aspect of it, the fact its women coming into factories, which shifted the labour market hugely for women, umm, although it had happened in the first world war too I think so I think again it's how much of this is knowledge that I've got anyway, umm, I think it's very positive, it's sunshine glowy, kind of, which makes me think it's— it's post battle of Britain, I'm curious about the age of the poster and the point of the war it is, because it makes, this is positive, we're winning the war at this point my guess is, my guess, umm, yeah com into the factories you can play a part, yeah, you've got an important job to do.</p>
25	1:20:21.0 - 1:23:51.4	<p><b>And then any other thoughts or memories related to this?</b></p> <p>Not, no I don't think so. There's definitely, nobody in my family worked in the fact- that I know of that I'm aware of worked in the factories in the war, certainly not heavy industry, they might have worked in hosiery factories, they certainly worked in hosiery factories but certainly not heavy industry like this. Subse- my uncles have on my dad's side, some of them were engineers but not in like military engineering but yeah, so, very uplifting one this.</p> <p><b>Yeah so how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Oh it's really good it's uplifting and it's [laughter] quite nationalistic as well, in the sense of oh our lovely planes bombing off—</p> <p><b>Does that make you uncomfortable similarly...</b></p> <p>Well cos they were bringing colossal death and destruction to people, including civilians, it ain't good. Lances, you know I mean I love the machinery and I love the planes now, but it's got an edge that you, but again it's of its time, we were at war, we had to be, you know we were not gonna be defeated, it's very positive because it's women making a difference, coming into the factories which were previously [unintelligible] for men so it's positive in that sense— women of Britain it's like regardless you can do something you will have a skill that we can use or we will train you umm, the little tanks, the tanks, just peeping out. Yeah it's really positive. It's interesting it's like the sunset, it does it makes me think again about either we've just, we're on the end towards the end of the war I don't know I'd be interested in at what point it was done, because it's quite glowy positive, but it's not— it's not a warning one, it's an invitation, it's a different, very different...</p> <p><b>Welcome.</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah yeah definitely.</p> <p><b>And then what part draws your eye?</b></p> <p>It's her and the planes, that kind of top bit there, yeah.</p> <p><b>Okay and then do you think this is a well-known image by others?</b></p>

		<p>Umm possibly I'm not sure about that, I think it might have been, I think it would have been. It's not know so much now, I don't think, but of the time, not now.</p> <p><b>And would you consider it iconic?</b></p> <p>Yes. Yes, because, it reminds me of some of the Russian soviet posters actually the soviet, it's the style of the imagery it's very powerful, there's detail but not, it's very like soviet actually, interesting. Umm, it's obvious what the message is, it's the celebratory aspect potentially also makes it iconic too. Excellent.</p>
26	1:23:51.4 - 1:27:01.7	<p><b>Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>He turned up eventually.</b></p> <p>Yeah there he is. Yay! Ooh yeah.</p> <p><b>So you've seen that before you think?</b></p> <p>Yes, I think so, well it's interesting, that's an int- the image seems, I think I've seen it before, not just from when you, like the first interview bit, but the— some of it feels like the lettering, the phrase isn't part, like that maybe that image would be used in other ways and then different phrases put on the poster maybe, so, but yeah.</p> <p><b>And what is this image?</b></p> <p>Oh so this is Churchill, this is Winston Churchill PM, head of the war if you like, against the backdrop of, horror actually in terms of tanks, battlefields, planes in the sky, our planes, they look like spitfires or hurricanes, spitfires possibly, I'm assuming they're our planes, our tanks, moving yeah forward, we're going forward. Err go forward I hate that phrase at work, moving forward, ah seriously stop it, if this is where it started from [laughter] it kind of alters my view of Churchill, yeah great nice one. Umm, there's a kind of, it makes me feel, um yeah it's interesting, it's quite sharp umm, it's quite a bleak image in some ways, this is quite grim, there's a grimness to this and it's actual there's like these seem like real pictures, these are not like paintings or drawings, these are really images I think, real photographs of tanks and planes, err, is that the sea, I don't know if it's the sea cos where there's the navy, there's no navy, unless they're in the background but yeah. So yes it's real and it's the head of it as well which is the first time we've seen somebody real on it, somebody, an actual figure, so, yeah, but everybody knows who Churchill is, everybody would've known who he was so he's telling you it's like an instruction, Let Us Go Forward Together, mm. But it's not victory at this point, I don't know when this was but it's, again I'd be curious about the time.</p> <p><b>And why do you think you've remembered it, is there anything about it that makes it memorable?</b></p> <p>I think it's Churchill.</p> <p><b>So the fact that it's him.</b></p> <p>Yeah I think it's Churchill. Something about just the way that he's facing, kind of facing, this is memorable and that, I wouldn't have remembered necessarily the detail but there's something about it that's memorable and I think it's cos it is him, there's no red on it, there's not a warning, there's not a, it's a kind of, it's a wish or an intent rather than an instruction, keep quiet, keep mum blah blah blah, it's not that it's like an intent, to move, to win, so,</p>
27	1:27:01.7 - 1:31:58.4	<p><b>And any other thoughts or memories coming to mind at all?</b></p> <p>I don't know when I would have seen this, I don't know how long I've known about it, the planes, you know, it's the fact that it's got our machinery in it, and it's also like he's there, he's in the thick of it, he's not distant, he's at the centre of all of this umm, you know and our planes were goo, we had very good planes eventually, um,</p>

**You're not sure where you've seen this?**

No, no no no but I have a feeling I've seen this many many years ago when I was younger a lot younger, yeah, possibly in school in history things, I think.

**And how does it make you feel?**

Um, that's a good question it's— it's a different one, this one doesn't grab in the same way as the art ones do in a sense, like the kind of, where there's an artist that's been employed, this is real, umm, I'm intrigued- I like this one, I like it because it's got the planes on it and, err, I like aviation, military aviation stuff, umm, it's quite bleak though, it feels quite bleak, it's quite— it's quite depressing, so it makes me wonder if this was at like midpoint of the war when we're bogged down and we've struggling, really struggling, umm, and maybe there's factions- it makes me wonder if there's like factions or um, the country's like divided. It's not good, this isn't good, this is some ways isn't a, it's not saying we will win, it's saying let's go forward together, it's not, it's kind of a positive message it's pulling people together but it's not, and he's kind of smiling and it looks calm but it's not, there's something, there's a lot of clouds, there's clouds and crap in the background and war. It's the only image- it's less positive and it's the only image of the war itself, as such like the fighting, the rest of it obviously are from then, but it's the only image where you've got real things, real machinery, yes, and not an artist depiction of, or a silhouette, these are, I think it's a real photograph in action, it could be anywhere in the world really, but it looks European maybe, yeah.

**And which part are you drawn to first?**

His face and the language. It's like it's from a speech he made, cos it's in inverted commas so it's like it's from a speech, so,

**Yeah it is, so it's a quote from a speech.**

Ah right.

**And then do you think this is well known by others?**

Yes.

**Would you say iconic again?**

Umm it's not as iconic as some of other Churchill stuff, it's not as iconic as the Victory images that you see, although they weren't necessarily posters, or the we will fight them on the beaches type thing, it's not as iconic as that but it is iconic I think, it's Churchill in the war.

**Okay because it's him, because he's there?**

Yes I think so, like there's the figurehead and because it's got the, yeah I think so, I don't know what speech this was taken from though, could even be the fight them on the beaches one, but I don't know, he made thousands so, Yeah I think so. It's not as striking though, it's not as iconic as the Keep Calm and Carry On by any stretch, yeah, it's interesting it's photos like superim... it's quite different, so,

**[PAUSE]**

It's so interesting that one comparatively to the others, very different message. — It's a similar message to the Keep Calm and Carry On, in the sense of pull together, we're carrying on, we're going forwards, we are moving forwards we're not going backwards, or can't go backwards. Yeah, it's interesting.

**Interview 10: TNA1841**

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant TNA1841 on 25 August 2017 at The National Archives.

- Year of birth: 1945

- Age bracket: 1940-1945
- Gender: Male
- Highest level of education: Some College or Further Education
- Birth region: North West

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 2:58.9	<p><b>The first questions are not connected to the images. Basically I want to understand how the Second World War features in your life. So, do you have family memories that have been passed down?</b></p> <p>Only family memories yes, yes. I was born in 1945, right at the end, but I spent a lot of time with my paternal grandmother who used to run a boarding house in Morecambe. Now obviously before the war that would've taken seaside visitors, but for some- during the war and for some time afterwards, it took RAF people, you see, so I was sort of in and out all the time that was going on, and that's the sort of the memories that come back to me. But my grandmother was very, she was a very sad lady really because she lost her eldest son and she wouldn't lock her front door because she always thought he was gonna come home it was quite sad, you know at the time you don't think of it as a child, but looking back on it it was very sad really. So that's where my memories come from.</p> <p><b>Okay so you remember the RAF servicemen coming and going and—</b></p> <p>Yes and with the poster you see a lot of the slogans on them, I don't know why but she used to have some of those off by heart, she obviously sort of brainwashed during the Second World War.</p> <p><b>Okay so she said them to you and you kind of...</b></p> <p>Yeah in everyday conversation she just used to say you know like Dig for Victory and things like that, it was quite weird really when I look back on it, at the time you didn't think anything of it you just a child you know you don't think much of it, so er, that's the background basically.</p> <p><b>And were any other family members involved that you know of in the actual war?</b></p> <p>Well my father yes and my mother. In actual fact do you get around doing this research, cos my mother's 92 now but she's still alive and she would be happy to sort of give you her memories which are much better than mine, cos she was in the land army during the Second World War and she's still pretty with it.</p> <p><b>[REDACTED]</b></p>
2	2:52.8 - 4:49.0	<p><b>And then did you learn about the Second World War at school?</b></p> <p>Not much, no, no, not really.</p> <p><b>So it was too close in history...</b></p> <p>I went to primary school in Morecambe, just outside Morecambe, but when I was ten years old my father got a job in the civil service and we moved to Singapore, so my secondary school schooling was all in Singapore, at various British service schools, so I didn't- the only bit of the Second World War that I really took an interest in was the war in the far east, in Singapore in particular, because some of the old guns on the fortress, the hill, was on our cross country running route, so we used to stop off and look in them and sort of you know, that sort of thing.</p> <p><b>So that triggered an interest-</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Not so much at school but your own interest.</b></p>



		<p>That's right, and then when we came back from Singapore, I was a little bit- it was very difficult because during the five years we were there, I used to talk about home and we used to talk about home, but when we actually got back, it was very alien, you know it was sort of quite strange really and it wasn't like coming home at all because I'd sort of grown up in Singapore...</p> <p><b>You were quite young when you left?</b></p> <p>Yes, yeah. And I joined the navy soon after that, umm so I don't think the Second World War came into that really, it was all sort of contemporary, yeah.</p> <p><b>And how long were you in the navy after that?</b></p> <p>Nine years.</p> <p><b>Okay. And you travelled around...</b></p> <p>Yes, more or less everywhere, yes, that's right.</p>
3	4:49.0 - 5:48.1	<p><b>And then, well you've kind of said about your interest in it, are there any other cultural things that you've been involved in that are to do with the Second World War, so, watched TV, books, museums...</b></p> <p>Well I've written books on naval history during the Second World War, umm, not so much now because there isn't as much interest in it now, but a few years ago I did. Now people want to read about nostalgia in the 1950s and 60s unfortunately, because I like going back further, but umm, just occasionally the magazine editor I write for he lets me do nineteenth century early 20th century and sometimes Second World War. But err that's my main interest now in the Second World War is naval history.</p> <p><b>[REDACTED]</b></p>
4	5:48.1 - 8:14.3	<p><b>Then I will start by showing the images, so this is the first one, which...</b></p> <p>Yeah, that's the one yeah.</p> <p><b>So you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>Oh yeah, yeah. Mainly the slogan, it's mainly the slogan.</p> <p><b>So more the slogan?</b></p> <p>Yes, yeah.</p> <p><b>And that's because you've heard...</b></p> <p>That's because, yeah she used to say. I can't remember in which context now it just stuck in my mind that that's what she used to say was Dig for Victory umm,</p> <p><b>Was there gardening going on?</b></p> <p>No she didn't have a very big back garden really no. No I don't know why she sort of had that in her mind but she did, umm, so that's how that sticks with me.</p> <p><b>Okay yeah. But the image itself, do you have a sense of where you might have seen that before?</b></p> <p>No, other than here no, no, it's mainly the slogans when I was sort of- I mean talking about it now it was when I was about five years old, so it's the first sort of memories that you have isn't it, and I'll always remember my grandmother who I used to go and stay with, she was always coming up with these funny little slogans which didn't mean a lot at the time it was only later you found out what they related to and they were- I suppose people like her, she would've been a little girl in the first world war, and she'd gone through two really I suppose and so these sort of world wars to them were, or European civil wars really were sort of part of their life weren't they. Horrendous really, absolutely horrendous. But yeah that's- it's mainly the slogan rather than the picture. She used to come up with others as well, it's quite strange really I don't know why she was like that.</p> <p><b>Well it'll be interesting to see which of these that are going to come up, that she'd say [laughter].</b></p>

		[PAUSE]
5	8:14.3 - 12:21.7	<p><b>Are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at this image particularly?</b></p> <p>No, no, it's mainly, it takes me back to my grandmother's house, in Morecambe and a little back garden, but why, I don't know why she kept saying that, because she wasn't really a gardener other than pottering around with roses, and er, but she had these, I suppose she'd lived with them for so many years, she kept coming out with them.</p> <p><b>Yeah I suppose yeah perhaps the actually context was lost in a sense, just part of language.</b></p> <p>Yeah it was possibly in context I don't know now because it's too long ago, I mean I, my memory may be sort of mixed with things I've seen since, but I do remember her coming out with these little slogans, cos I was quite surprised when I eventually saw all these up here, thought ah that takes me back.</p> <p><b>Okay and then looking at this, how does it make you feel, if anything?</b></p> <p>I personally, me personally, I feel very very sad that things ever came to this sort of end that you know Europe turned itself upside down, I don't find anything sort of glorious or umm marvellous in it I think it was absolutely horrendous that it came to that, you know that Europe sort of turned itself upside down and now we're turning our backs on it arrgh, I feel so,</p> <p><b>Angry?</b></p> <p>Yeah, let's not get on to that.</p> <p><b>Okay, and then this is quite a vague question it's going to sound a bit vague but I'm going to ask it, all these questions will be the same, but what is this image to you?</b></p> <p>That's an allotment. I think of that as an allotment or a park, because er I do remember. Aha! I know my grandmother she used to have a gentleman friend who I called an uncle and it was only [unintelligible] I realised he wasn't even a relation, but she had this sort of man friend, cos she was on her own and umm, that's it he used to keep an allotment.</p> <p><b>Ahh so maybe that's the relation...</b></p> <p>Yes yeah thinking about it, I'd forgotten about that, err but that's what comes to my mind is allotments, parks being dug up, not just gardens sort of all sorts of public areas were dug up weren't there so that's my first feeling is oh you know somebody digging in an allotment.</p> <p><b>And then which part of the image draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The boot. Yeah. Does everybody say that?</p> <p><b>Basically yeah [laughter].</b></p> <p><b>And then would you say this is a well-known image in Britain today, by other people?</b></p> <p>It's hard for me to say because I spent so long up here that I got used to it, but whether other people would or not I know. I'm just thinking of my younger brother actually and I have a lot to do with him and I don't think he would no I don't think he would sort of think of it as a familiar image, no, no.</p> <p><b>So you think it's being here and—</b></p> <p>I think my sort of umm perception is very much, sort of umm, influenced by what I see up here, you know I've been coming here now since 1979, so I sort of umm, you know I've sort of grown used to these sort of images and take them for granted now. But I always have a little chuckle when I see that one though.</p> <p><b>Why is that?</b></p>

		Well cos as I say it reminds me of my childhood, not that just the Dig for Victory.
6	12:24.6 - 18:31.3	<p><b>Okay. Then, I'll move to the next one. Do you recognise this at all?</b></p> <p>I can't say I do, really. What did I originally say about that? Did I say I'm —</p> <p><b>This one wasn't in the survey.</b></p> <p>I was going to say I didn't know. No, not really. Although, as I say again, my grandmother was one who would talk about it but not do it. She talks what we have to do in the war but she didn't do it herself.</p> <p><b>You mean she wasn't doing the gardening element or the —</b></p> <p>She talked about we used to have to grow this down the hill, but I don't think she ever did.</p> <p><b>I see. You meant we —</b></p> <p>She just generally brought us out into this we. It's a general, "we did this, we did the other," during the war. So really, that — no, that isn't very familiar at all. I don't think I've even seen that up here.</p> <p><b>It's definitely more obscure one and the other. Do you recognise any of the words, the phrase or things?</b></p> <p>Yes. Grow Your Own Food, yes.</p> <p><b>Then, again, what is this image in your opinion?</b></p> <p>Basically, it's trying to get people to grow their own food so that the imports will cut down, isn't it? So, the food doesn't have to go—or couldn't be imported, people could grow their own food. But, that to me brings sort of rationing and that sort of thing to mind. When I was a schoolboy, I seemed to remember my mother actually did have a ration book. I have a feeling—It went on to 1950, didn't it, '51? Yes, because I can remember going shopping with a ration stamps. As a little boy, you know, she'd take me shopping. But, yes, now that isn't just familiar that one at all, really.</p> <p><b>Just comparing to the other one, this similar purpose, do you think this is a less successful image or is it not as quite —</b></p> <p>It isn't striking, is it? It's a little bit more complicated and you'd have to sort of—because the other image that comes to mind on this is that perhaps you haven't got to eat very much either. It's a little bit sparing. Everything is—</p> <p><b>Cut down.</b></p> <p>Yes. That one there is quite a brutal Dig for Victory. Dig the garden over, though, where it's pretty striking that, isn't it? A shovel and a big boot. But, that one isn't, that's a bit more subtle, I suppose, isn't it?</p> <p><b>Yes. Then, are there any other thoughts or memories coming to mind? You've mentioned something-</b></p> <p>Not this one.</p> <p><b>- on this one, yes.</b></p> <p>No, other than, you know— what comes to my mind is rationing. That's—</p> <p><b>How does that make you feel, if anything?</b></p> <p>I'm never very impressed with anything from the two World Wars. Although, I write books about naval history, I always try and put a subtle message in there that I'm anti-war.</p> <p><b>[laughter] Yes.</b></p> <p>Yes, very much so. So, I don't think anything from the Second World War is very glorious anyway. I think, it was you know it's a—it was a horrendous experience for people that were in it. My other grandmother, my maternal grandmother was</p>

		<p>very much anti-war because her husband, my grandfather, who I didn't know very well, he had his jaw shot away in the First World War. I still feel quite guilty about that actually because these little children used to—because his face with distorted. They didn't ever tell us what it was. Nobody ever told us what it was. He just had a strange lopsided face. a plate in the one side. She was very much anti-war. I'm never very—I don't ever think, "This must be happy times for anybody."</p> <p><b>So, all of this got a level of negativity—?</b></p> <p>Yes, very much so, yes. Although, my mother—I suppose we all feel very nostalgic about our youth. She feels very nostalgic about the Second World War. If you ever spoke to her, she would talk about it—you know—. It's really a nostalgia for their youth, isn't it, rather than the time.</p> <p><b>Yes, the actual experience.</b></p> <p>Because she does accept now that it wasn't very good, really. But, there we go. [laughter]</p> <p><b>That's interesting. Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The plate.</p> <p><b>The plate?</b></p> <p>Yes, the plate. It isn't actually a sparing ration, is it? That's the first thing I thought when you see it is, "Oh yeah, it's rationed." It's not—</p> <p><b>Not enough on the plate.</b></p> <p>Yes, that's right. That's my first thought. But, I'm obviously biased because I'm—it's probably something that's in my mind.</p> <p><b>Okay. And then again, do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>I don't know. But, I wouldn't have thought so. I don't think I've ever seen it before. See it at the Imperial War Museum, isn't it, Imperial War Museum? I used to be a regular researcher then, but I don't recall ever seeing that one before.</p>
7	18:31.3 - 23:38.2	<p><b>Okay, let's move to this one. This was in the survey. Did you recognise it?</b></p> <p>Yes, I have seen this. It's hard to say whether I've seen it when I was younger or whether I've seen it up here. But, I have seen it and it makes you— my first thought with this is, sort of, clothes with patches and sewn together and cobbled together and things that were overworn, umm, Make-do and Mend. Which of course, thinking about it, my mother and grandmothers, both of them, they used to do that. They used to mend clothes rather than dye them. The other thing that comes to my mind, there is— what do they call it? The style was—I can't remember.</p> <p><b>The utility.</b></p> <p>Utility. That's right.</p> <p><b>The Make-do and Mend slogan, did your grandmother use that?</b></p> <p>No. They used to. They used to Make-do and Mend-</p> <p><b>Yes. Make to do it but don't say it.</b></p> <p>- but, I do not recall they're every saying it. That's just the impression I get. It brings them to mind and the utility plain styles of it all.</p> <p><b>Yes. You did recognise this image and you think you've seen it before?</b></p> <p>Yes, I have seen that one before. Yes, I have seen it before, but, it's possibly up here. I don't know. Because they had an exhibition of this at one time, didn't they? Or they hung them on the wall? Hung them on the stairs, didn't they, at one time? I think coming here for so long, I can't remember what's what there.</p> <p><b>Yes. Chances are it probably has been displayed here.</b></p> <p>When did you first come to here researching?</p>

		<p><b>Not for that long. I mean like five years.</b></p> <p>Because, when I first came here, the door was right on the other side. I was just talking to somebody today about how different it all was.</p> <p><b>The door, you didn't come in —?</b></p> <p>No, You didn't come in where you come in, now. I used to come in where the cafeteria is and across. They did have these upon the stairs or somewhere. They had a sort of exhibition of them at one stage.</p> <p><b>Yes. It's probably that.</b></p> <p>It's possible I've seen it then.</p> <p><b>What is this image in your opinion?</b></p> <p>To me, it's— it brings an image into my mind of tatty clothing, if you know what I mean. That's probably a bit over the top but worn, sort of, or down at heel clothing, perhaps. I don't know if that makes sense.</p> <p><b>Yes. It's— that damaged and —</b></p> <p>But, with patches and, you know... socks with darns all over the place.</p> <p><b>Any other thoughts or memories coming to mind at all?</b></p> <p>No, no, not really. I can remember my auntie is all dressed in clothing like this. Because I think they must have dressed like after the Second World War, possibly. I can remember that style of clothing but the Make-do and Mend, that's the one that hits me and it reminds me of socks that have been darned continually and just— that's it really.</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel when you look at it?</b></p> <p>Well, glad we don't have to do it now or most people don't.</p> <p><b>Yes. So grateful, for modern —</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The Make-do and Mend.</p> <p><b>Yes, slogan.</b></p> <p>[laughter]</p> <p>Is that what's meant to hit home?</p> <p><b>It depends actually. That one, I suppose, is as they get arranged sometimes people are really drawn to the fashion of it and —</b></p> <p>Yes, the fashion reminds me of my aunties. My mother and my aunties when I was little. But, the one that comes to mind is Make-do and Mend because that's the vision of darned socks.</p> <p><b>Yes, okay. That encapsulates that whole idea.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Then again, do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>Possibly more well-known than this one. Yes, possibly more well-known than that one. But not as much as Dig for Victory.</p> <p><b>Yeah.</b></p>
8	23:38.2 - 27:48.7	<p><b>Then, next one. Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Have I seen this one? I don't remember seeing, no.</p> <p><b>No. It wasn't in the survey so, no.</b></p>

No, I'm going to say I don't remember seeing that. I don't think I've seen that one before. Oh gosh, that really is what I've just been talking about, isn't it? Oh dear. Yeah. I've never seen that before but that's the same thoughts I picked on that as this one.

**Yes, exactly —**

Particularly with the red big patch there, reminds me of my socks when I was a boy. My mother used to darn them rather than buy new ones, you just darn them. It reminded me of socks with darns in them. Horrible.

**[laughter]**

**Do you recognise this Mrs. Sew and Sew phrase or —?**

Mrs. Sew and Sew. No, I've never hear that one before. No, that's a good one that, isn't it? Mrs. Sew and Sew.

**[laughter]**

**What is this image in your opinion?**

Well same as the last one. I get the same feeling as the last one. Very much down at heel clothing.

**Yes, okay. Any other thoughts or memories that come to mind at all?**

No, not really. No. Who designs all these posters? Were they different artists?

**All different artists mostly, yes.**

Were they?

**Some of them we don't know exactly.**

Quite clever artists really, weren't they? Very clever artwork.

**Yes, they're all got different style and different things. Most of them we know, I think there's only a few that I'm not sure like Dig for Victory. Not sure exactly who designed that, to be honest, but —**

I was looking at the artwork there and there. They're very good artwork, but to me it all sort of dowdy 1940s. I mean my first memories '45, must have been 1949. I definitely remember— I do remember at the general election of 1950, funnily enough.

**Five years old, wow. [laughter]**

I do actually remember that because I remember I had just started school and people were talking about Mr. Atlee and Churchill and my parents voting Atlee. I think, I was in the minority because I kept my mouth shut. My memories do go back to 1950.

**Pretty good.**

Which I don't think people can remember much more before that, can they? Although my daughter tells me she can. I don't know how much she's been influenced by photographs she's seen.

**I'm always amazed by being able to remember that far back. Five years old. I'm not— I can't, really.**

No, I do remember at school, the general election of 1950. I suppose, it might have been 1951, but it was one or the other. Because, I think there was another in 1951, wasn't there? Or '52. Can't remember now off hand, but yes, it reminds me of dowdy 1940s, early 1950s. Bit negative, aren't I? Sorry about that.

**[laughter] No, it's fine. In terms of how it makes you feel, again, so it's a negative —**

Yes, very much so, yes.

**Then, which bit draws your eye again?**

		<p>The patch on that one.</p> <p><b>The patch. That's the first thing you mentioned so that's right.</b></p> <p>Yes, it was the patch, yes.</p> <p><b>Reminding you of socks, yes. Then, again, do you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No, I don't think it is, no. That's my opinion, I don't think so.</p> <p><b>No, it's just to see if you don't.</b></p> <p>I don't think so.</p> <p><b>You don't know it, so unlikely. Okay.</b></p>
9	27:48.7 - 35:20.7	<p><b>This was in the survey-</b></p> <p>Oh yes, Careless Talk Costs —</p> <p><b>- and did you recognise —</b></p> <p>Yes. Now, I have a funny feeling that— there was a version of this we had when I was in the Navy.</p> <p><b>A version of this poster?</b></p> <p>A version of this, yes. It was around the time of the early 1960s. There were some naval spy scandals, do you remember? Either way, you don't remember but you've read about them. There was one of them was a sub lieutenant on a ship very similar to the one I was serving in at the time. HMS Rothesay, sub lieutenant— what was his name? Bingham. He was convicted of spying for Russia. I have a feeling that they put posters with Careless— not the picture but the slogan, up in the ship.</p> <p><b>Around that time? That's interesting.</b></p> <p>Yes. Around the radio room, the ops room and places like that. I vaguely remember the slogan, not the picture.</p> <p><b>So, it was a different design you think? Or at least —</b></p> <p>I don't know whether there was a picture with it —</p> <p><b>It was just the slogan?</b></p> <p>But, it was— certainly the slogan was there. It was around the time of— if you look him up, it was a fellow called sub lieutenant Bingham. He was convicted of spying. I think, he did it for money rather than for any ideological reason. They had Careless Talk Costs Lives on the doorways as you went into ops rooms and radio rooms and these so-called sensitive areas of the ship. That's probably where I get my memories of that one.</p> <p><b>Yes, that's interesting, then. Because, an example of definitely being used after that off the wall.</b></p> <p>The slogan was, yes. I'm pretty sure of it. I'm pretty sure it was. I was serving in [REDACTED] and this fellow, he was in HMS Rothesay and I can remember this Careless Talk Costs Lives being on the big iron doors as you went in to the radio room and the ops room and the bridge and places like that that they considered sensitive. I mean, today the technology would be almost stone age but in those days it was— I suppose they were quite sensitive about it. But that, I don't think I've ever seen the picture before because I have a feeling they used that with other pictures, didn't they? The Careless Talk Costs Lives.</p> <p><b>Yes, that was the overarching campaign, I suppose.</b></p> <p>I don't think I've ever seen that picture before.</p> <p><b>Maybe not.</b></p>

Walls Have Ears, yes.

**Do you remember anyone saying that slogan apart from seeing it? In that situation, did anyone say it that you remember?**

Not that I remember, no. It's possible, I can't really remember now. I just remember that, much later in my naval days, I've seen it in relation to security. I don't know the Walls Have Ears. Where have I seen that? [pause] Because, I can't remember now. I thought, whether they used that one Walls Have Ears, I can't remember.

**Because that's quite a commonly used one as well, even more so than —**

Yes, it rings bells but I can't put a place or time to it. But, that one I definitely can, Careless Talk Costs Lives. [pause] I mean this being put up in the ship, it wasn't an official government poster or anything. I think it was just-

**It's just somebody trying to —**

- probably a first lieutenant on the ship, putting these things up. I don't think it was ever an official policy or anything like that.

**So, it's a local decision to make. Okay. Then, in your opinion, what is this image?**

That's all to do with careless talk, talking about where your loved ones are, might be, were and information getting back to people who shouldn't have it. The enemy.

**Did you spot the wallpaper design?**

Yes. Do you know, I wasn't looking at that actually, I was looking at the slogans, yes. It wasn't the pictures that caught my eye there-

**It was the slogan.**

- it was the slogan, but that one as well is Don't The Walls Have Ears? I have a feeling there was a poster with that, wasn't that? Just Walls Have Ears?

**There were a couple of different ones that went with this campaign, in fact that will have a few more, but almost certainly Walls Have Ears.**

That's what took my eye there, it was straight away.

**So, your eye was drawn to the slogan best, and —**

The picture isn't that striking, really, no other colours. They're just pretty patronizing, isn't it?

**[laughter]**

It's makes it two little old ladies.

**Yesterday women, yes [laughter].**

Dear, pretty patronizing. I suppose, they were on those days.

**How does it make you feel? Is it negative?**

Yes, all of them are really. I can't imagine how anyone could say this is a positive thing. None of them are very positive, really.

**Then, again would you consider this a well-known image?**

I don't know about the image, but certainly the two slogans Walls Have Ears and Careless Talk Costs Lives, both of those I have heard before and seen before, but the picture no, I don't think I've ever seen that before.

**This is one of the set of eight very similar designs with difference cartoons and things.**

But is this— I see, I only just got the wallpaper now, I only just sort of-

**[laughter]**



		<p>- twig what it is. I was looking at— I thought they were little Christmas trees but, yes it's a caricature of Hitler, isn't it, Adolf Hitler? Do you know, that wasn't at all obvious to me, I've only just— perhaps because I was just looking at an angle, but-</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>- I was thinking it was little Christmas trees.</p> <p><b>Yes, and that's often the case, because —</b></p> <p>But, now I've got it now, a bit slow.</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p><b>Does that change the way you see it in any way, do you think or —?</b></p> <p>Yes, in some ways but, in other ways, people maybe as thick as I am [laughter] not so to see the obvious there. It's so obvious now but it wasn't before.</p> <p><b>This one is one of the most subtle ones, I think, from these set. It often takes a while.</b></p> <p>Yes— now I've got it, it's quite clever actually, isn't it?</p>
10	35:20.7 - 39:30.7	<p><b>Do you recognise—</b></p> <p>Keep Mum.</p> <p><b>—this image?</b></p> <p>Again, it's Careless Talk Costs Lives. Keep Mum, She's Not— I've seen it before. I've seen it posted before, but I think it must've been here or at the Imperial War Museum, one or the other.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the slogan? Do you think you've heard that before or?</b></p> <p>Keep Mum, She's Not So Dumb, I've heard it before.</p> <p><b>Keep mum, specifically</b></p> <p>I think, I've heard it before, but it's the Careless Talk Costs Lives is the one that's more familiar to me, look at them with their fags.</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p><b>Then. what is this image again in your opinion?</b></p> <p>It's the officers being indiscreet in front of an attractive lady, isn't it? That's the idea of it, isn't it, indiscretion.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p><b>There's a purpose of it different to the previous one?</b></p> <p>Yes, because this is a much more— these are probably in a position to give more away, aren't they? I mean, all the old ladies can talk about is perhaps where the son, brother, sister, daughter has been but, with these fellas they're sort of in a better position. Look, he's meant to be a senior officer there, wouldn't he, with that general or something. He isn't, though. I suppose, it's aimed at service men, isn't it, and giving away— being indiscreet with an attractive lady.</p> <p><b>Any other thoughts or memories come to mind when you look at this?</b></p> <p>No, not really, no. him with his drink [laughter] very funny. I suppose that's the image of the dimes isn't it, really, the 1940s, a cigarette and a drink?</p> <p><b>Yes. How does it make you feel, then? Is it some humour there or is-</b></p> <p>I think it's —</p> <p><b>- or is it negative?</b></p>

		<p>Yes, I think so. Having served in the armed forces yes, it makes me chuckle a bit really because, again, it's a little bit patronizing. But, it fits with the times, I suppose, in the 1940s.</p> <p><b>Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>With me it was Careless Talk Costs Lives again, but you're drawn to the— most men are being drawn to the attractive woman, wouldn't they?</p> <p><b>Yes. [laughter]</b></p> <p>I would think [laughter]. I would think so.</p> <p><b>I think that's the case. [laughter] The slogan, do you recognise that again?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Let me just do it on this. Then, would you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>I've seen it. I've seen it before. It's more well-known than the others, yes. Yes, I have seen that, I can't remember where— it may— you see I read a lot of books as well, so I may have seen it in books, I can't remember now.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
11	39:30.7 - 43:36.0	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>Be Like Dad Keep Mum, I like that one. [laughter] I've heard that one before.</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>Yes, I've heard it and I've seen the poster, but I don't know where. Again, I don't know where, and it's possible I have seen it here.</p> <p><b>Could well be here.</b></p> <p>Yes, it's possibly was here, but that one I'd Be Like Dad Keep Mum. I've seen that slogan before as well, but I can't think where.</p> <p><b>You say you may have seen the slogan in other contexts-</b></p> <p>No, in this context.</p> <p><b>- or definitely this context?</b></p> <p>Yes, in this context. I'm not sure, was that done in any different style?</p> <p><b>Yes, that phrase has been on other posters.</b></p> <p>Yes, I've seen it, not on this but on something else, I've seen it.</p> <p><b>Right, yes. So, you probably recognise this— would you say you recognise this slogan most?</b></p> <p>Yes, the slogan definitely, yes. There's not much that sort of strikes you on that one other than— dad there with his pipe, but— no, it's the slogan that comes across on that one very strongly, isn't it?</p> <p><b>Yes, that slogan appears on more things that people-</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>- see to know it more than one, definitely. Then, in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Well it's keep your mouth shut basically, isn't it? Keep your mouth shut. Is the same message that is coming over in all of this is—</p> <p><b>So, same as all the others.</b></p> <p>Do you know, I've been researching stuff for the Second World War in here and I've had seen instances of officer's men in the Navy being court martialled for posting letters without going through the censor. So it was really quite serious, this thing, wasn't it? One of them, it wasn't very many weeks ago, I was researching a ship's log and sub lieutenant so and so was caught posting a letter that it hadn't</p>

		<p>gone through the ship's sensor and he was court martialled. I can't remember what happened there, but— so, it's quite a serious thing really, wasn't it?</p> <p><b>Yes and that's interesting. So, the people did get around the sensors in that sense, they-</b></p> <p>Yes how many times-</p> <p><b>- they managed to do that.</b></p> <p>- he'd done it without being caught. I don't know but the obviously he was caught the once.</p> <p><b>Then, any other thoughts, memories come to mind?</b></p> <p>No, other than it's a very strong message that one, isn't it? Be like dad, keep mum.</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel again?</b></p> <p>Again, it's a bit patronizing really a bit. It suggested that mom can't do her own work.</p> <p><b>No, that's the joke.</b></p> <p>Yes, that's the joke, isn't it, but in those days it wasn't quite so much of a joke as it is today, was it?</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>It was a bit more serious, then.</p> <p><b>It's strange with this one but is it the slogan that draws your eye definitely —</b></p> <p>Yes. The artwork doesn't really sort of come into it very much at all, really. Other than it's a, there's dad with his pipe and his tash.</p> <p><b>Then, would you think this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>Personally, I don't think I've ever seen that image before. I've seen the slogan but not the image. I don't, it may have been, but I haven't, it's not familiar to me.</p> <p><b>It may be possibly the slogan then?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p>
12	43:36.0 - 55:15.6	<p><b>Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>God, yes.</p> <p><b>It had to turn up, eventually. Do you have a sense of where or when you may have seen it first?</b></p> <p>I'm trying to think where I first saw that.</p> <p><b>Or, even a year, I guess, for how long you've seen it?</b></p> <p>My gosh. [pause] It's so difficult, isn't it, because it comes with— it's in all sorts of guises today, isn't it, this one? But, [pause] possibly I should think when possibly later after I left school when I was avidly devouring history books, and Second World War history books. Because, I used to read a lot of nonfiction history, so it's obviously come up in those, but to put a year to it, I wouldn't know. I have a funny feeling I've seen this as a boy somewhere but I can't put a finger on it.</p> <p><b>So, you feel— go on.</b></p> <p>The trouble with this it's been so familiar in the last 10, 15, 20 years hasn't it? In all sorts of colours, guises, and you see it almost every day in a different form. But, that goes with that quite a long way.</p> <p><b>You get the feeling that you've probably seen it for most of your life?</b></p> <p>Yes you get that feeling, but it's probably it might not be the case, but I get the feeling. I mean, somebody's got hold of it today and I don't know what they do about copyright, but it's turned into all different messages these days, isn't it?</p>

**Yes. Then, in your opinion what is this image?**

I suppose, it was to stop people panicking, and getting all worked up, and worrying about things.

**If you're thinking about it like as for when it was designed during the war, does it change when you think about how it's used now, does it —**

Yes, I have no problems with it. I mean, a lot of people, I know some people get quite uptight with it's being abused, but I've no problems that way. I just think of Keep Calm and Carry On. And I'll think of my grandmother and what my uncle who was killed in [REDACTED], he was 20 at the time and he was engaged to be married and he left his fiancée about a month beforehand on his last leave. It wasn't very long ago, I actually got a telephone out of the blue from a man in Barrow and Furness saying, "was I —" he'd obviously seen one of my books, I think, and, "Am I any relation of [REDACTED] who was lost in the [REDACTED]?"

I said, "That was my uncle, but I didn't ever know him." He said, "My next-door neighbour was his fiancée."

**Wow.**

Isn't this amazing? This was about 10 years ago, she's passed away now.

**She must have been talking about it and asking?**

Yes, she'd asked him to ring me. He said, "Would you like to ring her?" I did. I was in quite constant contact with her after that, but she's a very sprightly lady. It was very sad though, this Keep Calm and Carry On, I always felt that it was very sad. She said that she saw him off, they had all these plans to get married and one day she went into work, she was certainly no fool she worked in a laboratory in Barrow and Furness. She went into work and her boss said, "Can you come into the office?" And he said, "I've just heard the news that HMS Hood has been sunk and initial reports said there were no survivors." There were actually three, but he'd said no survivors. He said, "You go home and have the day off and don't come back for a couple of —" I think he gave her two or three days off. A nice man in his day, really. She went then to my grandmother, and she said they had a good cry together. So, this Keep Calm and Carry On, it's all right in some context, but in their context it wasn't and they were devastated. My grandmother, even when I was a little boy, never locked her front door. She always thought her son would come home. I remember one day when I was very little, I asked her who the picture was and she just broke down crying. Gosh, that was a real very traumatic time when you're only a young boy. She couldn't talk about him, and nobody talked about him his name was talked about in hushed whispers. It's only recently I've put things on the internet about him, because you think they've forgotten about him haven't they?

**Yes.**

This lady his fiancée, [REDACTED], she never married for 10 years and I think that's another casualty of war isn't it?

**Yes, it's just so —**

She's another casualty, her life was devastated. She said, "If you've got anything of [REDACTED] I'd love to see it." I sent her copies of all the pictures I have, she said, "I've got a lock of his hair." I thought, oh my gosh I wonder if she'd like to hand it back to the family. But, before I asked, fortunately she said, "But, it's going into the grave with me." I felt sad. He was lost in 1941 and she didn't marry until 1951, so it obviously devastated her long, didn't it?

**Yes.**

To me I think well I'm a bit cynical I suppose. I think, it's all right in some circumstances.

**Yes, but when things are really, really bad.**

When the real trauma comes when you've lost somebody that—

**That doesn't do much.**

No, they carried on, umm [pause] but, and the other Keep Calm and Carry On. I know it was the First World War, but my maternal grandfather he was wounded as a I say and his jaw shut away. My uncle, his eldest son tells me that when he passed away in hospital in 1970 something, he was begging him not to let them send him over the top because he didn't think he could face it. So you know it's haunted him all his life. I'm very cynical about all these propaganda.

**They, in a sense, that they hide the true horror.**

Yes, that's right. The true devastation of people's lives and what have you, but yes, that's digressing a bit really about my other grandfather, but it is a fact that obviously he's wounded, devastated. It's affected his mind so much that it was still haunting him when he was on his death bed in 1970 something. All he could think of was they won't send me over the top and that was 1916, I think, when he was wounded.

**That's quite traumatic.**

It is. I've got nothing positive to say about any of those, sorry.

**That's fine, that's what I want to know. Because, it's interesting because depending on people's experiences and family and attitude to things, they have different responses to this. In terms of how it makes you feel, you've explained that it's sad.**

I feel —

**Cynical as well.**

Negative, yes, cynical, disillusioned. It doesn't make feel patriotic or anything like that.

**Yes.**

Wasn't it patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel or something, wasn't it?

**Yes. It has become used in recent years.**

Yes.

**Why do you think it has? What do you think about it?**

I think it's a skit on the original idea, isn't it, really? There are so many different ways it is being used. There obviously is a little joke, that's my feeling but, I've no problems with that. I don't feel angry or anything about it. Do all these people get copyright permissions? Because, copyright must be held here, mustn't it?

**Yes. It's interesting because it is held here but a lot of people have it when it was rediscovered by somebody in the bookshop and that's when it really got going in the recent years. [PAUSE] Okay, it is a bit strange with this one but in terms of the way your eye is drawn first, it's just the —**

It's just the slogan. I think, that would be most people, really, because it has been used so frequently for different purposes, wasn't it?

**Yes.**

Mildly joking.

**It is well known image? We agree? [laughter]**

Yes. I feel that probably it was in history books that I've read sometimes, I really can't remember now.

**Would you describe it as an iconic?**

Yes.

**What would you mean if you used that term?**

I suppose, I'd say that but that's in retrospect, isn't it? It may not have been at the time.

**But now.**

		<p>But, it has become since. It probably wasn't at the time, it probably irritated people, didn't it? It was probably quite irritating, really.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>Because, again, it's a little bit patronizing, isn't it?</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>I think that was the sign of the times probably.</p> <p><b>If I used iconic, does that mean just popular?</b></p> <p>Yes. Probably. Yes. More popular than iconic. Yes.</p> <p><b>I'll come back to this to explain to you after I finish the history of that because that's quite interesting.</b></p>
13	55:15.6 - 58:23.1	<p><b>Last two. Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>Have I seen that one before? It doesn't —</p> <p><b>It wasn't in this survey, no.</b></p> <p>I was going to say, "I don't think I've ever seen that before," slogan or the picture.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>No, I don't think I've ever seen that one before.</p> <p><b>What is the image, then, in your opinion?</b></p> <p>To me, that is a recruiting sort of poster to get women into armaments factories. That is my interpretation of the artwork. Tanks, aeroplanes and it was probably most of the armaments factory in the First and Second World War were men and women, weren't they? because I know in the first world war my paternal grandmother, she worked in the armament factory. But, that's my image. It's a recruiting poster get women into armaments factories.</p> <p><b>Yes. Are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>I don't think I've ever seen that before but very sinister artwork. I find it very sinister and threatening. Very dark, isn't it? The lady there— not quite sure what she's doing but thankful to be working in the armaments factory. That, there, is quite a powerful message, isn't it?</p> <p><b>In terms of how it makes you feel, it's a negative —</b></p> <p>Very negative. Yes. It has been negative. Very threatening.</p> <p><b>Which part that draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I think the woman and her arms up like that. I am not quite sure of the idea of what she is supposed to be doing but rejoicing because she is going into an arms factory or what, but that's what draws your eye and then you see all the sinister little bits on the outside. I think, that is meant to be tanks. Yes, tanks and aeroplanes and that starts low, very dark and threatening. I don't think I've ever seen it before.</p> <p><b>You wouldn't think it's well known?</b></p> <p>No. That's my opinion, probably not but it may well be. I don't know. I believe somebody has written book lately, haven't they? Recently about women in the Second World War. I think so. Hasn't it been a very recent publication?</p> <p><b>Not sure.</b></p> <p>Don't know.</p>
14	58:23.1 - 1:04:55.1	<p><b>Okay then the last one, do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>Oh yes yeah I've seen that one yes. Again, probably in history books. Yeah.</p> <p><b>And do you recognise the phrase?</b></p>

Yes yes that's one of Churchill's phrases wasn't it.

**Do you think you recognise the image more than the phrase?**

Yes I think the image is the one that strikes you there and then you look at the wording afterwards.

**And then what is this image?**

I have very mixed feelings about Winston Churchill. I can remember when I was a little boy my maternal grandmother was very anti Churchill, some people were, some people were and she just called him the warmonger, that's what, you know she, and grandfather he was the same as well. Umm, it was just the exact opposite on the other side of the family. But umm, I mean I've read a lot about him and some revised histories you know they're starting to revise opinions now aren't they and I recently read one by what was his name I can't remember now, memory's gone, oh can't remember his name now, who's revised- I think what his friend said about him is Winston's written another book about himself and called it the history of the Second World War didn't they [laughter]. I've got all his books mind you, I've read them all and I've got them all in my bookcase at home, but I don't sort of fall down and worship him or anything like that, but...

**Neutral towards him?**

Yes yeah, and I mean I do know that one of the admiral- c and c Mediterranean admiral Cunningham, he called him the most dishonest politician he's ever come across in his life, which people said about Tony Blair, but it was said during the Second World War about Churchill.

**And the warmonger thing as well.**

Yes that was my grandmother, yeah she was very much oh that warmonger that's what she used to call him.

**And that's what they call Tony Blair as well.**

Yes that's right. And the two things- yeah the two aspects of that were very similar in a modern context with Blair, and as I say Admiral Cunningham c and c Mediterranean said that about him he's the most dishonest politician he's come across.

**Wow.**

And so there you go. But I have to say I don't find any of these wartime posters positive.

**So in terms of how it makes you feel, negative?**

I may have felt differently at the time, but to be fair, in 1939-45 the population wasn't as well educated as we are today, err people weren't so well educated were they, I mean my mother left school at 14 and, so they tended to do as they were told if you see what I mean rather than think for themselves.

**There was less information around as well.**

Yes that's right yes, so it may be at the time I would've felt differently, but today I look back and I still feel a bit cynical about it but...

**Since you do recognise this, what is it about it do you think that makes it memorable?**

The picture of Churchill.

**Okay so just the fact that he's in it.**

Picture of Churchill Winston Churchill yeah.

**And any other thoughts or memories that you haven't mentioned?**

I can't think of any no I can't think of any. As I say I've seen it before, possibly even before, possibly even when I was little, I don't know I can't remember now, I honestly can't remember.

	<p><b>And which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The face, yeah.</p> <p><b>And would you say this is well known?</b></p> <p>Yeah the face and the phrase are both very well-known aren't they I mean that phrase was, I can't remember which speech it was, I can't remember which speech it was, but I do- I mean I recognise the phrase. I think I've read a book a book of his speeches so I have read it in context with the rest, but I can't remember now which one it was, Let Us Go Forward Together, it might have been after Dunkirk or something, some time like that or perhaps when he took over from chamberlain, I can't remember now when it was but that and the face are both sort of very familiar.</p> <p><b>Would you refer to this as iconic?</b></p> <p>Yes I would actually yeah, yeah I think it is yeah.</p> <p><b>And what would you mean by that?</b></p> <p>Well I think iconic because Churchill's an iconic figure isn't he, plus his speeches are— in the same vein really they're almost iconic some of his speeches that he made.</p> <p><b>Okay so just the fact that he's in it and it's him and the figure of him yeah.</b></p> <p>Yeah because all the background is rather sort of peripheral really, you can see the aeroplanes but you— it's that that draws the attention.</p> <p>[PAUSE]</p>
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### Interview 11: 6139902292

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant 6139902292 on 29 August 2017 at the participant's home in Cardiff.

- Year of birth: 1987
- Age bracket: 1986-1995
- Gender: Female
- Highest level of education: Advanced Graduate work or PhD
- Birth region: South West

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 3:04.2	<p><b>Basically this is very similar to the survey questions. Slightly more questions, more images. Half of the images were in the survey so we've seen them before. Just to say, the questions— It'll be the same questions for every single one [laughter]</b></p> <p><b>The first set of questions, and not related to images, but really to help me understand how the Second World War features in your life. Firstly, do you have any experiences or memories that have been passed down in your family at all? Knowledge of family members?</b></p> <p>Yes. My grandma on my mother's side, she was in late childhood during the Second World War. She always shares this really striking memory which I was reminded of recently when I saw <i>Dunkirk</i>, the film. That she was walking down the street one day, and then a plane came overhead and started shooting at her. A man in the street ran over and pushed her to the ground and saved her life, then the</p>



		<p>plane went off. That's always been a memory. As I say, I remembered it recently because we watched Dunkirk in the cinema and there's a scene very early on in that where there's a bomber comes down and is actually shooting them in the street.</p> <p>That was always a very striking memory. Nothing else from on the other side. My other grandparents were too young, I think, but my grandfather was involved in the Second World War, but it wasn't the first part of it. I think it was after the war finished, he was then sent off to the Far East. But as far as I know, he wasn't actually involved in any conflict there. He seemed to be in charge of wardrobe and giving out uniforms and things. It just sounds like he got up to lots of japes while he was there rather than actually any conflict. Those are the two things that have been passed on.</p> <p><b>Do they— They've been quite open talking about that kind of thing.</b></p> <p>My grandma, definitely. But only that one thing. My maternal granddad died when I was only a baby, so I never really spoke to him. But from other family members, he never spoke his time in the war because he— I'm not even sure what role he played in the war, but it was an active role. He wouldn't discuss it. That was the only person who was involved in the war, but they wouldn't actually talk about it.</p>
2	3:04.1 - 8:42.1	<p><b>Apart from family, did you learn about the Second World War at school?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Do you remember what you learned? Very vaguely, I don't...</b></p> <p>I definitely remember learning about it at school. I think we learned about the blitz and I have a memory of which there's a photograph of my brother dressed up as an evacuee. He has this little gas mask box over his shoulder and he's wearing a little flat cap in the photo. I definitely remember that, but I don't know if I remember at the time or if I just remember the photograph.</p> <p>But we did learn about the Second World War in school. I was always interested in the Second World War. On a family holiday, we went— I'm not sure where it was, but we went to somewhere where you could go to a blitz experience sort of thing, and you could go and it would be like going into the shelters. I think they had Andersen shelters that you go in. I think you could also go underground. I remember being very struck by the [unintelligible], because that was playing.</p> <p>I was very interested in it, but what I actually learned as a younger child, I can't remember. I know that in secondary school, I did history up to A level, I can't remember if we did Second World War secondary school but I remember in my history teacher's classroom, that there were Second World War posters on the walls. I remember that quite clearly. I think that was Dig for Victory, and I think there was Women of Britain Come into the Factories.</p> <p>I think I remember those quite vividly from being there on the walls of the classroom. In terms of actual lessons about Second World War, I don't know if that was on the curriculum in secondary school and certainly not at GCSC or A level.</p> <p><b>Okay. You've mentioned being interested in it generally so that— Is there anything else that you've done to sort of— As part of your interest going to museums, TV, books that you—?</b></p> <p>Yes, yes, well, I'm generally interested in probably the first half of the 20th century, just in general. That's the period that I really love and I've been at it academically and sort of non-academically. Reading lots of books fiction and nonfiction. I was recently reading <i>The Heat of The Day</i> by Elizabeth Bowen, which is on Second World War and like the Sarah Water's novel, what was it called? <i>The Night Watch</i>, which is a contemporary novel but again in the Second World War. I read that when it came out and I found that very striking and very vivid. Always been interested in the art from that period. Like Henry Moore's drawings in particular, from where people were sheltering in the tube stations.</p> <p>I've been to see some exhibitions of the Imperial War Museum, I think we went to see the exhibition at the Second World War. I think it was— I can't remember</p>

		<p>whether it was the first or the Second World War but I definitely went to see one of the war exhibitions there. TV programs, I feel like I've seen things that are set in the Second World War but I can't remember any in particular but— Oh well recently there was the Halcyon on ITV, which was about a hotel and that was during the Second World War. Basically I like anything from that period, I find it particularly evocative.</p> <p>It's slightly troubling in a way because I feel like very romantically about the Second World War, I feel like, "Oh, wasn't it, wasn't it so exciting?" But obviously it was actually probably quite horrific for the people involved. Obviously on the front line but also on the home front. Yes, it's an interest but it's also quite a romantic interest, I think, and programmes like the Halcyon definitely tap into that, it's kind of like Downton Abbey version slightly.</p> <p><b>There is a sense of nostalgia.</b></p> <p>I think that is a very big sense of nostalgia and I think it's not just for the Second World War but for that whole period. I can't really say why except that I just, I've always loved it. I think a lot of it comes from my dad who was always into this period and again he really liked posters from that time because he was like [unintelligible].</p> <p>Yes, there was quite a lot of 1920s. I particularly work on travel posters. It's one of the things that I do and we used to have posters like this at home when I was growing up and also Guinness posters, things like that. Stuff from that period. We didn't have any war posters but we had things from around that time so I think I've always been surrounded by things from that period and that kind of generated an interest in addition to the kind of school education and going to those museums and blitz experiences and things like that.</p>
3	8:42.1 - 12:55.4	<p><b>Okay, great. Then I'll start with the first image which is kind of— [Laughter] Yes, already mentioned, so you recognise this?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>And what would you say you recognise most? The slogan or the image? What do you see as one thing?</b></p> <p>Good question, I probably recognise the slogan most of all. I don't know if my memory is serving me well but I don't— I will sort of remember the slogan not just on this poster, I don't know if there were other posters but I think I remember the slogan being on other things as well and so it would just be this particular image I would recognise.</p> <p><b>And you remember seeing this? This specific one on your classroom wall, is that the one you remember?</b></p> <p>Yes, yes, this is the one that was on the classroom wall, yes, yes.</p> <p><b>And you think that's where you kind of noticed it from?</b></p> <p>Yes, I think so. I think so. I think I know the Dig for Victory slogan more generally from other things. I mean, a very recent example would be the Back in time for dinner program on the BBC. Because I think in the '40s episode, they talked about the Dig for Victory. I think it's one of those slogans that's just gone into everyday life in many ways. In my head, I have like an image of a Dig for Victory poster or pamphlet or something which had drawings of vegetables on it. I felt like it's something that was around quite a lot at that time.</p> <p><b>This is a deliberately very vague question.</b></p> <p>Okay.</p> <p><b>Sorry about this question It's deliberate. In your opinion, what is this image? If that was up on the wall and someone said, "What's that?" What would you say?</b></p>

		<p>I would say that it's a poster encouraging people to get out into their gardens and to create allotments and to create veggie patches and things like that. It's a poster that's encouraging the viewer to actively do something.</p> <p>It's got the photograph which— I know it was more common in the '40s, but I think it was still would've been quite striking, and it's a very striking image. Just seeing the foot and the spade and the earth and no part of the person. I think it's quite a universal message that everybody needs to get out and put their foot— Put their back into it and get into the garden and make their own allotments, contribute to the war effort. It seems to suggest that it's something that everyone can do and everyone should be doing.</p> <p>Because it's red, it gives a bit of an imperative feeling as well. Like you really got to get out there and do it. Because the text is so big and fat, it's also just seems to be very bold [unintelligible]. I think it's a very strong message and an imperative message.</p> <p><b>Yes, you do remember it. Why do you think you do remember it? Do you think it's just that you've seen it lots of times or is there anything about it that's particularly memorable?</b></p> <p>I think the fact that it's so bold and that it was quite big on the wall of the classroom. It would have been striking from that respect. I think it's just the slogan has been repeated so many times that I think that embeds it in your memory as well.</p>
4	12:55.4 - 17:02.7	<p><b>Okay. Generally, are there any thoughts and memories that come to mind when you look at this? Anything at all that comes to mind?</b></p> <p>It would just be sitting in history classroom. I have to say that my history teacher was very boring. This particular teacher, I won't say his name. I had several different history teachers, and this history teacher I had when I was, I think doing my GCSC or something. I don't think I was learning about this period at all. But it was on the wall and so it might be something that I would've gazed at quite often because I was bored. But I can't remember any particular occasion.</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel, if anything?</b></p> <p>I guess it makes me feel quite patriotic because the Dig for Victory slogan seems to mean something which was the make do a man blitz spirit, to use all of these slogans during the Second World War, but it's something that everybody came together and everybody contributed to the war effort whether or not— This was people on the home front, they weren't actively fighting in the war, but everybody was doing their bit. It creates a sense of community as well, I think, which is perhaps lost and I think that's why you can be quite nostalgic for it because you look back and think everyone was pulling together.</p> <p>When you view it today, I feel like Britain's quite divided today. It feels like when you look at this, even though it was a horrible time in many ways, it was also a unified time in terms of everybody getting together and fighting for a common cause which I'm not sure that we have today so much.</p> <p><b>Yes. It's like positive feeling of this.</b></p> <p>Yes. Positive feelings, definitely. I think it's really powerful, and I think it's evokes a time when people are pulling together in a good way.</p> <p><b>Which part of the image draws your eye first when you look at it?</b></p> <p>You have to look away. I think it is in the centre, I think it's the underneath of the boot here, because it's like a snapshot, and it's like a sort of about to be pushed down. It's one of these pieces, the more you look at it, the more clever you think it is, because it's really frozen, it does draw your eye in, and it has a sense of like dynamics in the movement coming down. But in terms of my memory the thing that I remember more is the slogan, strangely.</p>

		<p><b>You probably drawn to that section, some of it is kind of damaged. Are there any associations you have with the objects in the image?</b></p> <p>No. I don't think so, apart from just gardening. No, nothing in particular. I'm really interested in fashion, but I probably won't be able to tell you that much, if thought about it I might sort of try and think whose foot is that, and like what trouser is that, could be a land-girl or something but nothing immediately springs to mind when I see it.</p>
5	17:02.7 - 19:44.4	<p><b>Okay. Do you think this is a well-known image in Britain by others? I know it's difficult to guess that, but would you guess that it's in—</b></p> <p>It's a tough one. I think the slogan is definitely very well-known. I think the poster might be slightly less well-known, but I will say probably, I will think probably a lot of people would recognise it, yes.</p> <p><b>Would you refer to it as iconic, as an iconic image?</b></p> <p>A tough one, iconic is a difficult word, isn't it in many ways? Because I felt like, for instance, Keep Calm and Carry On, if that's 100% iconic, then you could have like different gradations of how iconic something is. I will say it's relatively iconic, I don't want to go in big on the first one and be like, "Yes. It's really iconic." And then you show me Keep Calm and Carry On, and like, "Oh, good that's..." I felt like it's relative.</p> <p><b>Really, but what do you mean by that if you do use that term?</b></p> <p>Relatively iconic, I think I mean it's sort of— I think that it's iconic, but for a more select group of people than Keep Calm and Carry On. What I mean if that's like 100% iconic, but when I will say, that one, almost everyone in Britain, if not more, would know what that poster is and it's like such a classic. This one, I would say, would be known and I think it's very striking. I just wonder for instance, if you took out the writing, would people know what that poster was, I think also it depend for different generations.</p> <p>I expect people who are alive in the Second World War would definitely remember this, but young people today, I don't think if they look at this they would necessarily know majorly what they are looking at. That's not a very easy answer for you to write it down.</p> <p><b>Would you say that, when you use of that term, it means that it is known, people know it? That's what you mean.</b></p> <p>Yes. Yes. That's what I mean by iconic, that people know it, and that they'll be able to recognise it. Is that okay?</p> <p><b>I know it's cruel, for me to say "Would you call it iconic?" And then I say, "What would you mean by that?"</b></p> <p>Also it's an academically [unintelligible], to question everything.</p>
6	19:44.4 - 24:29.7	<p><b>That's fine. Okay. Then let's move on to this one Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>I do recognise this one.</p> <p><b>You do.</b></p> <p>I do.</p> <p><b>And where do you think?</b></p> <p>I've seen it recently and I tell you where I've seen it, I've seen at the Museum of the English Rural Life, imagine. Because they have it displayed there. And I think it's the same from Game. Is it? Yes, I think so. [Unintelligible]. I organized a conference in Reading in July and I went around museum— [laughter]. I saw this image and they had it as part of their collections, they had it displayed. I'm not sure if they had the actual original one or if sometimes they have in there like posters</p>

		<p>which have been reproduced onto like plastic, they reproduced it somehow. I can't remember which one it was but I definitely saw it recently.</p> <p><b>Okay then in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>I would say it's a similar message to the previous image that we saw, the Dig for Victory, it's telling people that they need to grow their own food in order to keep up the food supply in their house. The image with the plate shows quite a lot of fruit and veg on there, obviously to supplement the rations which they're actually getting. Again it's a very clever image because it's showing the bottom of the table is the allotment and the legs of the table like the tools.</p> <p>It's basically showing the transition between people growing the food in their allotment or their front garden or their back garden, every piece of land must be cultivated to its explicit transition on that table. Again, it's an imperative, it's encouraging people to grow their own, through the image and also through the language on it. I think it's a more complicated image than the last one and I don't think it's quite as recognizable perhaps.</p> <p><b>Would you say that it may be less successful than the other one in terms of it's pointing to the— which message?</b></p> <p>I don't know, personally I love posters like this because a poster that becomes better the more you look at it, like, it becomes more clever. I just love how the spade and the rake are reflected in the knife and fork, I think it's so good. And they just— and I like the style of it, in general, the airbrushed nature of it and the way it recedes off into the distance. I think it's striking. I think it would be less successful from a distance, if we look at the previous, I mean it's so striking and it's very simple and you can't get the message wrong.</p> <p>This one I feel like would be perhaps more effective on— is maybe more of a pamphlet, you know, it's got a bit more information. I think the more that people look at it, the more they might get out of it. It also depends on where it was as well. I mean, if it was a poster that was situated somewhere where sorts of people were waiting, like a bus stop or something, then I feel like people could have got a lot out of it. But it's not as eye-catching from afar as the other one, so maybe it would have been a bit more difficult for the message to get across. And also the type is a lot smaller as well which does suggest that maybe it's less successful from a distance.</p>
7	24:29.7 - 26:43.6	<p><b>Okay and are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>Not with this one because I can't say if I've seen it before I saw recently. I feel like I probably have seen it before because I really like Games' posters in general but I think it is one of the lesser known ones, I would say. I saw a bunch of posters as part of a research to the Library of Congress and they have some Second World War posters there, and I felt like I did see posters with the similar message of growing your own food and things.</p> <p>But I don't know if I saw this one and I can't tie it down, which to me suggests that it's perhaps less iconic.</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel if anything?</b></p> <p>I feel like this one makes me feel less but I admire it a lot because I just think it's so clever and I love the design of it. I'll say it's more of an aesthetic appreciation I think then this one.</p> <p><b>Then which part draws your eye first? Almost.</b></p> <p>Well, it's quite a large area but I think it's this bit with the forks. The front end. Especially because it juts out towards you, so it draws you in, I think that's the part.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Are there any associations that come to mind with any of these objects used?</b></p>

		<p>No, I don't think so. I don't think so.</p> <p><b>Then would you say this is well known and you said it was less iconic.</b></p> <p>Yes, I don't think it is well known actually.</p>
8	26:43.6 - 29:20.2	<p><b>Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>Yes, I do recognise that.</p> <p><b>I had a feeling you would recognise it.</b></p> <p>[laughter]</p> <p><b>Where do you think you've seen that?</b></p> <p>I don't know where I first saw it but I definitely saw it at the Imperial War Museum exhibition [unintelligible]. It was definitely displayed there.</p> <p><b>The slogan, do you think you would recognise that also?</b></p> <p>Yes, I think the slogan, again, my Dig for Victory, is even more well-known than the poster itself. I think when I saw the poster, I didn't feel like I knew it straight away at the exhibition but I felt like everybody knows the slogan.</p> <p><b>You think you've see that slogan on other posters.</b></p> <p>Yes, I think I have. I think I have. I think it's also just entered common life quite a lot as well. It's not a slogan that was just around and in the war, I feel like people still use it now a lot.</p> <p><b>Have you heard people say it?</b></p> <p>Yes. I'm quite into vintage fashion and I feel like two different things. One, Make-do and Mend, might be if say you're a student and you don't have very much money and it's Make-do and Mend, maybe adapting things and trying to do things yourself, part of that DIY aesthetic that's maybe associated with not having very much money, but also it's an aesthetic as well. The Make-do and Mend look, I feel like that has become a by word for 1940s type of fashion.</p> <p>I don't know how people would say it to Make-do and Mend. Do people say Make-do and Mend period or something, but I feel like when you hear that, you do think of this 1940s, early 1950s kind of style. That's what it would conjure for me.</p>
9	29:20.2 - 33:28.5	<p><b>Then in your opinion, what is this image? What is it? [laughter]</b></p> <p>Well, I think it's telling people, well, I feel it's quite explicit. Go Through Your Wardrobe and take out the things which got holes in. You see the woman's got a hole in her stocking and she's got a hole in looks like a skirt and she's going to go through and mend them. She's going through and she's identifying which objects, which garments needs to be repaired and then presumably she will go and repair them. Though I was hoping that you purchase less clothes and you make do with what you've got.</p> <p><b>And then are there any other thoughts or memories? Anything that it reminds you of or anything that just— anything random that comes to mind at all.</b></p> <p>Yes, and this is going to be an academic answer again, but I'm struck by the black background here and the shape of it because I spend a lot of time looking at underground posters and travel posters and I would associate this type of shape and this type of layout with travel posters. I'm thinking in particular of the posters I think they are also from the Second World War, which for the London underground and it's for the idea of wearing white.</p> <p>I think there's one— and I can't remember who it's by, but it's like a woman and she's looking at her watch and I think the watch is shaped like the London Underground and I feel like that also has some form of shape. It might not do but this is what my memory's telling me. I feel like this kind of motif of the sort of I</p>

		<p>don't know the blob [laughter] in the middle but with this kind of shape, yes, would remind me of the posters from the late '30s and '40s for London underground.</p> <p>I feel like there were quite a few which followed this similar aesthetic. To me it seems to fit in— with it definitely conjures up a particular time and a particular aesthetic style. The thing that intrigues me about these posters that it feels very feminine, like the typeface at the top and one at the bottom as well, actually because it's got the serif on there, you don't see it loads, I can't remember the others.</p> <p>But, I would say in general, this sort of tight face, I wouldn't associate— maybe it's more of a wartime thing but say late '30s, I would be seeing used to seeing more sans serif types and then more sorts of blocky whereas this one seems a bit more like it's being softened with the use of the serifs for a female audience.</p> <p>And obviously also the colours as well, the pinks and the— I don't know what colour, you would call that green but it's like a grass kind of green. It seems again very feminine in its style. Which I think is quite different to A, some of the war posters and B, just publicity in general from this time. Talking about like the railway posters which is one of the things I know.</p> <p><b>To have the feminine element as well.</b></p> <p>Yes, I think that to me is quite striking. You might find it in advertisements in women's magazines, this kind of style but as a war poster, I find it interesting that it's got this feminine touch. Obviously, it's appealing to a different type of audience you can see why but I find it interesting.</p>
10	33:28.5 - 36:57.2	<p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>This one doesn't really conjure anything which suggests to me that it's something I've seen more recently and isn't an image that I've taken through from my childhood. And then Make-do and Mend as well. I like the idea of it but it doesn't— again it's more of intellectually, I think it's a good idea but it doesn't really conjure any particular feelings they're supposed to.</p> <p><b>The fact that you think you see it more recently it's got less links to the past-</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>-has less emotional—</b></p> <p>I think so. When I'm thinking back to the Dig for Victory that definitely felt like it had more emotional resonance to me, whereas this one, I felt like oh, yes, I remember I saw that at The Imperial War Museum and I was kind of like there and— it was not exactly a research trip but it was more— I was thinking "Oh, yes, how does this relate." It was more happening on an intellectual level thinking, "Oh, that's really interesting." But it wasn't feeling nostalgic or having those sorts of feelings too.</p> <p><b>Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I have look away [laughter] [pause] This one's a really hard one to say. I think it's possibly the rail of clothes here? Again, because it's sort of jutting out, which does suggest that it's bringing in your attention. Obviously it's located centrally as well. The only thing that's a point of focus in this poster which really grabs the eye? Yes, so I guess maybe sort of around.</p> <p><b>Some sort of rail, probably. And then any associations with any of these objects at all?</b></p> <p>No, I mean I like the look of the clothes. I like 1940s fashion a lot but these particular ones don't have any particular associations, like I wouldn't see them and think that they were actual ration— The clothes they wear, I think it's like is the, you know, like the ration clothes but they didn't look necessarily like that to me. They just look like sort of regular fashionable clothes in '40s.</p>

		<p><b>Yes, okay. Then would you say that this is a well-known image among other people?</b></p> <p>I don't know if it is. Again, I think the slogan is very well-known. Definitely. I think most people would know Make-do and Mend and they'll be like 9, 10%. But in terms of the actual image, I think fewer people would know this specific image to go with that specific slogan.</p>
11	36:57.2 - 40:07.9	<p><b>Okay. Great. Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>I don't recognise this one.[laugh] Which is very exciting. [laughter]</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>No, I don't.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise this phrase?</b></p> <p>No, I don't and I'm surprised because I definitely went to the fashion on the ration exhibition and I would have thought that would be in the exhibition but it hasn't stayed in my memory. Yes.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>Okay. [laughter]</p> <p><b>Just looking at it now, in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Well, again, it's similar to the last, obviously using the same slogan but it's got some sort of kind of character who's presumably going to be used across a whole different campaign in order to get you to do your sewing. It sort of suggests that she's going to be some sort of like instructional figure who would like tell you how to do it, whether it would be like in a booklet or something like that.</p> <p>Because I feel like when they created the characters, it would probably be someone who would be used quite a lot of times and it's says Mrs. Sew-and-sew suggests that and she would be like your friendly person to help you through if you didn't have sewing skills and things during the war. Yes, it feels like more instructional. I'm also intrigued by this here because I don't know what this is, this white bit. Sometimes in posters they have, again, a row of it, they would often have like a box on the bottom and that would be where they could write in information.</p> <p>So it's not clear if that's where a message would be written in or if this is like a class and it's like some sort of like booklet or something. I don't know. [laughter]</p> <p><b>Yes, that is like a message space.</b></p> <p>Okay, message box, yes.</p> <p><b>I think this kind of marks where it would have been stuck on. They would have been a local thing, put local information on it. Okay. Right. Then, are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind? Just anything to look at...</b></p> <p>Yes, the more I look at the Mrs. Sew-and-sew, the more something in my memory is stirring. I'm feeling like at the exhibition, they might have had things which related to it, I don't know, like they had like bits from a magazine and bits from instructional booklets and whether she was mentioned in some of those, I don't know. But it's not clear for me, I can't really recall.</p>
12	40:07.9 - 41:44.2	<p><b>How does that make you feel looking at it now?</b></p> <p>Intrigued, because I don't remember it. Also slightly creeped out, I felt like she's quite scary, which is probably not was she was intended to be like, but it's quite—. I don't know, I think because today, we're used to seeing creepy dolls in horror movies, she does look a bit like a creepy doll, unfortunately. The way she's kind of staring off looks a bit manic.</p>



		<p><b>Okay, sort of slightly negative.</b></p> <p>Yes. Slightly negative, but not that I feel like it's a bad poster, I just think that viewing it today without prior knowledge, I'm bringing sort of another baggage to it of the scary doll trope in horror-fiction.</p> <p><b>Okay, great. Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I think her face.</p> <p><b>Do you think this is well-known image by people in Britain?</b></p> <p>I don't and actually because I don't, and I would expect to know probably more than other people, not in a derogatory way, but just because, I spent a lot of time in this period.</p> <p><b>I see it. Okay.</b></p>
13	41:44.2 - 44:00.0	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>I do recognise this one.</p> <p><b>Do you know this slogan as well?</b></p> <p>I do.</p> <p><b>Do you think you know the slogan more or less than the image itself?</b></p> <p>I think the slogan again transcends the poster, I think it's more well-known than the poster, but I think that the slogan was used on a series of posters by Fougasse, because I have seen some of the posters at the Library of Congress, and that was in 2012, and they have them in their collection. And the more that I look at this, the more I think, maybe there was Careless Talk Costs Lives poster in the classroom at school as well.</p> <p><b>Ah, a Fougasse one?</b></p> <p>I think so. I think so. From memory, I think it could've been at the back of the classroom, and therefore it would've been behind me, and so I wouldn't have been able to see, whereas the other two that were like on the sides of the room, this could just be a made up.</p> <p><b>I'm impressed that you remember the posters on school.</b></p> <p>[Laughter] I can't remember anything else on school at all. I just remember the posters because I was interested in them. I feel like in general, I don't know the individual manifestations of these posters so well as I just sort of know the series as a whole. When I see, if I sort of close my eyes and think of the slogan and Fougasse posters, I would probably see them all altogether. Just know them for the style which is so different, I think, to the other types of posters that you see, the cartoony style rather than this single image.</p>
14	44:00.0 - 48:48.2	<p><b>In your opinion, what is this image?</b></p> <p>This is an image to tell people to not have indiscreet conversations. It's aimed—his image appears to be aimed at ladies who lunch and they're having a gossip. As a 21st Century feminist, don't know how I feel about that necessarily, but in general, I think, it's kind of using humour to tell people that you can't have public conversations about the war, you can't reveal too many details because the walls have ears and obviously the pattern on the wood is of Hitler. It's kind of suggesting that he's everywhere, or the Germans are everywhere and you can't—you don't give a way secrets accidentally.</p> <p><b>Are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at that?</b></p> <p>No. I wouldn't say so, I feel like the— The only thing is the cartoony style somehow reminds me of Heath Robinson. Do you know his illustrations of mad machines? And I don't know if they for—I think he might have done poster for Guinness, possibly. And I felt like they were on the wall of my parents' house and</p>

		<p>Heath Robinson— I don't know, it could've even been it could have even been Fougasse I think Heath Robinson is— if you say a Heath Robinson machine, it's a kind of crazy machine. So in my head I've got an image of a poster which has this mad machine and it's this cartoonish kind of style. Which is I think why I—it recalls that.</p> <p>When I see this I'm trying to think, "Where else have I seen this cartoonish style?" It seems quite familiar and also quite unusual at the same time, because I don't associate cartoons and use of humour with war posters in general.</p> <p><b>Okay. How does that make you feel?</b></p> <p>I think that it's a good slogan, again, it's something which sticks in the mind, definitely. I think it's a clever poster, and think it's humorous, but today I have a slight reservation about the gossipy women. Obviously is of its time, but, I don't know. It's like it annoys me that they're women, having a cup of tea and gossiping, as if like, "Oh, a stupid woman. They can't be trusted not to give away military secrets." But I think that's perhaps viewing it in the context of today, but also the context of just seeing it by itself, because from memory I seem to remember that it wasn't all just women in the picture, there was men and stuff as well. I think if I saw it in a collection, I don't think it would bother me, but just looking at it today, by itself it's a bit—</p> <p><b>Offended.</b></p> <p>Yes. Tiny bit, very tiny bit.</p> <p><b>Which part of it draws your eye?</b></p> <p>I think it's the women here.</p> <p><b>Do you think this is a well-known image? Or the other ones, the sequence?</b></p> <p>The sequence I think is actually very well-known, especially among certain generation. I felt like everybody of an older age would know this one. In terms of young people, I wouldn't know with them, by young people I mean people in their— kids and teenager, maybe even in their 20s. I don't know whether they would know this. But I felt like they would at least heard of the slogan.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
15	48:48.2 - 53:49.4	<p><b>That's fine. All right. Next one. See how you feel about this one?</b></p> <p>Ah yes.</p> <p><b>You recognise that?</b></p> <p>I do recognise that image. Where from I can't say, actually. That one I'm less clear about where I've seen it. I feel like it may have been at the Imperial War Museum Exhibition, but not really a vivid memory of knowing exactly where I've seen it.</p> <p><b>Okay then, in your opinion, what is this image?</b></p> <p>This image is telling men, I think, telling men in the army to be indiscreet and not share secrets and not talk too loudly, and don't be careless with your talk and discussion, because there could be a spy or somebody overhearing you and then tell that to the Germans.</p> <p><b>Then, any thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at that?</b></p> <p>Not so much memories, but I've got some thoughts.</p> <p><b>Say the thoughts.</b></p> <p>I find it a very strange poster. I don't know whose poster it's, but I find it a very odd poster for quite a few different reasons really. I think it's very strange the way that you're— the centre of the poster is this female figure because she's like an imagined figure we're led to believe in the poster. This is the figure of keep mum. She's like the reminder to keep mum, as in, "Don't tell anyone."</p> <p>I don't really like it as a poster. I don't like why the focus is on her and I certainly don't like her pose. And also it's keep mum, and I just feel like there could have</p>

		<p>been other ways. If you wanted to use the phrase, "Keep mum," which I think was a lot more well-known then than it is now. But a more motherly figure, I would have enjoyed seeing in this poster because I felt like this glamorous society woman gives the impression that— I don't know. Is this the sort of woman who would be indiscreet?</p> <p>I don't know. Or if it's just keeping mum, as in, "Think of a woman?" I don't know, I feel like the message for me is a bit more muddled. It's clear what the message is, but I feel like the visuals just leave me— I find it a bit confusing in a way.</p> <p><b>The visuals don't quite fit with the slogan?</b></p> <p>Yes, I think so. And I'm not even trilled with the slogan "Keep mum. She's not so dumb." I thought that the phrase 'keep mum' means keep quiet. It seems to be a play of the fact that 'keep mum' means 'be quiet' and is a reference to the mum and they've got the mum and she's saying she's not too dumb as in, she will speak out and she'll share the secrets. I don't know is this supposed to be a real woman?</p> <p>And if it's supposed to be a real woman, then she's in the picture but none of them are looking at her and just ignoring her and she's looking at you. I just don't know what's going on here. [laughter] I find it difficult to read somehow and also I don't like the colours. I like yellow and I like green. I don't know. It's really sickly shades of both and I don't like that she's just drowned in that colour and the men are all picked out with the actual colours of their uniforms. I don't know, it just seems to relegate her in a way to be lesser than them.</p> <p>The emphasis just seems to be on her physical appearance and also the fact that she's all that colour, but then she's got her red lipstick, does seem to connote some kind of sexual appetite or she seems like a sexual figure with the lipstick which is very much stressed. The fact that it's red and then you've got the, "Careless Talk Costs Lives" in red at the bottom to suggest that her mouth is the one that's going to be speaking out and sharing all of the secrets which I don't particularly either.</p> <p>[laughter]</p>
16	53:49.4 - 54:49.2	<p><b>Okay, there's quite a lot than there. In terms of how that made you feel. Uncomfortable?</b></p> <p>Yes, uncomfortable, slightly annoyed.</p> <p><b>Right, which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The woman's face in the middle.</p> <p><b>Then, would you say this is well known?</b></p> <p>I don't know actually. I find this one difficult to say if it's well known. I would really struggle to say whether it is or not. I don't think everybody would immediately recognise it, but I can't say how many would. I'm not sure about that one.</p>
17	54:49.2 - 58:23.8	<p><b>Okay. Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>I don't recognise this one. Yes, I don't think I have ever seen this one before. I like it.</p> <p><b>You know the phrase?</b></p> <p>I don't. No, I don't know, it's not like that "Keep mum", I don't know that one actually. Obviously, I know "Careless Talk Costs Lives." Yes, I don't know that.</p> <p><b>Okay then. In your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Again, it's asking you to not say too much about the war, to keep mum, to be quiet, not to share any secrets or details which could give enemy any advantage.</p> <p><b>How do you see the message is differing from the previous ones?</b></p>

		<p>Yes, I think the idea that you're— I guess the caption must be oriented towards children, because like when you think about it saying "Be like dad to keep mum," it suggests that this is directed towards children and they're supposed to follow in the footsteps of their father who would not say anything. Maybe that suggested to me that it's oriented towards children.</p> <p><b>Okay, are there any thoughts or memories come to mind?</b></p> <p>No, again intrigued. I feel like it's a great poster actually, I think it's-</p> <p><b>Did you like it?</b></p> <p>-Yes, I like it a lot and I like how simple it is and I like that they use the dad's back to display the message. I think that works really well. I like the colours and I like the general style of it, the way that it's produced. I particularly like his head here and how it's all in pink but you know immediately that it's a head. It's got a real kind of economy of line [laughter]. It's very simple but effective and I like the detail of his moustache and height and everything.</p> <p>I think it's a clever poster and I really like it. I guess I'm surprised that I haven't seen that one before actually, because I do think it's really successful and I think visually more successful than some of the others we've seen.</p> <p><b>Okay, because of its simplicity?</b></p> <p>Yes and it's got a single message which is put across very clearly, unlike some of the other posters which actively encourage you to do something, this one's— In nowadays you would call it 'reminder advertising'. It's basically telling you— it's reinforcing this central slogan, "Careless Talk Costs Lives." It's not necessarily the first thing that you would see in relation to that slogan, it's maybe just topping it up and just reminding you that you need to not say too much about the war.</p>
18	58:23.8 - 59:06.4	<p><b>Okay, how does that make you feel?</b></p> <p>I would say just like intrigued. Yes, I think it's an interesting poster. It doesn't necessarily create any feelings because I never really seen that one before.</p> <p><b>Which part draws your eyes?</b></p> <p>I would say this whole slogan. Yes.</p> <p><b>Since you don't know— you wouldn't expect it's well-known by anyone else?</b></p> <p>I wouldn't expect it to be well known. No.</p>
19	59:06.4 - 1:01:28.5	<p><b>Here you are. It's a surprise. So you recognise this?</b></p> <p>I do recognise this one. Yes.</p> <p><b>Do you have a sense of where you first saw it or when? It may not be specific, but what year it might have been?</b></p> <p>I couldn't say the year. I don't know if I saw it as a child, that much I can't say but, I can tell you a very specific instance where I saw it because I have seen one of the originals of this. And I think there's only three and I saw it at the Library of Congress and they have— it's pasted into a book of posters and I had to have special gloves and everything to open book and to look at it. I remember that moment very vividly. That was in 2012 and by that point, it was already everywhere. So I definitely know that by— this was December 2012 and it was already so famous by then.</p> <p>I would say that I feel it became famous in like the last, maybe 10 years prior to that, five to ten years. That it really just was everywhere [pause]. I felt like maybe in the early 2000s it became very common and obviously not just the image but, "Keep baking and carry on." Every manifestation under the Sun, maybe in the five or ten years previous to that it became very, very ironic and a bit ubiquitous.</p>

20	1:01:28.5 - 1:04:10.8	<p><b>Then, why do you think it has become so famous, what is it about? What is it about it that makes it memorable?</b></p> <p>Yes, interesting. I think it's the simplicity for a start, because you couldn't— as we know you can replace any of the "calm", the "keep calm" can be replaced with anything and as I said, "Keep baking" as an example I remember seeing or "Keep anything and carry on." I think it's the fact that it's very versatile, that can be changed into lots of things. I think it's because it's simple, I think it's because it's patriotic. It seems to represent a British spirit whether it was ever like that, but in the popular imagination I think it represents a particular vision of Britain.</p> <p>I mean, for a start you have the crown here, which does again suggest Britain and royalty and heritage in some kind of way. And the idea of 'carry on' to me really suggests that that's the Blitz spirit. It's that people in Britain whatever happens, they just carry on. It's the kind of stiff upper lip as well. It's like even if the bombs are falling, even if everything is a disaster, you just Keep Calm and Carry On. That's what you do if you're British. And again, I don't know if that taps into— it taps into how we see ourselves but I think it also taps into how other countries see us that we Keep Calm and Carry On.</p> <p>It just seems like a very British sentiment in many ways and maybe the red colour as well, because it's just one single colour. It's something that can either be kept in red or can be changed. So again, there's a sense of versatility and simplicity there. And the funny thing is that I don't think that it was my— as I remember it wasn't ever used and I think it's synonymous. It would seem that if that's right then there isn't royalties to pay and so that people can just use it and rip it off essentially. So it's like not a sense of copyright or ownership to this particular image. It seems to be more generally owned by people and I think that probably helps the reason why it's so well-known and it's been used so many times.</p>
21	1:04:10.8 - 1:07:34.6	<p><b>Okay and then are there any other thoughts? Anything else comes to mind, any memories?</b></p> <p>Hmm, yeah, I would say unfortunately this poster now has become a bit of a cliché and I know that a lot of— I was actually just talking about it just the other day and how— because often if I'm talking to people about posters, this is the poster that they— I mean if you were—</p> <p><b>It comes up [laughter].</b></p> <p>Yeah all of the time. But this is the one that people know about and it's quite useful in that people have got a reference point and they know what you're talking about, but it's also sometimes a bit annoying because it's not the only poster there was.</p> <p>It's annoying slightly to me in that sense of a research context, but I also think it's just been overdone. I don't know. I find it a bit distasteful when they see it in versions and they're in pastel blue or they're in pastel pink and they all seem very girly. It's like, "Drink gin and carry on." That wasn't the message of the original poster. I find that quite frustrating. I feel a lot of companies have just ripped it off and just selling it.</p> <p>I don't think the products that are associated with this slogan are now necessarily of very good quality. [laughter] It's just become a bit cheap and you've seen it everywhere. I feel at first, when it first came out, and I can't remember when it was. But everyone was like, "Oh, isn't it great?" Then after a bit, everyone just got a bit fed up. Is it everyone? I feel like myself and my friends were— It just felt like it's gone too mainstream.</p> <p><b>Did you like it when it first became popular?</b></p> <p>Yes. I mean, I still like it as a poster. I think it's a great poster. But the problem is now, it's impossible to separate it. You can't look at this poster now without thinking of "Drink gin and carry on," or all of the other manifestations. It just feels like it might have been slightly ruined in a way.</p> <p><b>In terms of how it makes you feel, annoyed?</b></p>

		<p>Annoyed. I guess frustrated would probably be the one. Because I have nothing against the poster, I love the poster, but I'm annoyed of what's happened to the poster.</p> <p><b>Okay. Weird question with this one. But what draws your eye first, is it just the slogan itself?</b></p> <p>I think it's the whole thing. It's just the whole thing.</p> <p><b>Right. You said this was a hundred percent iconic?</b></p> <p>I would say, I don't think—I don't want to go in too big and say, "I don't know if there's even one person in Britain who doesn't know this poster." But it's more or less big now. I think that everybody does know it.</p>
22	1:07:34.6 - 1:11:21.9	<p><b>Okay. Two more. This one. Classroom wall, is this the one?</b></p> <p>Yes, I'm pretty sure this was on the classroom wall. It's definitely very evocative to me, this one. Actually, for a while we had this hanging on our landing, that we don't have anymore. I definitely had this as a child and definitely in the last few years, it's been hanging in our house as well.</p> <p><b>Okay. In your opinion, what is this image?</b></p> <p>This is a poster to encourage women to get involved in war work. Specifically in the factories. It seems to be doing two things. One, that it's more generally suggesting that women have this heroic role to play in the war. I think that because the woman, with her arms outstretched, with the planes in the background, it seems to suggest that it's drawing a parallel between her on the ground and the planes in the sky, that we're fighting the same thing.</p> <p>It in some way it's patriotic, inspiring action. But also, it's giving a specific comparative as well which you can see in the small type, which is asking women to ask at the employment exchange. It's a general feeling that you get from it, but then also asking them specifically to come to the factories and how to do it.</p> <p><b>Okay. Presumably, you like it? [laughter]</b></p> <p>Yes, I see you like it.</p> <p><b>What is it you like about it?</b></p> <p>Lots of things. Where to start? I love the colours. Let's start with the colours. I like the orange colour a lot. I love the lights on the woman. The whites which suggest— the highlights, like she's being lit from behind or below. It just gives her this monumental appearance which would remind me of Soviet art from 1930s, 1920s. It seems monumental in that sense. It's also, I don't know. It feels like a photograph but I don't know how it would have been created.</p> <p>Maybe it's lithograph or something, but it feels like a real image and it feels like a very powerful gesture that this woman was making and I feel like I really identify with the woman because she just seems a really strong woman and I love how much it's the strong pose. I think her clothes tap into that as well, she's dressed in a very workmanlike way. So I think I like it for it being a strong woman, perhaps compared to some of the other images we've seen today, she seems very strong and she seems independent, and that she's going to contribute very actively to the war effort and as I said before, I like how her pose links in with the planes in sky. It does create the sense that she's playing as much of an active part as the men flying off to war.</p>
23	1:11:21.9 - 1:13:16.2	<p><b>Yes, okay. Any other thoughts or memories that you've not mentioned apart from that?</b></p> <p>I do remember seeing it at school and I do think it's a very striking poster once you've seen it. I like the slogan as well, all the slogans. When it says "Women of</p>

		<p>Britain," and I like that it's aimed at women but it's not just telling them about clothes-</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>-and that it's telling them something—umm... I like the phrase "Come into the factories," and I don't really know why but it is evocative as seeing it when I was younger and it just seems exciting, the slogan and the idea that they've been called in and they've got to— It seems there's an urgency there, which I like a lot.</p> <p><b>In terms of how it makes you feel that excitement, you said?</b></p> <p>Yes, excitement, positivity. I feel admiration for the women who did that and I feel like this is a patriotic image as well. It does feel like, because it says "Women of Britain." It does inspire national pride that these women took part in this role in the war.</p> <p><b>Then which part of it draws your eye?</b></p> <p>This bit.</p> <p><b>Right, do you think this is well known?</b></p> <p>I do actually, yes. It's hard to say because I feel I know it very well, but I do think this one is well known.</p>
24	1:13:16.2 - 1:15:40.5	<p><b>Okay, then final one. Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>I do recognise this one. But I could tell you almost nothing about where I recognise it from.</p> <p><b>Yes, you know it but you can't put-</b></p> <p>I do know it but I can't say where and maybe I've even seen it on the survey. I can't remember.</p> <p><b>That wasn't in there [laughter].</b></p> <p>It wasn't in there. Okay, so it couldn't have been that. I do recognise it but, probably the least of all of the images that I recognise actually. I don't know whether I'm recognizing this image or if I'm just recognizing Churchill and him having that pose generally. That's a bit tricky to say about this one.</p> <p><b>Yes, and the phrase, I think you know that or is it just?</b></p> <p>I don't think I do really know that phrase. It's not really ringing any bells so much this one.</p> <p><b>Okay. In your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>One of the more difficult ones to say. I think it's general— I would say this is propaganda, if I look at this image. It's suggesting that we all need to stick in there, keep it together, it's almost like "Keep Calm and Carry On," in a way. The message isn't as direct, it just seems to be saying, "Let's keep up morale for the war, we're all in it together." It's got the land, the tanks and everything and it's got the air and it's got Churchill. The fact that it's in quote.</p> <p>Presumably it's a quote from Churchill. It seems to be re-enforcing and inspiring patriotic message. But it's not got an explicit imperative in the way that some of the other posters do.</p>
25	1:15:40.5 - 1:18:21.3	<p><b>Okay and any other thoughts? Memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>No, I think it's just the only thing it evokes is Churchill and memories of hearing him give radio addresses and things like that. But I don't remember that particular phrase.</p> <p><b>Interestingly, you used the word 'propaganda' for the first time. Do you think of this more as propaganda than the other posters?</b></p>

		<p>Yes, weirdly. That is funny because they are all technically propaganda I suppose. But this one I would class as propaganda mainly because I think it's more general, there doesn't seem to be a specific message. It's also, maybe I'm wrong, but one of the only ones that shows... not the home front. A lot of the posters we've seen have been related to the home front more, whereas this seems to be showing the army.</p> <p>Even if the previous one was showing the army, the Airforce rather. This one is explicitly showing us the big picture of the war and the people who were actually fighting the war and obviously Churchill overseeing it. So, it does seem more propaganda because it seems to be addressed more to the people in general and it seems to be saying that Churchill is leading us forward and is— I don't know, it also reminds me more of other national propaganda, so like— Probably remind me more of Soviet propaganda, but perhaps even Nazi propaganda.</p> <p>It's yeah.. Or maybe, Russian definitely. I think it's the use of photo montage that I would associate with propaganda and I think— This thing it would make a propaganda would be in general inspiring feelings towards the war, like keeping national pride or making sure that people continue through the war, are in favour of the war. Whereas the others seem to be more about specific projects or specific things that people had to do. But this one is more general.</p>
26	1:18:21.3 - 1:20:51.2	<p><b>And how does it make you feel then?</b></p> <p>I don't know, I feel like I have mixed feelings about Churchill. In some ways I feel like he was a great leader but I don't really like his politics. I don't know, for me Churchill now— there is a lot of baggage there. In some way I feel proud about the fact that we fought Second World War and that we won and I feel like it was a noble cause, but I don't know.</p> <p>In a lot of surveys and things you have people talking about the Greatest Britain of all time and a lot of people will say Churchill and I don't know. I feel like he is elevated to a status which is perhaps problematic and probably would have been problematic even for him, because obviously it wasn't just one man that won the war. I would say this creates mixed feelings in a way. It's some sort of doubts, maybe reservations. It doesn't seem in general, as romantic as some of the other images as well. There isn't for me a feeling of nostalgia when I look at this image.</p> <p><b>Okay, now which part of it draws your eye?</b></p> <p>Churchill's face.</p> <p><b>Face, yes. [laughter] And then do you think it's well known by other people?</b></p> <p>How to say with this one? I'm still hesitant about how much I've seen it, whether I've seen it. I don't know, I don't know. I think people would obviously recognise Churchill, but whether they would know poster, I couldn't say.</p> <p><b>Okay, yes. Okay, that's the last one. Was there anything else?</b></p> <p>No, brilliant.</p> <p><b>Great. Thank you, I'll stop.</b></p>

### Interview 12: NL2441

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant NL2441 on 4 September 2017 at Nottingham Central Library.

- Year of birth: 1946
- Age bracket: 1946-1955



- Gender: Female
- Highest level of education: Some College or Further Education
- Birth region: Yorkshire and the Humber

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 5:08.6	<p><b>So the first questions to ask are not connected to the images directly, so they are really to help me understand how the Second World War features in your life, in your family things like that so do you have family memories that have been passed down?</b></p> <p>Yes, yes I was born in 1946, so I suppose it was still fresh in everybody's memories.</p> <p><b>So what kind of memories can you remember?</b></p> <p>Umm mum used to talk about it a lot and my father had worked for the ministry of agriculture, I think his job was to help farmers increase yield, and— I think I just remember a lot of anecdotes, my parents had a nursery and they had Italian prisoners of war still working there when I was a baby, so there was a tale about one of them taking me out in a pram and serenading me, I obviously can't remember it but it was a sort of a nice memory, and my parents seemed very sympathetic to them because they were saying they had nothing to go back to and they obviously a lot of Italians stayed on after the war and settled here. I mean I was brought up in Yorkshire.</p> <p><b>So this was a rural area?</b></p> <p>Yes it was a little hamlet about five miles north of Doncaster, and very agricultural, so we had a nursery so we were pretty much self-sufficient, we had poultry and fruits and vegetables and got milk from the farm, so I wasn't aware of rationing at all, I think things were swapped, I mean there weren't luxuries but there were all the basics we were all very well fed.</p> <p><b>Yeah, okay. And you parents' memories of that time, did they enjoy talking about it or—</b></p> <p>Yes I think mum found it exciting and because dad had a reserved occupation he was still at home and he was older anyway so I think he was passed the age where he could have been called up so, they didn't seem to have any sort of awful memories. Mumm had worked in the steelworks in Scunthorpe as a young woman on the switchboard and she said that was quite harrowing when they'd get calls to say people had been lost and there was- Scunthorpe was one of the places that was quite badly bombed, because of the steelworks.</p> <p><b>Yeah. Okay and then apart from family memories, did you learn about the Second World War at school at all?</b></p> <p>I don't think we did I think it's that thing about if it's only just happened it isn't history, yeah.</p> <p><b>So you've no memory...</b></p> <p>No we didn't even do the first world war, my sons did, in the 40s now. I remember being told by the archivist of the Nottinghamshire archives they were getting very little from the Second World War cos people- it was in living memory so it didn't count, which is really bizarre.</p> <p><b>Yeah so what do you think is the latest history you learned at school?</b></p> <p>I've got a bad feeling it was about Henry VIII [laughter].</p> <p><b>[Laughter] Yeah, quite possible. Okay and then, have you had an interest in the Second World War, apart from education and things like that, cultural things, TV, books, museums, things like that?</b></p>

		<p>I'm trained as a graphic designer and I still find the images both the English and the German ones really interesting, I've got books of poster art, and it's quite hard- I read a lot of fiction and obviously a lot of it, especially now seems to be based in the Blitz, whereas perhaps cos it is a bit further away it's more acceptable now to write about it. Umm, yeah I think probably because of the job I do I just like finding things out, collecting information...</p> <p><b>Curiosity.</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah.</p>
2	5:08.6 - 12:10.7	<p><b>Then I'll start with the first image which you have seen before, this one. Just to say these questions might get a bit repetitive because I'm going to ask the same questions for each image. Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Oddly I don't recognise the image, but I remember the slogan.</p> <p><b>Okay yeah. Where do you think you know the slogan from?</b></p> <p>I think— I think it was probably still being used, because as I said my parents had a nursery they had land army girls and I think it probably was— I think they probably still talked about digging for victory as I say we were pretty much self-sufficient.</p> <p><b>So you think you remember or you had a sense that people actually said those words?</b></p> <p>I think so yes, I think I remember hearing it rather than seeing it.</p> <p><b>Okay. And this is a very vague question which is deliberately vague just to see what comes to mind. In your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>I think at the time I thought that we were all expected to grow vegetables rather than grow flowers, and it's a very workmanlike image isn't it sort of rough boots and rough trousers and umm, I think it goes back to the sort of self-sufficiency thing, growing enough to provide for yourself in case, you don't as a child think about things not being imported that would have been, but, it's almost what it says on the tin that one, I don't think I thought about it in any depth, I just knew what it meant.</p> <p><b>Okay yeah, so the whole slogan, encapsulated what it meant at the time...</b></p> <p>Yes, yes.</p> <p><b>Okay and then just looking at it are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind, anything at all that get triggered by looking at that?</b></p> <p>— I think only, how hard people seemed to work. When I was a child anything to do with the garden was very much work it wasn't leisure, and there was a real sort of rhythm to harvesting things, when- eating seasonal foods, umm, I think it was- I don't remember playing in the garden, I remember being shown how to sort of- cos we grew cut flowers as well and I was ——— chrysanthemums when I was tiny, but a really good memory is going into the greenhouse and picking tomatoes and eating them, and picking beans and peas and just eating things straight away, umm, and that cliché that it seemed as though we had really bitter winters and really hot summers, although 1947 was an extremely bitter winter wasn't it. Umm, I think because my father- his family were also nursery men, there was something about that, to me that was men's work you know, umm, and I can remember land army girls but not for long, I can remember the sort of uniform they wore, it seemed a very simple life, umm, you know people didn't go to the pub or go to the cinema, very much, sort of going to bed when it was dark and getting up [laughter] and it all being fairly hard work but not unhappy, just quite, really quite a narrow— I don't think anybody had a, sort of social life thing, I can remember, I think going to the pub was considered not quite the thing to do, there wasn't a pub anyway in the village.</p> <p><b>So that was considered a sort of frivolous thing to do?</b></p>

		<p>The only- both my parents were tee total and mum used to tell this tale about how dad took her to a fair once and she saw two men who were drunk fighting with broken bottles and it absolutely terrified her, I think she may actually- you know you could take a pledge not to drink alcohol, cos even when she was older she would occasionally have sherry on a teaspoon cos that didn't count, cos that was medicinal, it was okay if it was medicinal. Very sort of simple, not at all a luxurious life but we were well fed and obviously out in the fresh air a lot, you know both my brothers are six foot [laughter]. It's hard to explain to somebody as young as you the sort of just probably quite narrow but not in a bad way, you know I don't remember- I was probably ten or eleven before I went to the cinema, we weren't allowed to go to swimming baths cos you could catch infantile paralysis, and there was still diphtheria and things, so umm, yeah, I mean probably narrow from that point of view and there were lots of prejudices.</p> <p><b>But also narrow in a positive, simple...</b></p> <p>Yes it seemed safe, it all seemed very safe.</p> <p><b>Less complicated.</b></p> <p>Yes cos my brother and I walked to school from being about five and it was a mile and half, two miles, and if you saw anybody they just spoke there was no feeling of threat at all, I spose the threat had gone once the war was over. [PAUSE] It's quite hard to remember it now. I hadn't thought of it before as being quite a sort of narrow existence, it's what you know as a small child.</p> <p><b>When you compare it to...</b></p> <p>To now, yes yes.</p>
3	12:10.7 - 14:24.9	<p><b>And then looking at this image, how does it make you feel, are there any emotions that come to mind? If not, then that's fine.</b></p> <p>I don't think I'd noticed the blue sky before I suppose that's- I'm assuming it's a blue sky not a grey sky, but that's sort of quite hopeful isn't it. I think graphically the simplicity of it is quite clever.</p> <p><b>So do you feel quite positive towards this image. You like it?</b></p> <p>Yes. Yes it looks as though something's going to happen doesn't it even though nothing's actually growing yet.</p> <p><b>And then which part of it draws your eye first? Is there a sort of focal point?</b></p> <p>I'd say, just because I know when you're digging that's where the effort is isn't it, pressing the spade into the soil, yes, yeah definitely. And I think it's probably one of those really old hobnail boots, you know they have metal here and metal there, it's definitely a working man's boot, and the way the laces are tied round the ankle.</p> <p><b>And then do you think, this is quite a difficult question, more of an opinion really, but do you think this is a well-known image in Britain generally by other people?</b></p> <p>I would have said you'd have to be my age or older, cos I think it's the phrase as I say more than the image.</p> <p><b>So you wouldn't expect people younger to know the phrase?</b></p> <p>I don't think so. It's not one that's been overused has it, like Keep Calm and Carry On. Hasn't been done to death.</p>
4	14:24.9 - 17:31.0	<p><b>Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise any of the phrases connect to it?</b></p> <p>Not at all, it's completely new to me.</p>

		<p><b>Okay. And so then are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at that?</b></p> <p>I wonder if this is what my father was involved in.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>I don't know what. Because I assumed that, although he was working with farmers rather than individuals, and I think you were supposed to turn your back garden or flower bed into a vegetable plot.</p> <p><b>Was he involved in- what element did he do, do you know?</b></p> <p>Because as I say he was an older father, he was nearly forty when I was born and my considerably older cousins said his job was, said he had a motorbike and sidecar and he had to visit all the farms in south Yorkshire and help them increase the yield of crops, and I know he did soil testing and advice, fertilisers and— cos I can remember all the equipment he had, and he'd worked for boots before that, and I think he was a dispenser and I think he'd wanted to be a vet but, at that time, you know didn't as a working class person you didn't go to uni it was too expensive so. So I'm assuming that was what he did and he married in 1944 and had my brother in 1945 so I sort of assumed- and he started his own business the year I was born, so I imagine he did that right through the war.</p> <p><b>And then in your opinion, what is this image?</b></p> <p>I think it is what we were saying before that, that cultivating presumably means growing food, and the image is obviously food related, although I'm not quite sure what that is [laughter].</p> <p><b>I think that's a cap, so an army cap.</b></p> <p>Oh of course yes you're right.</p> <p><b>Although it is something that others find quite difficult to work out.</b></p> <p>Little bit vague yes I bet you're right, yes.</p>
5	17:31.0 - 20:17.7	<p><b>Do you think this is a more or less successful image than that one?</b></p> <p>I think that's much more striking. I think that's slightly confusing, and the cookhouse I know that's a sort of military terminology but, I don't think you'd identify with that as much as you would with Dig for Victory.</p> <p><b>Yeah so the kind of simplicity of that one.</b></p> <p>Yes that's right.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>And it is more positive using victory rather than this is slightly bossy isn't it.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel, if anything?</b></p> <p>[PAUSE] I find it mildly annoying, I don't know why, only it looks like a piece of carpet, it looks like a piece of laminate, I mean graphically.</p> <p><b>Annoying, okay.</b></p> <p>Yeah, and I think cos as I say I studied graphic design, you're always supposed to have three full stops, so I just go around picking, looking at it exactly the wrong way.</p> <p><b>No that's interesting.</b></p> <p>Unless it's been cropped.</p> <p><b>So you don't like the design of this?</b></p> <p>No I think it's— I think, the simpler an image it has to almost be instant with something graphic, and this looks vaguely like the devil's pitchfork [laughter]. It's not clear enough. I'm just going to ruin all your research [laughter].</p>

		<p><b>Not at all, no it's interesting. Good to have- because judgment of the images comes into it, you can't help it but everyone sort of have an opinion on the success of an image and the way it's designed and things. Okay and then which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I think just because it's red, whereas really it should be the strapline.</p> <p><b>So the knife and fork.</b></p> <p>It's almost as though it's part of a series and it doesn't make sense on its own.</p> <p><b>Okay and then would you say this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>No, no.</p>
6	20:17.7 - 26:46.1	<p><b>Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>Oh yes. Well again it's the phrase, Make-do and Mend.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the actual image as well or-?</b></p> <p>No I don't remember the Go Through Your Wardrobe but I remember the Make-do and Mend, and that mum used to make everything, used to make gloves, hats, it was a matter of pride I think.</p> <p><b>DO you remember people using that phrase?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>So people actually said it?</b></p> <p>Mmm.</p> <p><b>In what sort of context, were they discussing-</b></p> <p>I think partly telling me about how she managed clothes during the war when she was working, cos she was one of three sisters, and you know the anecdote about painting a seam on your leg cos you didn't have any stockings and things like that. But she was very clever with craftwork anyway, I've seen gloves that she made, and she'd show me how you could make a hat out of tiny pieces of fabric, I think our clothes were handmade, but she seemed to see it as quite an enjoyable challenge. Can't remember her really- either of them really having anything new until after the war, when sort of full skirts came in and things weren't rationed.</p> <p><b>Okay and then in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>I suppose it's about frugality, but to me, it's also about creativity. I can't remember, if clothes were collected as they are now, I just remember that we didn't have many clothes and everything was mended and worn till it was worn out, umm but as I say I came along just after the war so, and I know I should remember rationing but I can't, I can't remember mum using coupons to buy clothes or anything like that.</p> <p><b>So do you remember getting new clothes in your childhood or was it still-</b></p> <p>Yes I can remember, umm, in the summer there was a woman on Doncaster market who was a dressmaker and I used to have two dresses in the summer and then you had three vests and three pairs of pants, one to wear, one in the wash and one clean. And I can remember with great resentment having to wear XXX's castoffs, used to wear khaki shorts in the garden, it would have been better to have an older sister really. It's clunky shoes when he'd grown out of them that I used for playing in [laughter].</p> <p><b>Are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at that?</b></p> <p>I just associate it really with mum making more luxurious things like I said like a hat, gloves or, I think she was really quite dressy she minded- and she always had aprons, and I don't know if they were made or- but things seemed to be embroidered you know the tablecloths were embroidered and napkins and things.</p> <p><b>So you sort of associate it more with the creativity-</b></p>

		<p>Yes, rather than frugality.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>It's quite a good memory to me, cos I carried on the tradition and went to art school and made my own clothes umm,</p> <p><b>So positive?</b></p> <p>Yes definitely.</p> <p><b>SO would you say you've sort of carried on the Make-do and Mend thing in your life?</b></p> <p>I think I did, yes because when I first got married, umm, we were living on my grant because my husband lost his job, I should've seen that as a sign actually [laughter], so I was back to having sort of one pair of winter shoes and one pair of summer shoes and everything I had I made myself, and then I made things for the boys which they've never forgiven me [laughter]. But again it's- there's something about the creativity and also the caring for your family that's, you know I found it really satisfying, and I think mum did as well, she didn't seem to see it as a chore it was just what you did and things were mended, quite skilfully so,</p> <p><b>Quite satisfying.</b></p> <p>Mmm.</p> <p><b>Okay and which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Oddly it's the rail of clothes, just cos that's such a forties jumper, you know things were skimpy and little, dresses were short presumably cos of rationing.</p> <p><b>And then would you say this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>I'd say again it's the Make-do and Mend as a phrase more than the image.</p> <p><b>SO you'd expect Make-do and Mend to be relatively well known?</b></p> <p>I think so, yeah.</p>
7	26:46.1 - 30:24.8	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>No. You recognise Make-do and Mend-</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>-but do you recognise Mrs sew and sew?</b></p> <p>Not Mrs sew and sew no.</p> <p><b>Okay then in that case, in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>I suppose it's what we're saying before, make as much as you can [PAUSE] and it was literally recycling wasn't it. I can't remember having stools, poufs made out of dried milk, you know the baby milk, dried milk tins, covered in fabric and mum made one out of jars which was a disaster cos of course it broke inside [laughter] as I say very creative but not necessarily ever so practical. I think most people had sewing machines and everybody seemed to be able to do hand sewing and embroidery so,</p> <p><b>Do you see this image as exactly the same message as this one or is there a difference would you say?</b></p> <p>It's probably, I don't know taking it a little bit further cos, I suppose this is more about not throwing things away and making sure everything's mended and fit for purpose whereas this is more about creativity isn't, cos I think toys and teddy bears and whatnot were also made it wasn't just practical.</p> <p><b>And are there, apart from what you've mentioned already, any other thoughts or memories coming to mind?</b></p>

		<p>No I don't think so, not with that one.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel, if anything?</b></p> <p>I think it's just, probably just nostalgia.</p> <p><b>So it makes you think back to that-</b></p> <p>Yes to that time.</p> <p><b>-that positive time. Okay and which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>It's the needle and thread.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p><b>And then would you say this is well known by others at all?</b></p> <p>I don't think so, I- as I say I remember the slogan more, I've no memory of Mrs sew and sew so, whether it was part of a wider campaign, I don't know...</p> <p><b>Yeah so she was a character they used for various things.</b></p>
8	30:24.8 - 37:00.6	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>Oh yes.</p> <p><b>And do you recognise the slogan?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Would you say more or less than the image? Or is it sort of the same?</b></p> <p>I think it's the Careless Talk Costs Lives I remember. I can remember this but I wouldn't as a child have known this particular background.</p> <p><b>Do you have a as sense of where you might have seen this before or when?</b></p> <p>I think- I think a lot of it was anecdotal I think it was mum telling me things, she was very much the sort of the story teller. There's some vague recollection of some story around careless talk costing lives, not gossiping, it sounds slightly paranoid now.</p> <p><b>Okay and then in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>I think there was a genuine fear of, what was it, fifth columnists, spies and having to be careful what you said in case it was overheard, and um obviously a real fear of invasion.</p> <p><b>Did you kind of get that sense from your parents that that was something that they thought about during the war?</b></p> <p>It was almost as though we were removed from because we were in the country. It's almost as though it could happen down south or in London but not where- I think they wanted us to feel that it was safe where we were, that we'd never been under threat.</p> <p><b>So there was a sense that it was happening elsewhere-</b></p> <p>Elsewhere yes.</p> <p><b>-in scary places where this was going on.</b></p> <p>I think it was cities that were scary places, cos I can't imagine there was any sort of bombing I never remember seeing any bomb damage around where we were.</p> <p><b>And the fact that you do remember it, why do you think that you do remember it? Is there anything about it that makes it particularly memorable?</b></p> <p>I think it might have been something to do with mum working in the steelworks during the war, there's a sort of vague feeling that there was an anecdote about people gossiping or told not to— nothing clear.</p>

		<p><b>Okay so it's a sense that she might have talked about this topic and therefore that's why it's-</b></p> <p>I think it was something to do with where she worked, and being on the switchboard and they were probably told to be really careful what they said.</p> <p><b>And then any other thoughts or memories at all looking at any of the objects or anything?</b></p> <p>Not really no.</p> <p><b>Okay. And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>I think there's a slight irritation that it's women gossiping, even though that's a really nice image, cos it's so simple it's all there isn't it, you can just see that they're gossiping [laughter].</p> <p><b>So irritation that they're being accused of gossiping?</b></p> <p>Yes it is assumed women have got nothing to do but have afternoon tea and gossip.</p> <p><b>And then which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>It's definitely the two figures, yeah.</p> <p><b>And then do you think this is well known by others?</b></p> <p>Yes, I think it is.</p> <p><b>Why do you think that might be?</b></p> <p>I think it's a very strong slogan isn't it, to talk about costing lives, rather than just mending clothes and digging a vegetable patch its...</p> <p><b>So the seriousness of the message.</b></p> <p>Yes. And this sort of, menacing figure in the background.</p> <p><b>Would you refer to this image as an iconic image?</b></p> <p>Yes I think I would, yes.</p> <p><b>And what would you mean by that term do you think?</b></p> <p>I think it's something that most people would recognise and I remember the walls have ears thing being used a lot after the war, so I think it really must have been embedded in public consciousness, and I think he might have been a famous cartoonist.</p> <p><b>Yeah so Fougasse did I think it was eight very similar ones to this, with different cartoons in each one, but he was also famous before this, I think he did some things for public transport, that kind of thing.</b></p>
9	37:00.6 - 42:03.5	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>I've got this on my kitchen wall [laughter].</p> <p><b>[laughter] okay.</b></p> <p><b>And why is it on your kitchen wall?</b></p> <p>Because I've got two sons and they used to be saying things, look at old mum blah blah and I said 'not so dumb' so totally misinterpreting it. It's sort of like one of those tin plate things, and I found it down the back of the radiator in the house when I moved in.</p> <p><b>And so did you know it before that?</b></p> <p>Yes, yes, and there were dreadful jokes about— no we won't go there, about the army, the navy and the air force. I don't know why women had to be depicted as some sort of siren, why she couldn't just be a...</p> <p><b>A normal woman.</b></p>



		<p>Yes just a normal woman, and they've all got cigarettes and the...</p> <p><b>Do you know when you might have seen this first? Was it something you think you saw during your childhood or later?</b></p> <p>I don't think so, In the sort of rural environment I can't see, that this sort of- it's really quite sophisticated you know, So now I remember the slogan, and definitely the Careless Talk Costs Lives.</p> <p><b>Okay so if you have seen it before it may be through books or something like that?</b></p> <p>Yes, I don't think I'd have seen an actual poster.</p> <p><b>Okay and then in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>She's obviously some sort of siren, a spy who was going to be passing information to the enemy, they— they're drinking and relaxing and generally being seduced by her. I suppose they're implying pillow talk without going that far.</p> <p><b>And are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at that?</b></p> <p>I think that's the sort of image that at the time that glamorous film stars had of you know the scarlet lipstick and the very very slender figures and long nails. It's quite vague isn't it what she's wearing, or not wearing. And I think you know she's smoking and wearing makeup so she's obviously a bad lot, long nails, red lipstick and a cigarette, it's really...</p> <p><b>Warning signs [laughter].</b></p> <p><b>[Laughter]</b></p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>I think it's um- it makes me smile I think it's so over the top.</p> <p><b>So it's quite funny?</b></p> <p>Yes I think it's- it's probably the one that's dated the most.</p> <p><b>Do you get any of the irritation you had at the other one, the fact that it's a woman being accused or is it not the same?</b></p> <p>For some reason no, umm, even know they're saying- they're assuming, that cos she's a woman she's dumb, at least they're crediting her with perhaps having some intelligence.</p> <p><b>Okay and which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>It's here [points]</p> <p><b>The face.</b></p> <p>Yes the face and also this glass of whiskey and cigarette, it's definitely the central...</p> <p><b>Okay and do you think this is a well-known image by others?</b></p> <p>Yes I think it is, I can't think it would be rep- it's the only one I've seen reproduced, so much. So it must be quite iconic</p> <p><b>So the fact that it's been reproduced in recent years you think yeah?</b></p> <p>Yes that's right.</p>
10	42:03.5 - 45:01.0	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>No. I think I remember the Be Like Dad Keep Mum.</p> <p><b>Again do you think that slogan, you've heard people say it or do you think you've seen maybe in other posters or things like that?</b></p> <p>I don't think I've heard people say it, I mean the keep mum bit, not the be like dad. Is this a sort of double entendre [laughter].</p>

		<p><b>Okay and so then in your opinion what's this image?</b></p> <p>Oh we're back to the women being helpless little chatterboxes, who need looking after and—</p> <p><b>So being kept?</b></p> <p>Yes that's right. And needing to be advised by a man. It's not a pleasing image is it.</p> <p><b>Graphically you mean.</b></p> <p>No it's, sort of slightly- looks like a barrage balloon, with a pipe [laughter] and why is it safety pinned to his back it's quite strange. I don't think anything about that is very effective.</p> <p><b>Okay and so are there any other thoughts, memories that come to mind at all?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Okay and then how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Vaguely irritated [laughter].</p> <p><b>Because of the, the design?</b></p> <p>Yes it's a bit of both, it's partly the slogan and partly I think it's quite bad design.</p> <p><b>So the sexism in the slogan.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>And then, strange question with this one but which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Actually this, although I find that really ugly, but this sort of...</p> <p><b>You're kind of drawn towards that more than...</b></p> <p>The profile and the pipe, slightly.</p> <p><b>Okay and then do you think this is well known?</b></p> <p>No I don't think it is.</p> <p><b>No. Okay.</b></p>
11	45:01.0 - 49:45.0	<p><b>Okay just a few more, Here it is.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Yes. And do you have a sense of when you first saw that or when you became aware of it?</b></p> <p>I would say quite recently I don't remember it from childhood, umm, it's one that they've played on the words haven't they, but I honestly don't remember it as a child.</p> <p><b>So how recently do you think, just you know guessing?</b></p> <p>I don't know if they used it in the 60s, I've got a vague recollection you know with the sort of pop art and very graphic images I might have seen it then, cos they used union jacks and things like that so. But definitely recently it's been on everything.</p> <p><b>And then in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>It's like the dad's army don't panic [laughter].</p> <p><b>And since it has been used a lot recently, why do you think it is used, why do you think it's become popular?</b></p> <p>It's quite a- I suppose keeping calm has probably got a different meaning now with, so much emphasis on stress, it's quite a natty little slogan isn't it.</p>

		<p><b>So it has a certain relevance today?</b></p> <p>Yes, I think so.</p> <p><b>Okay. And any other thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>I feel as though I've seen it without the crown, in my head it's white on a much lighter red and that isn't there. I may be wrong.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>I think graphically it's very strong and I think it's gill sans typeface that was obviously used in the tubes during the war, umm, it's just very very to me very British.</p> <p><b>Yeah. So you associate it with brutishness. Does it work in the sense, does it make you feel like you want to Keep Calm and Carry On?</b></p> <p>Yes I think it's quite reassuring.</p> <p><b>So you like it?</b></p> <p>Yes. I like the simplicity.</p> <p><b>And again strange question with this one, but is there any part of it that draws your eye more?</b></p> <p>It is oddly this.</p> <p><b>The crown.</b></p> <p>Cos, you sort of forget it's there if you know the slogan.</p> <p><b>So it's kind of the surprise.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>And I assume you would say it's well known in Britain by lots of people?</b></p> <p>Very well known, I'd think the most well-known.</p> <p><b>And so would you refer to it as an iconic image?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>And what would you mean by that?</b></p> <p>If it's- I think if you recognise it as an image and the slogan, then it probably does epitomise the sort of British stiff upper lip.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
12	49:45.0 - 55:00.0	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>Oh yes.</p> <p><b>Yeah.</b></p> <p>But I recognise it from a book of posters rather than having actually seen it.</p> <p><b>So that's a recent- you think you've seen it recently, relatively?</b></p> <p>I think when I was at art school in the sixties and when posters were in vogue because of pop art sort of- you know they became more of a— I suppose they became fine art in a way.</p> <p><b>And then in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Well when the men were away fighting the women were supposed to do, I think fairly menial jobs, I know one of mum's sisters, her husband was an engineer and she was winding armatures in a factory and as I say mum worked at the steelworks, umm, and I don't think, I think at least two of her sisters hadn't actually gone out to work they hadn't needed to they were quite a middle class family, so it was um, and I think then there's a difficulty in adjusting when the men come back to not</p>

		<p>having that independence. I think they enjoyed it, but whether the factory work was all that was available or whether it was where they were needed most.</p> <p><b>Okay any other thoughts or memories coming to mind?</b></p> <p>Not personally no. There's something about the utility of it isn't there the sort of, headscarf and overall—</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>I think it's quite a positive image that she's embracing change and prepared to work and got the factories and the tanks, umm, I imagine a lot of what they did was to do with munitions or, or sort of ground jobs in the services, and then women were actually allowed to deliver aircraft but obviously not be involved in fighting so, it must have been a massive change for them from just being domestic to doing what was considered men's work.</p> <p><b>So sort of inspiring...</b></p> <p>Yeah I think it is.</p> <p><b>And you like it from a graphic design point of view as well?</b></p> <p>Yes I do.</p> <p><b>And then which part of the image draws your eye?</b></p> <p>It's the outstretched arms.</p> <p><b>Yeah. And then would you say that this is well known in Britain?</b></p> <p>I think the fact that women were doing what they used to call men's work is well known, but I don't know about the actual poster or slogan.</p> <p><b>So the concept behind it...</b></p> <p>Yes I've got a feeling arty? things were just, anecdotal or verbal and you'd hear people talking about what somebody else had done. And I can't imagine, having been brought up in the country, it's something I would ever have seen.</p> <p><b>SO the anecdotes give you the idea of the concept-</b></p> <p>Yes that's right.</p> <p><b>-and then I suppose, you then therefore recognise that in a sense-</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>-and get what it means, yeah.</b></p>
13	55:00.0 - 1:00:50.2	<p><b>Okay, then the last one. Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Mmm.</p> <p><b>Yes. And the phrase?</b></p> <p>Not so much so as the fighting them on the beaches and never surrendering, so, I'm presuming it's I don't know battle of Britain.</p> <p><b>So do you have a sense of where you might have seen this before or when?</b></p> <p>I don't think I've seen it before, but mum's cousin was killed in the Battle of Britain he was an RAF pilot and so that obviously made a really big impression on her, cos being an all-girl family, I think he was the only one they actually lost to the fighting, and he was only twenty one and that- it's the same as the first world war it's how young the men were they were just boys, it really makes an impact.</p> <p><b>The shock.</b></p> <p>Yeah. And the [unintelligible] where she grew up was just full of RAF bases, she'd talk about hearing the planes going over and what the conditions were like, standing on the roof of the garage watching a dogfight overhead, planes crashing into the Humber and making it all sound really exciting...</p>

	<p><b>But not terrifying...</b></p> <p>Yeah that's right, yeah, just, But I suppose she was- she was born in 1917 so she'd only be early twenties so,</p> <p><b>Okay and in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>I think, Churchill was, he's a very reassuring sort of patriarchal figure. And I imagine when things were getting really bad, because with hindsight, with recent films like the one about Dunkirk, and I believe the battle of Britain was a real turning point. I don't know if there was still- I presume they carried on trying to enlist people and I don't know and train them. [PAUSE] It's the most actually war like of all the images isn't it. Tanks, planes and—</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel then?</b></p> <p>I think he was a great statesman, I know he made a lot of mistakes but- and it does make you feel quite proud to be British.</p> <p><b>So feeling of patriotism.</b></p> <p>Mmm yeah.</p> <p><b>And then which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Just his face.</p> <p><b>And then do you expect this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>I think anything with Churchill on would be quite well known, but I think some of his other speeches are better known.</p> <p><b>Yeah. Okay so the fact that it's him at all means that it might be well known.</b></p> <p>Mmm, yes.</p> <p><b>And would you refer to it as an iconic image?</b></p> <p>I don't think I would. There's something slightly odd about him being black and white and the background being this sort of- I don't know if it's true colour, but it's sort of the RAF blue. It looks slightly as though it was put together in a panic cos we needed it [laughter].</p> <p><b>Yes [laughter]. So graphically not that- not well thought through maybe.</b></p> <p>No, no.</p>
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### Interview 13: 6150025179

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant 6150025179 on 19 September 2017 at King's College London.

- Year of birth: 1943
- Age bracket: 1940-1945
- Gender: Male
- Highest level of education: Bachelor's Degree
- Birth region: London

Timespan	Content
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1	0:00.0 - 4:05.5	<p><b>Right. The first section is not connected to the images specifically, but I want to find out where the Second World War features in your life, in your family. Do you have family memories that have been passed down of the war?</b></p> <p>Yes, limited insofar as - I was born in 1943. My father stayed in London, but the moment I was born, my mother and I were shipped out to Londonderry in Northern Ireland for the rest of the war. But then we came straight back and, in those days of course, a huge amount was talked about it. You imbibe memories from the experiences of those around you who did talk about it. My father's occupation in the war was minimal; he used to do firefighting duty on the roof of Broadcasting House -</p> <p><b>Oh wow, really?</b></p> <p>- because he worked for the BBC.</p> <p><b>Yes, okay. What did he do at the BBC?</b></p> <p>He was what's called, "Appointments Officer", which essentially— he was the man in charge of taking people into the BBC and to radio. But when television started, the job started to get split. But I mean he knew people like Lord Reith. I remember during the coronation, watching coronation on— We had no television. My father was given one of the very few ones before the war, but he took it back for the RAF, he said. We went to a friend's house and he wasn't there, only his son, because he was head of Outside Broadcasting. He was away [laughter] doing the job of coronation.</p> <p><b>Wow, that's amazing. [laughter] He talked about the war a lot afterwards?</b></p> <p>He talked mostly about the First World War, in which he fought. But he certainly also talked about the Second World War, but more as a dispassionate observer, or somebody involved, but as a civilian.</p> <p><b>Okay. Right. Did you learn about the Second World War at all at school, or was it not taught by that point?</b></p> <p>I certainly remember we had atlases with lots of red on them, -</p> <p>[laughter]</p> <p>- but whether we actually talked about the war, I don't know. Certainly, until I got to— From the age of about 13, 14 onwards, it was talked about, but prior to that, no.</p> <p><b>What were you taught if you do remember? Do you remember what sort of things, was it political or was it just general—?</b></p> <p>I don't think— before the age of 13, 14, 15, politics was barely discussed. I know my parents used to say one or two very rude things about various people-</p> <p>[laughter]</p> <p>- but mostly to Labour Government, because they were shocked and horrified by the sudden change in public mood, which— that is something that really does stick in my mind as a memory, but how much of it is memory from the time, and how much of it is imbibed memory from discussions or listening to others. Because I was an only child, I did a lot of listening.</p> <p>[laughter]</p> <p><b>Okay, yes. More generally, apart from those things, have you had an interest in the Second World War in wider culture - books, television, that kind of thing?</b></p> <p>Yes, yes, I— Ah, you've reminded me of something I'd almost forgotten. Pan Books did a whole series of stories about the Second World War and I think I've got all of them. I read all of them assiduously. So yes, I was extraordinarily interested. Escaping from Colditz, Two Eggs on my Plate, which is what the RAF got before they went on operations - books of that ilk.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
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2	4:05.5 - 9:49.6	<p><b>I will start with the first image which was in the survey.</b></p> <p>It was.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>I do, I do. But the question is, I won't have seen it during the war and they won't been on walls again after the war, but it's part of my history.</p> <p><b>Yes, do you have a sense of where you might have seen it first? Could you guess where it could have been or when?</b></p> <p>It could have been in anything from Picture Post Magazine to an exhibition in a museum. I mean, I've always read widely, because as a small boy I never really had many people to talk to, so I read a lot.</p> <p><b>So, it may have likely cropped up in one of the books—</b></p> <p>Oh, I would have seen this probably before I was seven, definitely.</p> <p><b>Yes, okay. The slogan, do you remember that more or less than the image, do you think? Do you know people using that slogan?</b></p> <p>I think I remember the words more, almost, than the image because it isn't the only one on food production really. Growing— home-grown food production, stories of the Land Girls and how much they relied on people without using their allotments.</p> <p><b>Do you remember anyone using the phrase?</b></p> <p>Oh, as a sort of joke, yes.</p> <p><b>Okay, as a joke?</b></p> <p>But from what age, I can't remember.</p> <p><b>Yes, okay. I'm going to ask this really deliberately very vague question, which I'm going to ask for all of them-</b></p> <p>That's fine.</p> <p><b>-just to see what you say. In your opinion, what is this image?</b></p> <p>Essentially, from the Ministry of Propaganda, or whatever they called themselves - They didn't call themselves that - It is an effort to draw everybody together in a common effort. It's saying, "Look, even something as mundane as this will help."</p> <p><b>Yes. Okay. Are there any other unrelated or related thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at this image? Is there anything at all that crops up?</b></p> <p>[pause] Apart from the fact that Leni Riefenstahl could probably have done it as well-</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>-I can't think. There was an element of similarity sometimes between our propaganda and Nazi propaganda, because in the end, you are trying to get over a message and you want it to stick as quickly as possible and they were quite good at it as well.</p> <p><b>Okay yes, there's a relation then. How does it make you feel, if anything? Is there any emotional response to that?</b></p> <p>Ironically, it makes me think of my childhood and of a time before I perceived any problems. It all seems— It's ridiculous, but it all seems golden age, because there wasn't any known squabbling between people. Everybody got down and did it together. Not what we see in the dog fights in the House of Commons today.</p> <p><b>[laughter] yes. There is a sense of nostalgia there, that positivity. Yes.</b></p> <p>Yes, I'm afraid so. Yes.</p> <p><b>Which part of the image draws your eye first? Is there a focal point for you?</b></p>
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		<p>Well, it's going really to be the foot on the spade, in equal measure with the actual words.</p> <p><b>Yes, okay. Would you say that this is a well-known image by other people in Britain? Would you expect that it is?</b></p> <p>I would expect it to be well-known amongst my generation, but I think anybody born after about 1955 is going to be less interested, because their parents would have been a lot younger, although they may, of course, have fought in the war. It's a difficult question. I'm not sure I can answer it.</p> <p><b>No, I know it's difficult [laughter]. You would expect the younger—</b></p> <p>Things like this are now better-known, because there are a variety of books available with reproductions of this sort of thing. One of my daughters gave me one, about 10 years ago. I know where it is and I haven't read it for a long time, but when I get home tonight, I should have another look, I think.</p> <p><b>[laughter] So, it's reproductions of posters from the Second World War?</b></p> <p>Yes. I think there had been an exhibition, maybe the V&amp;A? I'm not sure.</p> <p><b>Okay. Would you describe this as an iconic image? Do you use that term?</b></p> <p>I don't. I think that I might well say, "Yes" to that question about some of the others, but I wouldn't say this one is exactly iconic, no.</p>
3	9:49.6 - 13:31.2	<p><b>Okay, right. Great, then move on to the next one. It's going to get a bit repetitive, I'm afraid, because it's the same with each one but.</b></p> <p>-this is research.</p> <p><b>Yes [laughter] Repetitive business. Okay, do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Yes, I do.</p> <p><b>Yes, okay.</b></p> <p>More or less on the same theme.</p> <p><b>Yes, same campaign, more or less. Again, do you have a sense of where you might have seen it first?</b></p> <p>It won't have been on a wall for its original purpose; it will have been in a book or an illustration or a newspaper, and I can't say which.</p> <p><b>Okay. In your opinion, what is this image?</b></p> <p>Well, essentially, doing something that many people have totally forgotten today and that is showing the connection between growing things and eating them. That is quite clever as long as people are bright enough to notice.</p> <p><b>To understand the implication. [laughter] Okay. Are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind on that?</b></p> <p>No, I don't think so, not on that one.</p> <p><b>Do you think it's more or less successful, considering it's the same aim?</b></p> <p>This one is far more in-your-face, "Dig for Victory", than this one which is, I think, subtler and requires more attention. The danger in any of this sort of thing is, how easily can you get your message over without complicating it? That one is on the borderline.</p> <p><b>Right, of being too complicated?</b></p> <p>Probably.</p> <p><b>Yes, okay.</b></p> <p>For those who don't know already.</p> <p><b>Yes. Okay. Great. How does it make you feel? If anything?</b></p>



		<p>This one doesn't actually draw any emotive response in me. It's not one of the better-known ones to my mind, or certainly not to me. I don't get an emotional feeling for this one.</p> <p><b>Okay, yes.</b></p> <p>Except, of course, that this movement was what started our destruction of nature.</p> <p><b>Yes, you're right.</b></p> <p>We've lost— since what we did in the Second World War, we've lost huge amounts of nature reserves, but we had no alternative and we weren't to know.</p> <p><b>Okay, yes. Turning everything over to farming, there's a negativity feeling there.</b></p> <p>But that's fine type.</p> <p><b>Yes. Okay. Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>It's the plate, I think.</p> <p><b>Just the plate?</b></p> <p>Because it's focused, it's not quite in a golden line but it's this, not that they would have been aware of that.</p> <p><b>[laughter] Okay. Again, do you think this is a well-known image by the people—?</b></p> <p>I would have thought it's less-known than many.</p> <p><b>Less than -</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>- the others? Yes. Would you use the term iconic?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>No.</b></p>
4	13:31.2 - 17:08.8	<p><b>Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>And the slogan, "Make-do and Mend", do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>I do.</p> <p><b>Do you think you know it more than— Do you recognise it more strongly than the image itself?</b></p> <p>Probably yes, because words often stick very well, but this one also reminds me of the fact of course, that there was quite a large black market in clothing, where people went through their wardrobes and sold stuff off to get money. There's a darker side to this one.</p> <p><b>Okay. Again, do you have any idea where you might have seen this one?</b></p> <p>No. [laughter]</p> <p><b>Or is this similar to the other ones?</b></p> <p>Again, it will have been post-war reproduction and/or historical discussion.</p> <p><b>Yes. In books or something like that.</b></p> <p>Because I don't think that in my first 18 months -</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>- I would have seen any posters.</p> <p><b>No, that's fine [laughter] Okay. In your opinion, what is this image?</b></p>

		<p>What is this image? It's essentially saying to people, "Look, you aren't going to get many new clothes, because we've got other things to make," so they do. They had to go without.</p> <p><b>Okay, great. You mentioned it made you think of the black market and all those elements, is there anything else that comes to mind looking at that? Any memory or— ?</b></p> <p>[laughter] The only thing I can think of is constant mending of clothes. Certainly darning holes in socks.</p> <p><b>Do you remember that happening when you were younger. yes?</b></p> <p>Yes, but that's post-war as well, because we have to remember that rationing, or austerity clothing combined with the rationing continued to about 1952.</p> <p><b>Yes. Was it your mother you remember darning socks?</b></p> <p>Yes, my father wouldn't have done that.</p> <p>[laughter]</p> <p><b>Okay. How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>I don't have any real feeling about that one. It's a necessary poster, but it's not one of the best ones.</p> <p><b>Okay. Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Well, I think it's the woman looking [laughter] and says, "Sock stinks."</p> <p>[laughter]</p> <p>Which is perhaps unfortunate.</p> <p>[laughter]</p> <p><b>Yes. I'm not sure [laughter] that's what it was supposed to mean. [laughter] Again, would you expect that this is well-known?</b></p> <p>I wouldn't.</p>
5	17:08.8 - 20:12.3	<p><b>All right. Next one, do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>No, I don't think I do.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise— ? Obviously you recognise that, -</b></p> <p>Yes, I do.</p> <p><b>- but do you recognise the concept -</b></p> <p>Mrs Sew-and-Sew.</p> <p><b>- of Mrs Sew-and-sew?</b></p> <p>No. I don't recollect this one and I wonder— what is this? An ironing board or what?</p> <p><b>This would have been a poster that would— you would then stick a local message on that section.</b></p> <p>Oh, right.</p> <p><b>That's what. These were -</b></p> <p>Yes, I see.</p> <p><b>- marks for where it would be something local, a local meeting or something like that. Okay.</b></p> <p>It's not a poster I like.</p> <p><b>You don't like it? Why is that?</b></p> <p>I think they are trying to be funny, and this is failing.</p>

		<p><b>[laughter] Yes. [laughter]</b></p> <p>This is a serious matter. I mean, yes, you had to have a light-hearted approach at times.</p> <p><b>But the joke doesn't work.</b></p> <p>I don't think so.</p> <p><b>[laughter] Yes.</b></p> <p>Not really, no. It would have appealed to a certain kind of person, but not me.</p> <p><b>Okay, what is this image then?</b></p> <p>I'm not sure I can answer the question in this case.</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>It's again, getting a message across, "There aren't new clothes, so make do with what you've got."</p> <p><b>The same message, basically, as the last one?</b></p> <p>Yes, as the previous one.</p> <p><b>Okay, any other thoughts or memories coming to mind at all?</b></p> <p>No, this doesn't stimulate further thoughts on me.</p> <p><b>This doesn't trigger any— ? [laughter] Okay. Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>Probably the face, but to be honest with you, it looks dreadful.</p> <p><b>[laughter] Yes. Dreadful in the sense of frightening or just badly drawn?</b></p> <p>No, she looks like a doll.</p> <p><b>Yes. Okay. I would assume you don't think this would be - a well-known image by the people—</b></p> <p>No, I don't.</p> <p><b>Okay. A lot of people don't like this one.</b></p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>Doesn't surprise me.</p> <p><b>It gets that response.</b></p>
6	20:12.3 - 25:56.9	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>Fougasse?</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>Yes, I remember. He used to do cartoons in Punch for years.</p> <p><b>It takes your mind towards other— lots of other cartoons.</b></p> <p>I love this. A, because Fougasse is a wonderful cartoonist. B, because it is a message and it has to be got across. The Germans had an equivalent one in the war: Feind Hört Mit! The Enemy Listens With. Careless talk did cost lives.</p> <p><b>You remember seeing this? At least you're sure you've definitely seen this one? -</b></p> <p>I wonder if I'm remembering his style -</p> <p><b>- Or the other ones in the series?</b></p> <p>- from Punch magazine, because I saw it and him so often. But yes, I've obviously seen this at a reasonably early age. It's always, always this - "Careless Talk Costs Lives" is one of the most memorable of slogans, I think.</p>

**I should've asked something before, but I realise— Do you remember people using that phrase? Or was it just seeing your post-war —**

Again, post-war, it would have been as a joke.

**Yes. Okay.**

But yes I do.

**There was a reference to it, yes.**

Yes. Many of these things were taken forward. I've just read a book on Second World— humour in Nazi Germany. It's not translated yet, I don't think. I would love to read an equivalent one for the UK in the war. What kind of jokes? We know about ITMA on the radio, and later, Much-Binding-in-the-Marsh. I can't remember whether that came post-war, it may have done. ITMA went on until Tommy Handley died, I think.

**Yes.**

Sorry. Did I digress there?

**No, [laughter] that's fine, that's fine. So, yes. That would be used as a joke. Would that be the same as the "Make-do and Mend" slogan? Do you remember people saying that as a joke, do you think?**

No, I don't think they ever used that as a joke.

**You don't remember? But do you remember seriously saying— Make do.**

Yet it would have been used as, if you said that this is broken, somebody might've just said, "Mend it." Or, "Make-do and Mend."

**Yes. Okay, so you do remember that. Then, what is this image?**

I find that's slight— This is a very difficult question, "What is this image?", it's —

**If somebody said— if it was up on the wall and somebody said, "What's that?" What would you say? [laughter]**

I'd say, "It's a poster telling you not to talk out of turn."

**Yes. Okay.**

I've said it's funny. In a way it isn't funny at all, but he's aking the micktey out to the two ladies up to a point. Rather misogynistic, perhaps, insofar as women are supposed to blab more than men.

**Yes. [laughter]**

But even so, those days are past.

**Yes. [laughter]**

Well, not really, but partly past. [laughter]

**Okay. Any other thoughts at all that come to mind? Any other memories?**

Not really. Digressing slightly, it's all beginning to remind me of all the black-and-white war films one used to see as well. My parents would regularly take me to those. But in those days, you were allowed to go to cinema on your own when you were about eight.

**Wow. [laughter] I can't even imagine.**

I would often go to these on my own, because my parents both worked after a certain age.

**How does it make you feel?**

Because I'm so fond of Fougasse, my reaction is of, "I'd love to see some more of this."

**Yes, okay.**

You don't tire of a message from this sort from a man like that.

		<p><b>Yes. The humour, you find it funny now, looking at it now? The humour works now, is what you're saying?</b></p> <p>Yes, it does still work.</p> <p><b>Okay. Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>It's primarily that, but that obviously comes very close second. In many of these posters they've got really good balance between the focal point and the drawing and the message.</p> <p><b>The message, yes. Okay. Would you expect this to be well-known by other people?</b></p> <p>I feel it should be.</p> <p><b>Yes, it should be.</b></p> <p>[laughter]</p> <p>More so than others, probably, yes.</p> <p><b>Would you describe it as iconic?</b></p> <p>Yes, I think I would, in this case.</p> <p><b>What would you mean by that term?</b></p> <p>Because in a way, it encapsulates a quite wide strand of humour of the time.</p>
7	25:56.9 - 33:08.8	<p><b>Okay. Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>I do. I do, I do. Yes. This is the Mata Hari miss, really, isn't it?</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>This one really does incorporate typical drawing and advertising style of the time. This is key in terms of style, I would say. But if you try to analyse that, it's extraordinarily misogynistic, really, isn't it?</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>Because it's treating women— It's disrespectful.</p> <p><b>Yes. However you read that.</b></p> <p>But it would've done its job on those days, and is of its time.</p> <p><b>Yes. The design is very much— It takes you back to that— It makes you think of that era.</b></p> <p>Yes. You almost feel Marlene Dietrich, doing a spy film.</p> <p><b>Yes. It could be a film poster, almost. Again, difficult but do you know where you might've seen this one? Is it again much later?</b></p> <p>My answer, it would've been one of the things I saw as a school boy.</p> <p><b>Okay. As in a book or something like that or...</b></p> <p>Initially no, because there weren't any collections of books that I can recollect, of that sort of thing that early on. But there were articles. The picture papers, like Picture Post or Illustrated, or whatever it's called. But they're the sort of places where one might've seen it. Or even, there was The Graphic and The Illustrated London News, the weekly news magazines.</p> <p><b>Yes, that might've had— Okay.</b></p> <p>I could quite happily go and read some of those at a time, just look through them and get a real feeling for it.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>It provides you— when I was at Cambridge, I went to the university library to research what the Times reported on the Russian revolution. So I read the Times-</p>

**Wow, the whole— read all of the Times for that period?**

- speed reading through about 1900 to 1914.

**Wow. [laughter]**

Whilst [REDACTED], whom you've met, the one who puts— [REDACTED]?

**Yes, yes, yes.**

He and our friend who died the other day, [REDACTED], they were with me but they were reading the Eagle. It was for comics.

**[laughter]**

It'd be much more fun.

Sorry, that was wasting time.

**No, no, it's fine. Okay.**

But yes, iconic too.

**Iconic, definitely. Iconic in the sense that it represents the time as [unintelligible]**

It does indeed.

**That's the reason you used that term?**

But it's also miming to my mind, whether conscious or unconsciously, some of the black-and-white, or even colour films, that the Germans did in the Weimar Republic in the late '20s and early '30s. Because it's extraordinary how, whether consciously or subconsciously, people have ideas that have been seen somewhere before.

**Yes. Okay. Then in your opinion, what is - this image?**

But it's getting the message over again. Don't allow yourself to be befuddled by a drink or a pretty woman I'm afraid, that's what it's— literally what it's saying. [pauses] Ironically, all these three men, they're from all three different services, and they're all relatively senior.

**You can tell from the uniform?**

Well, he's certainly not just a lieutenant, I'm sure. He could be a captain, I'm not sure. That I'd need to know, but it looks— part of it is also their age.

**Yes, so you say that it's targeted at the more senior— yes.**

I think it's also targeted at the middle class, because this isn't in a pub, is it?

**Yes [laughter]. No, it doesn't quite look like it. I don't think she's dressed for the pub. [laughter]**

This is happening at a London club.

**Yes, and how does it make you feel, if anything?**

Well, it gets the message across. But I'm not sure if it isn't aimed at the wrong people. So in that respect, I'm not sure. The point, really, in what they're saying is, "These are the people who know lots." I have to put it this way, and what they're saying is, "But don't let any little floosy trap you into saying things you shouldn't," which is rude.

**Yes.**

But— would you not agree?

**Yes. Firstly you think it might be that it's not aimed at the people who it should be aimed at, for that purpose?**

Well, yes and no. Don't forget that people lower down the hierarchy would probably not have a great deal of information that would be of much use. But it is

		<p>making the point, which not many people might understand, that you build up information with lots of little blocks.</p> <p><b>Yes, exactly. So it could be something quite small.</b></p> <p>That's what they're really saying-</p> <p><b>Yes, it won't be a huge—</b></p> <p>But they're not making it clear enough for many people.</p> <p><b>Right, okay yes. In terms of feeling, do you feel a certain discomfort with the misogyny in there? Or is it—</b></p> <p>Well I wouldn't have done years ago, but I do now, yes.</p> <p><b>Okay. Which part of it draws your eye first? [laughter]</b></p> <p>I think naturally, the face. Because she's two thirds up, and dead— more-or-less dead middle.</p>
8	33:08.8 - 36:58.2	<p><b>Okay great. Next one, do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>This is one I don't remember as well as the others, by any means. It gets its message across all right, but it is very much of its time, "Be Like Dad, Keep Mum," when huge numbers of women were back in the workplace, so it's almost a thoughtless message I've seen today. But no, it's not one I remember terribly well.</p> <p><b>Okay, but you do think you have seen it before probably?</b></p> <p>I'm sure I have, yes.</p> <p><b>Again, do you think, similar to the others, that would have been in Picture Post or something like that? Or— do you think you would have seen it in Picture Post or magazines or something like that?</b></p> <p>That's the sort of place, yes.</p> <p><b>Yes okay. What is this image in your opinion?</b></p> <p>Well again, it's like the previous one, saying, "Information should be kept to yourself."</p> <p><b>So same message?</b></p> <p>Absolutely.</p> <p><b>Okay, and are there any other thoughts and memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>Not with this one, no.</p> <p><b>No?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel, if anything?</b></p> <p>Well -</p> <p><b>Nothing?</b></p> <p>- relatively neutral.</p> <p><b>Neutral?</b></p> <p>It's not one of their stronger ones. The only thing that it does remind me of slightly is, because there were so many unemployed, it was the men who were preferred for work than women in peace-time. Essentially, the working-class man felt it was his honour and duty to look after the family. Nowadays I read it the other day, many working-class men who earn less than their wives, find it very difficult to cope with, because they were brought up by their Dad—</p> <p><b>Yes, with that idea, that they should— Yes.</b></p> <p>But that's a different discussion.</p>

		<p><b>Okay. Strange question with this one, but where is your eye drawn to first, is it the message?</b></p> <p>The message, "Keep Mum".</p> <p><b>"Keep Mum" specifically?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Yes, okay.</b></p> <p><b>Do you remember that slogan separate to this image, you think would—</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Okay, you don't.</b></p> <p>"Keep Mum", yes, but not "Be Like Dad."</p> <p><b>Okay, so you just remember "Keep Mum" as a single phrase, yes.</b></p> <p>Absolutely, yes. "Keep Mum" and "The Walls Have Ears", all those.</p> <p><b>Yes. Would you expect this is well-known? Image?</b></p> <p>No. But then it might be. By expectation, it's tied in some extent, obviously to my own reaction of it.</p> <p><b>Yes, exactly, inevitably, [laughter] if you know it, then it's more likely to be. Okay.</b></p>
9	36:58.2 - 41:39.4	<p>Ah.</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>This, of course, is now so famous. People have them. "My local pub has Keep Calm and Use Our WiFi."</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>People are borrowing it and using it, it's terribly well-known and funny enough, it's one of the ones I remember less from the war. I was quite surprised when this one came out, and that it's been dug up. Because I don't have memories of this one, funnily enough. Initially, I thought it was a spoof, but it obviously isn't.</p> <p><b>Yes it's not. [laughter]</b></p> <p>It's an interesting one for me.</p> <p><b>Okay, so you didn't think it was when you first saw it, you thought it was made up?</b></p> <p>I thought somebody had done it as a pretend.</p> <p><b>Yes, and that was—</b></p> <p>I couldn't remember it.</p> <p><b>When do you think that was that you first became aware of it?</b></p> <p>When did it start? It started appearing, what 8, 10 years ago? Or was it more recent?</p> <p><b>No, that's about right, yes that's more-or-less exactly. [laughter]</b></p> <p>I felt safe talking to a historian who knows.</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p><b>Well, I don't want to say anything to you. But I'll come back to this and explain a bit— something about it after we've finished. Okay, so what is this image then?</b></p>



		<p>Well, it's basically saying, "You lose any production, and we're in trouble. Just don't start panicking, but if there's a bombing raid, carry on until you're told to do something else."</p> <p><b>Yes. Okay. Why do you think it has become popular? Is there anything about it particularly that you think is why it's—?</b></p> <p>Because in a way, it's a very simple and straight message. But somewhere it ties into Dad's Army, that don't panic, don't panic, and he does.</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p><b>That adds a level of humour to it. That connection?</b></p> <p>Yes, I think, whether it meant to or not, is not a matter. You'd have to ask the man designed it, or the woman who designed it, because I just don't know.</p> <p><b>Okay. Any other thoughts or memories come to mind? Nothing?</b></p> <p>Not really, no.</p> <p><b>Okay. How does it make you feel? Does it work? Does it make you feel calm?</b></p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>Well it doesn't now, no, but it certainly must have done then. It is a very simple and clear message.</p> <p><b>And then again, this is a strange question with this one but, is there a particular focal point that you're drawn to? Or is it just the whole thing?</b></p> <p>It's more or less the whole thing, including the crown, really. Because it's easy visually to absorb. And in that respect -</p> <p><b>Because of the simplicity?</b></p> <p>-it's a very good poster.</p> <p><b>Yes. Okay.</b></p> <p>So, somebody who refuses to look at advertising nowadays.</p> <p><b>[laughter] That must be quite difficult.</b></p> <p>It is. If we watch television, we record everything in the hard disk and then we go-</p> <p><b>Skip through, yes.</b></p> <p>- what we call wizzy wizzy -</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>- so we go through the advertisements. We don't look at them.</p> <p><b>Okay and then would you use the term iconic for this one?</b></p> <p>Yes, I think I would. But that is in retrospect.</p> <p><b>Yes, but now?</b></p> <p>Yes definitely. It has become so. No two ways about it.</p> <p><b>Is that because it's just been seen a lot? What would you mean exactly by that term?</b></p> <p>It's iconic, it has become an icon to so many people. It's used by so many.</p> <p><b>Yes. All right. Just a minute.</b></p> <p>If by accident, it's rather like that awful saying, "Behind every powerful man, there's a very surprised woman."</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p>
10	41:39.4 - 45:52.8	<b>Do you recognise this?</b>

I do, I do, I do. This one certainly, if I can— you used to see lots of airplanes flying over London post-war, I remember being dragged out of bed in about 1949-50 and seeing wave after wave of planes going from North to South.

**Really.**

Well we have a huge air force then, and they were mostly training in transport aircraft.

**Oh, I see.**

But they— it was— I can't remember what— it was, I think, five years from— celebrated five years of peace, or something.

**Okay, all right, so they were just— they were just being moved around? Or for training? Or—?**

I think it was a public demonstration, rather like the Red Arrows going over Buckingham Palace. But, having said that, I don't find this very successful, that's fine. It's not the best poster, I would say. I did know how women of the time would have reacted to it, they must have assumed it would work. They certainly needed them on the factories.

**Yes. So the figure of the woman is not— it doesn't think it works in.**

No, I'm sure it works, I just don't like it.

**You just don't like it [laughter] the design you don't like?**

Yes.

**Okay. Again, do you think you've seen it in the similar places that you saw the other ones?**

Yes, I think I must have done.

**What is this image?**

Well it must be early wartime, because if that's 1943 then they've have missed a beat and they left it too late. It's early wartime, it's saying, "We need you. Come and apply." Because they wouldn't have been able to go around house to house. With so many men at the front or women already working, who would have been able to do that sort of work? So, you had to appeal by poster. [pauses] It would be interesting to know just what response it got.

**That's what's quite difficult to know [laughter] with a lot of these -**

**Any other thoughts or memories come to mind apart from the planes?**

No, not really. I'm sure it was iconic for many people, not quite for me.

**How does it make you feel? Again, if anything.**

I don't, really. I feel neutral. It looks— to be honest with you, it looks far more like Soviet propaganda, than anything you've shown me so far.

**Yes, it's quite an unusual one, that one.**

If you look at the style of Soviet posters at the time, they were very good, actually.

**And it's similar.**

I think that's probably right why I don't like it -

**Did— I was just going to ask [laughter] -**

- Because it reminds me of Stalin, and —

**Do you think that's why? Yes, okay. Which part of it was your eye first?**

Well I think it is the woman's face initially. But given the diamond aeroplane theme, it would be the aeroplanes as well.

[laughter]

**Great. So, would you expect this to be well-known by people?**

		<p>I don't see why it shouldn't be. If that is helpful.</p> <p>[laughter]</p>
11	45:52.8 - 51:42.5	<p><b>Okay great, then the last one— do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>I do, I do. It's not what I remember seeing way back, but I've seen it more recently. I think, for those of us who have imbibed memories, and for whom it is as if we have lived through the war, because it is like that for me. Churchill saved us, and one feels very emotional. [voice breaking and visible display of emotion]</p> <p><b>Yes. So this, you think you've seen this more recently, this poster -</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>- In books, so is that what you'd expect?</b></p> <p>Well it's a very famous picture. I don't know who took it, but it's a very famous picture of the time. In a way, it's very clever, because it's got both battle tanks. It's also got this evocation of the Battle of Britain. In a way, that's looking back, this is looking forward. I don't know which era this is, whether we were in trouble in North Africa or not, but that's where we were using tanks at that stage— and the message.</p> <p><b>Yes. And you recognise this phrase, do you?</b></p> <p>I do. Whether it's a quote from a speech of his, or it's just what they put on it. I'm sure it's a quote from a speech of his.</p> <p><b>Yes, it is from a speech, yes.</b></p> <p>I haven't read one or listened to his speeches for a long, long time.</p> <p><b>Okay. What is this image?</b></p> <p>Well essentially, it is showing a man leading the country— but to us— Churchill always made it clear that it was a team. And the men in the field. So it very cleverly encompasses the essence of the struggle and how to deal with it.</p> <p><b>Okay, any other thoughts or memories connected to any of the elements of that?</b></p> <p>[pause] I could talk the legs off a donkey about and what I think about Churchill or if any, I'd say these are Hurricanes, I think, not Spitfires. I've flown in one of those planes, but that's too personal I think, [pause]. It's difficult. [pause] One has very emotional feelings about— and where we would have gone without that man, I do not know, because you can't do two things at once.</p> <p><b>Yes, okay.</b></p> <p>But he's largely forgotten today. In much younger generations, I think.</p> <p><b>So, sense of pride definitely coming through there.</b></p> <p>Absolutely.</p> <p><b>A sense of gratitude and —</b></p> <p>Oh, all those things, definitely. If you read about Hitler's constant string of tactical mistakes, and the fact that the German generals and Field Marshals just did what they were told. It lost, I read recently, the whole of Victor Klemperer's diaries about the Second World War. He was a Jew who writes from '33 to, '46, about what happened. It's quite clear, read— even by 1941, Germans were saying, "We've lost the war." Now, we were beginning to feel by '42-3, "We're probably going to win it." Mind you, the Americans joining in had an awful lot to do with that. [laughter]</p> <p><b>That was also important. [laughter] Yes. Okay, which part is your eye drawn to first.</b></p> <p>Oh, Churchill.</p>

	<p><b>His face?</b></p> <p>Absolutely. No two ways about it.</p> <p><b>Would you expect this to be a well-known image?</b></p> <p>I would.</p> <p><b>Iconic, would you say?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Is that because it's Churchill, would you say that?</b></p> <p>Yes, and insofar as it encapsulates the two main areas of battle we were fighting.</p> <p><b>Okay. Then that's the last question, if you've anything else to add that you can mention?</b></p> <p>I can't think of anything offhand, at the moment. Short of wandering off vaguely and talking generally. You obviously want something to-the-point. I'm not sure I can think of anything at the moment.</p> <p><b>That's okay. [laughter] That's quite okay. I will stop that then.</b></p> <p>Have I been useful?</p> <p><b>Really good. Brilliant. Thank you. Let me just stop that.</b></p>
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#### Interview 14: 6208583948

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant 6208583948 on 18 September 2017 at Artisan Coffee, 372 King St, Hammersmith, London W6 0RX.

- Year of birth: 1997
- Age bracket: 1996-2001
- Gender: Male
- Highest level of education: Secondary School
- Birth region: International

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 4:46.9	<p><b>There are ten images here, five of which were in the survey so you will have seen them before, and the same questions with every image so it will get a bit repetitive, but it's necessarily.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>But the first questions are about the Second World War and how it features in your own life and your own family, so firstly, do you have any family memories that have kind of been passed down?</b></p> <p>So I have quite a few because my mother's basically German, so her grandmother grew up in Germany, so I've twofold in that my- none of them were quite old enough to fight themselves. My father's father grew up in Barry in Cardiff and he said his main memory was the swimming pool closed, so that's a very low key one, but then he did national service from 1946 so he just missed it, then again my father's mother, none of them, I don't know- my mother's father was evacuated to Herefordshire so he was there for the whole war and that's where his family came from, but interestingly his father, was a Methodist minister or union chapel in</p>

		<p>Islington and so he was there for the whole blitz, so he was very involved in that [unintelligible]. But there's the most interesting stuff that I'll cut short cos there's so much about it, is my mother's mother's side, she was born in 1936 in Germany, so then remembers- but basically remembers the end of the war very well, basically having German troops being caught in her house, cos they live in Stetting* so right- what's now Poland, so the real east of the country, and being shot at by- basically at one point a Russian sniper shot through their kitchen at German officers and stuff like that, so that's quite dramatic, and then she was part of that convoy that then went to the west escaping the Russians but on the [unintelligible]— the Americans as well, umm, moving with her goat and was in charge of her younger brothers, cos my great grandmother was a bit erratic, and so yes there's all sorts of ones. But her father- so both of my grandmother's parents [unintelligible] lost their jobs. My great grandmother was the presenter of Woman's Hour on Frankfurt radio, but was sacked immediately cos she refused to join the Nazi party, but ironically it was [unintelligible] she lost her job because she refused to sign away editorial control to the Nazis, umm, and yeah so that bit umm, And my great grandfather refused to fight at first and then he got sacked an accountant cos he wouldn't join the Nazi party and then he got called up to the army but then he broke [unintelligible] he broke his glasses before he was sent to the eastern front, so they couldn't send him cos he would've ended up shooting his own, so he was quite relieved about that and I probably wouldn't be here if he'd been sent. And so then he then was allowed to work on the books of the, you know the accountancy for the German state, and then he went- eventually right at the end of the war he was sent up to [unintelligible] where he did nothing, it was a bit of a cushy job for him, and then of course he was in a prison camp for about two years after the war ended. So that's a brief synopsis.</p> <p><b>Okay so quite a lot.</b></p> <p>Yeah. My grandmother never spoke about it until I eventually forced her to about a year and a half ago.</p> <p><b>How did you do that?</b></p> <p>I used to ask her very bluntly and then she then went oh well and she sort of spoke.</p> <p><b>So she didn't really want to talk about it before that?</b></p> <p>Yeah, she'd never spoken about it, cos I can be quite [unintelligible] she was persuaded to. But it was really interesting hearing her talk about it, cos there's just so much stuff that I cannot [unintelligible].</p> <p><b>Wow okay so quite a lot. SO everyone in your family- does it come up in conversation quite a lot in your family in the sense that there's a lot to talk about?</b></p> <p>Umm yeah, the one that comes up the most in conversation, my father's parents don't talk about it at all umm and neither really does my grandmother but it's my mother's father that talks about it the most, simply because he now lives by union chapel so they used- he's just the most talkative member of the family, but he talks about it a lot.</p>
2	4:46.9 - 8:19.3	<p><b>Okay so then apart from family, did you learn about it at school, do you remember what you learnt at school?</b></p> <p>We did a lot of evacuees, that was probably my great, cos I mean both, I think every family member of mine who's gone to university ever has done history so it's like, so from a young age I was always given history books, but I was always more interested in like further back history, my brother was obsessed, he was one of those children who just learnt every tank and every plane, but it did yeah I remember we had loads of books on it that I read, I watched all the World War Two films really. But yeah we did the evacuees from a very young age, but I did hate doing the evacuees I found it so dull.</p> <p><b>So that was primary school probably?</b></p>

		<p>Yeah exactly primary school, just the whole way through. I think we did it at least three times at primary school and then at secondary school, the I was probably like, no we did it at the beginning of primary school and then at the end of primary school the evacuees, and then once I got to secondary school we did proper sort of blitz and actual war.</p> <p><b>Was it, as you remember was it home front mainly or did you do like political...</b></p> <p>So primary school was all home front. Umm once I studied it at secondary school- we did quite a lot of, which I really appreciated, the eastern front, cos everybody normally just ignores the fact that that's basically where the entire war happened. Though in Britain we don't like to think about that, 90% of the casualties, at no point 90% of German army was not on the eastern front, anyway, we did a lot of politics then at secondary school, but at primary school it was all home front.</p> <p><b>And then you did already mention slightly but you were interested in the Second World War in wider culture, so you say you watched all the films, was that just out of your own-</b></p> <p>It's more that like, I think we just had a lot of them on video, cos I think my grandfather watches them, and so I just would watch through all of them as a child and I really enjoyed them, then of course as I got older, I could look at them with more perspective. And also you can't watch- you know you can watch ones like battle of Britain when you're six but you can't watch- one you'd fall asleep in the longest day, and then some of them are too, like Saving Private Ryan you couldn't watch. Yeah so I- it was out of curiosity cos I- I was very interested in the way in which, so my concept is my- I took a gap year, this is relevant, and I worked for Britain stronger in Europe as a campaign assistant, but I was just amazed by like how many people in Britain's idea of Europe is based- it exists around World War Two and that's where I found it really really fascinating, that I sort of upped my interest in it then. Umm, but yeah, it's just they were all there so I enjoyed them, so yeah that's why I've watched them.</p> <p><b>And TV programmes and books and things like that?</b></p> <p>Oh yeah, my favourite is my Al Murray one, have you seen where Al Murray does the whole of the D Day operation, all the way- he's very good cos he studied at Oxford so he's qualified. So yes I would watch basically all of them when I was little, like the Nazis a warning from history and all of those sorts of classics. But yeah I watched quite a lot of that when I was little, but less than my brother who was the most obsessed.</p> <p><b>So quite an interested group-</b></p> <p>Yeah non-representative.</p>
3	8:19.3 - 11:55.7	<p><b>I'll start with the first image, which is one you've seen before. So this one - do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>And do you have a sense of when you've seen it before, when you might have seen it first?</b></p> <p>I definitely saw it in primary school first when I studied it, but it's such an iconic image that, I would have seen it more in classrooms than anywhere else.</p> <p><b>So you think you saw it when you were learning about the home front?</b></p> <p>Definitely that's when I first saw it yeah.</p> <p><b>And do you think you recognise the image or the slogan more?</b></p> <p>Both. It's- well, no it's the typeface and the slogan that's the most recognisable, but obviously that's such an iconic- but you know that could, really, that could be the soviets or you know it's like- it's the Dig for Victory and the colour, the font, is the most recognisable part of it. I don't remember the cloud formation at the time.</p>

		<p><b>Okay and then this is a really general really vague question that I'm going to ask for all of these, it's quite annoying, but it's so that I can see what you say to it basically. So in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>I think think- this image is all- it sort of it represents how sort of society has to unite to Dig for Victory, it's like it's all about how you can't shirk responsibility, you have to use what land you have, or volunteer on the land in order that Britain has enough food to get through the war and support our troops and win the war I think, that's what it's about.</p> <p><b>Okay, and the fact that you do remember it, why do you think you do remember it? Is it because you think you've seen it in lots of other places or is there something about it that makes it memorable?</b></p> <p>I think it's partly cos I've seen it so many times, like it's just in every history book on the war, it's in every classroom if you do a present- you know it's on those displays, umm, that's I think why I recognise it, but you know you see it so often, you see these sorts of posters reused, generally for political reasons by some people or in advertising campaigns, so I think you just see it a lot basically.</p> <p><b>And then are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at this, anything at all?</b></p> <p>Umm, I don't think so- I mean I think, I don't think there are, I mean I think, I've spent a lot of my life in rural Herefordshire, which is obviously where my grandfather was evacuated to, so that's probably how I- I just remember his stories about when he was asked to help on the land, but I don't remember any sort of formal thoughts otherwise.</p> <p><b>So he had memories of doing farming work?</b></p> <p>Yeah, he-s the best one- he was asked- yeah but light farming work, cos they were under ten, so they'd get asked to pick fruit and stuff like that but they'd always end up eating it, and he said that it was explained that this wasn't very helpful, so that's the sort of farming story that I remember, but he was under ten so he couldn't have done anything- he couldn't handle the combine harvester.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
4	11:55.7 - 15:32.5	<p><b>And then looking at this, how does it make you feel, if anything?</b></p> <p>Well either you expect it on a sort of montage on yesterday with Jerusalem or something like that or Nimrod, but it does- I mean, it does, without getting overly sentimental there is something a bit proud making on it because of the importance of the Second World War to the British psyche it's sort of like ah yes, the end of our empire and when we fought off fascist tyranny and that's not- there's a faint sense of national pride in a sort of endearing British way, not full on American fly the flag way, but yeah it is sort of what comes to mind and then thinking about the war.</p> <p><b>Okay so it's a sort of pride a sort of nostalgia maybe.</b></p> <p>There is, there's a combination of nostalgia and pride which is very dangerous but, I don't think personally I'm dangerously xenophobic so I'm not overly worried about it.</p> <p><b>So it's okay to have a bit.</b></p> <p>Yeah exactly.</p> <p><b>Okay and then which part of it draws your eye first when you look at it?</b></p> <p>The red, cos the red just always draws your- the reddy orange, yeah, that draws your eye and then, and then it's the image with the boot on the trowel slash spade.</p> <p><b>And do you have any associations with either of those things at all?</b></p> <p>I do quite a lot of gardening. I probably do more gardening than the average London student, but, which is probably zero [laughter]</p>

		<p><b>You have a garden so [laughter]</b></p> <p>[Laughter] Exactly yeah, it's largely cos I'm in Herefordshire, so yes I mean I think of that, you know all, tending to vegetable garden, but that's what I would then think of with me.</p> <p><b>And then, I kind of know the answer to this, but do you think this is a well-known image by other people?</b></p> <p>Yes, and it's iconic.</p> <p><b>And you did use the word iconic, so what would you mean by the word iconic?</b></p> <p>Umm, because it's just- it's such a sort of like you know, in the sentimental looking back on the war, it's like the key- it's this idea of society uniting which just a lot of people like and would think about I think, broadly I think. It's just so iconic because, you see it- everyone sees it as a child studying it cos everyone does the home front at school, umm, and so okay- but I wouldn't be surprised if this sort of image has- I know you see those polls like 50% of British students think Winston's a type of cheese and stuff like that, but I think- I'm sure these sort of posters have[unintelligible] you probably know a lot more about this than I do, but have one of the highest recognition of any sort of thing. Given that like 7% of British people knew what the phrase strong and stable was during the election, or recognised it, this surely is much higher than that, and therefore counts as a very very- It's just- what was the question again after I went off on a[unintelligible]</p> <p><b>Well what do you mean by iconic?</b></p> <p>What do I mean by iconic. I just mean it's iconic because it's- it was part of the war effort and, everyone sees it and it's used as a meme really, it comes up throughout- you know it's used by different organisations, you know just this basically.</p> <p><b>Okay so reuse-</b></p> <p>It's just reused, it's just past of popular society, the public sphere.</p> <p><b>Okay great.</b></p>
5	15:38.7 - 18:39.3	<p><b>[PAUSE]</b></p> <p><b>Well this is one you'll probably recognise most so some of them are less- so here's the next one. Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>I do recognise this but less than the previous one, umm but again I have, I just have seen that in, is it at the Imperial War Museum or is it? Cos I've been there so many times. If they have it I might well have seen it there, it's obviously far less famous, umm but I have definitely seen it a few times, umm, and the key you know- it's the knife is the spade and the- it's such a clever piece of advertising, Saatchi and Saatchi would be proud. Umm, but that's why- and again it's the typeface it's the way it's deliberate- that's obviously the royal welsh colours but I don't know if that's relevant, but if you look at them their bearskins, their feathers in their bearskins, that's what I'm saying, but, umm, yeah I mean, this is obviously less famous than the other one but I have definitely seen it before, but it's not as big as[unintelligible] I think.</p> <p><b>So you think you've seen it in museums probably?</b></p> <p>In museums, but I don't think I've seen it- I don't think it was ever on display in schools or- it was probably in the odd textbook, but I've definitely seen it probably in war museums.</p> <p><b>And do you recognise the phrases, kind of on their own or-?</b></p> <p>Do I recognise the?</p> <p><b>The text.</b></p>



		<p>Umm yeah I- it's the- what I remember is this and this and I remember the green and the white, it's the green and the white and the red and the white is the way it all works.</p> <p><b>Yeah. DO you think it's a more successful image than this one?</b></p> <p>No cos I think- that's the most iconic, you know, when I think that, this one is less- I don't know, it's successful in the sense that it makes the point. If there was anyone going 'what is the point of Dig for Victory?' you can helpfully present them with that and go this is why and this is obviously about all gardens growing some form of vegetable and stuff like that, umm hence that. It's a clever image, but it's like- it's not- I don't think it's as successful as the other one, cos the other one has just broken through it's up there with Careless Talk Costs Lives.</p> <p><b>So it's less memorable and therefore less successful?</b></p> <p>Exactly and that may only be that it was less read, you know, and there's just more on it, like this is so simple it's what's so clever about it, whereas this just has more stuff going on. And suspect meal, I don't know what it is.</p>
6	18:39.3 - 21:34.8	<p><b>And then in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>So this image is just saying that- basically the idea is that gardens have to grow food and things. it's not just thinking oh people helping on the land that's good, that do you live in London, do you have a garden, you know it's like places where you wouldn't have expected to be growing food before should now be growing food. I think that's the idea it's persuading people who wouldn't have thought about growing food to grow food, basically.</p> <p><b>Okay then are there any thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at that?</b></p> <p>No not really, actually, I can't associate it.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Umm, it makes me feel- well it means that I think more people should grow their own vegetables, umm,</p> <p><b>What now?</b></p> <p>Yeah exactly now yeah. But umm, I think it's a very healthy thing to have to do gardening, if you've got, umm. I think think that's how it makes me feel, it's not- I mean- and it's again there's- all of these poster, cos they've all got the same sort of you know basic outlay, and I think all of them have the same vague sense of national togetherness and stuff like that. I mean I think this one has- there's less emotion that I associate it with.</p> <p><b>So a little bit of pride but less-</b></p> <p>A little bit of pride but less- a more sort of like, people should be doing that sort of stuff today really. You know maybe post Brexit we can all- when food becomes so expensive cos of inflation we'll have to grow it.</p> <p><b>And then which part draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The red, the red colouring.</p> <p><b>Okay. Any associations at all with those things?</b></p> <p>No not really.</p> <p><b>And then would you say that this is a well-known image by other people in Britain?</b></p> <p>Umm, I mean, it depends- this is a slightly stupid point but it depends how you define well known, like I still think all of these posters have a much much higher reputation than comparable sort of public sphere things, but compared to Dig for Victory no this is not this is not [unintelligible]</p>

		<p><b>But you think-</b></p> <p>I think some people would recognise that yeah, I think you'd probably get over the [unintelligible] threshold of what 7% or something like that. But umm, I wonder what David Ike would think of it. But err yeah umm I feel it might go over the [unintelligible] threshold but compared to Dig for Victory not terribly.</p> <p><b>And so would you use the word iconic with this one?</b></p> <p>No I wouldn't.</p> <p><b>No.</b></p>
7	21:34.8 - 24:23.2	<p><b>Okay then next one, do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>Yep well I recognise Make-do and Mend. I don't know if I personally recognise the photo, the poster, but obviously I recognise Make-do and Mend.</p> <p><b>Okay. Was that probably learnt at school that slogan?</b></p> <p>Yeah Make-do and Mend was definitely- it was up there with Careless Talk Costs Lives and Dig for Victory. SO I definitely saw some Make-do and Mend posters, I don't know- I can't remember which one it is. Probably cos I was just a boy I wasn't very interested in anything involving women sewing or dresses.</p> <p><b>Do you remember anyone using that phrase?</b></p> <p>Yes my grandmother uses it, and I think my mother uses it too. MY mother's mother can just- she mends everything and fixes everything and would make us all socks and stuff like that, so she- and ironically of course she's German so she would never have seen Make-do and Mend but she uses the phrase a lot.</p> <p><b>Okay that's interesting.</b></p> <p>Yeah which is, and so I think- but I guess because she came here right after the war...</p> <p><b>It was still being-</b></p> <p>Yeah, or, well not- can't really [unintelligible] cos she was born in [unintelligible]. Because she was here by the mid-1950s, umm, she probably would still- you know cos rationing went on for so many years, all of that was part of the- so she uses the phrase a lot.</p> <p><b>That's really interesting.</b></p> <p>Maybe they were being dropped over Germany in a slightly odd, odd approach, but yeah no she definitely uses it and my mother uses it too.</p> <p><b>And then in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>It's about how you can't be wasteful, you know, if you have a hole in it you should fix it, you know that's what it's about, it's a bout there's not as much- it's the same with food, there's not as much to go round, so you need to be able to make sure your clothes are in working order, and also with ration books there was so little to buy, umm, you need to make sure, you need to fix your clothes rather than buy new ones, which ironically was probably the sort of thing done anyway at the time, I mean that's why- cos everyone made their own clothes let alone fix them- So yeah, it's the sort of thing I wish people did today, as someone who can sew quite well you know I wish that everyone could fix their own clothes.</p> <p><b>So similar to the gardening thing?</b></p> <p>Exactly yeah. We should get the board of trade to do this all over again, yeah but umm- cos that's what it's about you know it's about uniting and making sure your stuff is in good condition.</p>

8	24:23.2 - 26:48.0	<p><b>Okay then are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind looking at this?</b></p> <p>Umm, no and I think- well actually in umm- is it the sequel to when Hitler stole pink rabbit, when Judith Kerr's in Brixton?, the bit I always remember cos I had to- I had terrible writing, and for whatever reason I always had to write it out to work on my handwriting, so there's a bit at the beginning where- this is when I was about 8- she does this whole thing about the Woolworths tights always get holes in them and Marks and Spencer's ones don't because they're well made, and probably cos I was 8 and I didn't really understand what tights were, whatever reason I remember that, and that was during the war wasn't it so that's defo relevant. But that's all really, but I definitely saw it in school.</p> <p><b>Okay and which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>That's a good question actually, because either I'm drawn to that because I recognise it- I think probably Make-do and Mend really, if not it would be the woman and the tights I think.</p> <p><b>Okay and any other associations not mentioned with either of those?</b></p> <p>Not really [unintelligible].</p> <p><b>Then do you think this is well known?</b></p> <p>Yeah Make-do and Mend certainly is well known, and this series of posters is well known I think. I may be horribly wrong on all of this, but umm I'm sure Make-do and Mend is-</p> <p><b>So the slogan is-</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>And would you use the term iconic?</b></p> <p>For Make-do and Mend yeah. But not the image I'd say. And again I think that's just cos there's more going on, it's like Dig for Victory you remember it with the poster, because it's so simple, whereas I think a lot of the other slogans I may remember but I don't remember the image cos it's cluttered, if that makes sense.</p> <p><b>Yeah, it almost- the slogan transcends the image?</b></p> <p>Exactly the slogan transcends the image, cos it's on a plain- they've change it all it's a different colour, yeah.</p> <p><b>Yeah.</b></p>
9	26:48.0 - 31:19.6	<p><b>Okay, then next image. Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Yes I do remember this one.</p> <p><b>Where do you think you've seen that?</b></p> <p>At school, definitely this is one we had at school.</p> <p><b>Primary school?</b></p> <p>Yeah. And it's better than the other one cos there's less happening in it, and there's red, always when there's red it's good, umm, and that's just the eye isn't it. But yeah I recognise this one...</p> <p><b>So do you remember this Mrs Sew and Sew?</b></p> <p>Yes I remember Mrs sew and sew yeah. And it's the strange, it's the doll like quality of it, umm, yeah I remember this one.</p> <p><b>And then what is this image?</b></p> <p>Well this image surely- I mean is it- I want to say it's almost persuading people to make their own dolls or something like that, umm, but again it's the you need to sew your clothes isn't it, it's I guess the previous one is don't be wasteful with your clothes, this one is fix your clothes, umm, so yeah it's the sew, it suggests you</p>

		<p>should sew your clothes so you can Make-do and Mend basically. I presume like all women could sew at the time of World War Two like basically I assume that, it wasn't like- it was the way society was constructed, but umm yeah, so yeah it's not sewing classes at one it's just you know use the needle skills.</p> <p><b>Yeah.</b></p> <p>But I've always thought with this, and this is an aside but it's relevant, to the fact that, one of the odd things I've thought about Make-do and Mend is that in reality all of Britain would have made do and mend before and particularly you know like all the- cos my dad's dad he was the son of a railwayman who grew up in Barry so it's like all the clothes [unintelligible] you hear stories of how, cos he had two much older sisters and how his mother would basically take their old clothes apart and remake them for him as shirts and stuff like that, so it's like- I think in many ways Make-do and Mend was already being implemented, and probably by the small middle class as well, probably. But yeah that's what this is about.</p> <p><b>[PAUSE]</b></p> <p><b>Okay then are there any other thoughts memories coming to mid at all?</b></p> <p>Other than the time my grandmother taught me to sew, no, but that's what it would be.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Umm, I think it just makes you [unintelligible] think about waste and it makes you- I mean they're all sort of the same reaction cos all of these posters you know I first saw at the same time so [unintelligible] same reaction of just like just makes you think of the war and fixing things really, I think.</p> <p><b>And which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>That's a good question actually. I think it's actually the person, I think it's not- you know it's the person and- basically it's that, the Make-do and Mend is actually almost you don't see that first, it's her and the sew and sew basically.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p><b>And then would you expect this is well known by others?</b></p> <p>I think it's pretty well known, but it's not- I think it's more well-known than the previous Make-do and Mend, but I you know I've no idea if I'm- that's just what I think, and less than Dig for Victory, but probably other than Dig for Victory probably the most so far.</p> <p><b>And would you use the word iconic?</b></p> <p>I would actually yeah just yeah.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
10	31:19.6 - 36:29.2	<p><b>Then I think you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Where do you think you've seen this before?</b></p> <p>This is possibly, I mean careless talk costs- the whole series of them, and I do remember this one in particular, but obviously with obviously the crazy Hitler wallpaper. Umm an interesting style of wallpaper available, but umm yeah I mean this is almost the most- I mean this is the only thing that rivals Dig for Victory, they're just so iconic, I mean they're- Oddly my brother has one because umm when he- he bizarrely once found this thing, it was when he was quite younger and it was like a drawing swap and you could take in a drawing you did and take another one and there loads of original Careless Talk Costs Lives posters there, there were like twenty of them, and so he just turned up with some drawings and took as many as he could, so that's also where I recognise it from but he doesn't have this particular one. But it was at school I mean obviously I first saw these at school, umm, and they're just so iconic it's the red border, the font, the style of</p>

drawing, the- and I'm sure they've put these- and whenever the imperial war museum did like exhibitions about- these are the ones- these were definitely on escalators on the tube a few years ago I think so like, you just- this is almost the one that's the most gone into popular psyche I think.

**Yeah. And then what is this image?**

It's just about how you can't, you know, if you know things you shouldn't repeat them because they could damage the war effort, you need to keep secrets and stuff like that. Spies, watch out for spies.

**Yeah. Is there anything about it that's made it particularly memorable, that's made people reuse it in the way they have?**

It's the phrasing, it's the fact that they have this unique style of drawing, the heavy black lines, the fact that there's always Hitler somewhere in them, and it's just- it's the red border then and the Careless Talk Costs Lives, really. And it's really what's so clever about these is always how much space there is. They give you that whole Careless Talk Costs Lives bit. That's what I think.

**And then are there any other thoughts or memories coming to mind, other than what you've mentioned?**

Well the one I mentioned about my brother getting them. Umm [unintelligible]. But oddly this doesn't- there isn't the national pride thing at all in the way that there is for Dig for Victory I don't think. That's such a small thing I don't really know if that's true, but it's not like- it's different to Dig for Victory cos it's almost like a threat, it's not...

**SO it's less positive...**

Exactly yeah yeah yeah it's not society should unite it's like shut up.

**So in terms of how it makes you feel it's a little bit more negative?**

Yeah it's a little bit more yeah you know, it makes me look round the cafe to see the- yeah. I think it is more negative. And I think it's the whole- cos they have all levels of society cos these are obviously what upper middle class, well they could be middle class I guess, but it's like they have all different levels in them. There's definitely one with Hitler under the table isn't there yeah. That's basically what.

**And then which part of it draws your eye first?**

Oh the border and the Careless Talk Costs Lives, first, umm,

**Oh right yeah. So the red again...**

Yeah exactly the red. But then you know, I think probably followed by the walls have ears and then obviously the Hitler, the actual women are not really terrible [unintelligible] yeah. Have you ever visited the house that looks like Hitler in Swansea?

**No but I think I've seen a picture of it.**

Yeah cos I went to Swansea on a geography a level trip, and we rocked up and I was like look!

**You went to see it [laughter]**

Well we didn't- but literally we drove past it cos it's on the main road into Swansea and I joked about I wonder if we'll see the house that looks like Hitler and a friend of mine shouted there's the house!

**Okay, then you did mention- you said it's iconic-**

The whole series is iconic.

**-so you'd expect it to be well known?**

Yeah.

**So what do you mean by iconic in this context?**

		<p>The phrase, it's the phrase Careless Talk Costs Lives, combined with the border and it's the particular font they all have, that's why it's iconic, and then the phrase just enters society really doesn't it.</p> <p><b>Yeah.</b></p> <p>The actual drawings are never the real-</p> <p><b>The bit you remember.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>
11	36:29.2 - 40:50.6	<p><b>Okay do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>I do. Yes. Now I don't- that- I recognise [unintelligible] cos that was in my GCSE textbook, so that wasn't umm, that wasn't in umm, that...</p> <p><b>Not primary school.</b></p> <p>Cos it is different you know, it's I think for older people really, but yes that was in my GCSE textbook and so yes that's...</p> <p><b>And then what is this image?</b></p> <p>This image is telling middle aged men not to try to impress a much younger woman who could be potentially dangerous and obviously with a different you know ideas in mind to what they think basically. It's basically just saying, I guess on one level it's saying stay with your wife, stay with your family, and it's also just saying be very careful what you say to people you're trying to impress [unintelligible] women working in a particular trade it's saying be very careful what you say to them I guess, and obviously it's the same, different font but same slogan, but yeah.</p> <p><b>DO you remember this keep mum slogan?</b></p> <p>Yeah yeah yeah I remember Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb, and yeah I just remember this image.</p> <p><b>Okay, and is there anything about it that makes it memorable that you think is the reason you've remembered it from your GCSE textbook?</b></p> <p>Yeah I think, I remember Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb, I just remember this image I don't know what it is about it. It's this odd yellow that's slightly eerie, that I think about. Umm, but yeah, she is what you see first, rather than the- like then you go what is this and then you see that and you go oh yes that's what it is, I think. But I guess it's very different there to some of the other ones.</p> <p><b>So you look at her first?</b></p> <p>You see her yeah. Umm, and then you sort of see the image and then you go oh that's what it is. I guess the red lips are probably quite key to the whole thing, cos they're right in the middle and the brightest colour.</p> <p><b>Yeah. Are there any other thoughts or memories coming to mind?</b></p> <p>Not really no. Only that you know the GCSE textbook.</p> <p><b>And then how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Umm, that's an interesting question. I think just you know it's part of the- to be honest it doesn't sort of make me feel anything really it's just part of the whole you have to be careful of if you don't know the person, just be careful of what you say, watch your mouth umm, that really, but there's not a sort of emotional response like Dig for Victory.</p> <p><b>Is it sort of similar to that one?</b></p> <p>Yeah I think it is but it's less- yeah I think it is, it's a broadly similar response to that one, cos it is a threat, it's a you know, it's not an uplifting one.</p> <p><b>Okay and then, you're drawn to her face first basically-</b></p>

		<p>Mmm</p> <p><b>-are there any associations you have with her?</b></p> <p>Well it's almost like- cos they've designed it like- almost like the classic film poster from that era, cos that's why you're drawn to her I think, cos it looks just like a film poster really.</p> <p><b>Okay and then do you think this is well known by others?</b></p> <p>I think so yeah.</p> <p><b>Iconic?</b></p> <p>I think- I mean- is it iconic? I mean yes in a way but it's not like Dig for Victory or the other Careless Talk Costs Lives, I think it is less famous. That may just be because I have the strongest memory from the ones I saw as a child so I don't really know.</p> <p><b>Okay</b></p>
12	40:50.6 - 43:54.6	<p><b>Then, next one, do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>No I don't, I don't actually.</p> <p><b>We've finally got one that you don't [laughter].</b></p> <p>We've found one [laughter] I don't recognise it.</p> <p><b>And the slogan?</b></p> <p>But obviously yeah Careless Talk Costs Lives obviously and keep mum, but I don't- the Be Like Dad Keep Mum I guess I'm assuming that's sort of was meant to target younger troops or something like that, saying be like your father instead of your mother, but umm, yeah I mean that's presumably what it's saying that's the idea, but I don't recognise Be Like Dad Keep Mum, I just recognise keep mum the previous one and Careless Talk Costs Lives.</p> <p><b>Okay and then what is this image then?</b></p> <p>I mean it's the same sort of idea as the previous one it's saying- I think you know it's saying be careful of young women, the sort of the faint idea that if you don't know them you don't know what they could be after, you know if you're fighting be careful with what you've discovered, you know watch out- it's just again it's sort of saying watch your mouth like all the other ones, umm, but it's- that's what I'd assume but I haven't seen it.</p> <p><b>Okay then looking at it are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>I mean oddly, he's almost shaped a bit like Churchill I mean I know that's not- it's the whole- but he's just- I know that's just the classic elderly male look, but it's the way that he's dressed and the pipe is all very...</p> <p><b>Okay and then how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Same as the two previous ones, just like that's- it's a threat it's a- be careful, there's no like emotional response.</p> <p><b>No. And then which part of it draws your eye?</b></p> <p>The keep mum and the pipe oddly.</p> <p><b>Okay, keep mum specifically because you know that?</b></p> <p>Yeah cos I recognise that.</p> <p><b>Yeah.</b></p> <p>And also it's just white onto an orangy red, but yeah.</p> <p><b>Okay and then do you expect this is a well-known one in Britain today?</b></p>

		<p>In the sense that they all are but less so, like just cos it's the first one I haven't recognised I'd automatically say- but yeah it's umm, but I think it's maybe like the second one you know the fourth one they're all less well known than the other ones, they're not premier league you know recognisable.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
13	43:54.6 - 48:33.4	<p><b>Here comes-</b></p> <p>Yeah okay well that-</p> <p><b>-it had to turn up eventually.</b></p> <p>Yeah. I mean this is on everything isn't it I mean it's...</p> <p><b>Yeah probably around here somewhere [laughter].</b></p> <p>Yeah exactly I'm very impressed it isn't.</p> <p><b>Okay so yes you recognise this. Do you have a sense of where you saw this first?</b></p> <p>I mean presumably I first saw it in school when I was very little but it's just- it's so everywhere like- it's just- it really is everywhere this one. It's just it's- well yeah it's just it's on- there's probably a mug in every house with some annoying unfunny play on words. My cousin had a poster with all of the various you know like keep calm and make tea and all the you know- I mean I'm not a large popular culture watcher but is it- had it also a lease of life because made in Chelsea plays off it it's the same red and font I think. SO I think that's why it- that's again another reason, but the fact that they've made that shows how well recognised this all is, again cos it's so simple on a red background. This I'd say is the most iconic of all of them, yeah. , It's just it's on so many mugs and postcards.</p> <p><b>So just the fact that it's used so much?</b></p> <p>Yeah and the keep calm and something something...</p> <p><b>It's adaptable in that sense.</b></p> <p>Exactly.</p> <p><b>Okay then in your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Well it's sort of saying British sort of stuff, don't get flustered, keep going, you know just keep doing what you always do, that's what it's saying you know, it's all going to be alright, it's quite comforting in a way.</p> <p><b>Do you associate this with the war? DO you think of this as a war poster now or do you think-?</b></p> <p>Almost not, I mean I know it is one but, I think this is one you expect everyone to recognise but I do think in an odd way, a lot of people would recognise this whole thing and not know it was a war poster really I think. But I don't know if that's just me but. I remember we had some- when I was at primary school they put this up when there were fire alarms they would put this up as a thing to do with fires, so I guess [unintelligible].</p> <p><b>So any other thoughts or memories apart from what you mentioned?</b></p> <p>Do you remember when Sarah Vine had that email leak that said to Michael Gove keep calm and be your stubborn best or be your stubborn- but I got my brother a mug that said keep calm and be your stubborn best, cos it amused me, umm, that's the main one I think, it's just on so many naff items, but yeah.</p> <p><b>And you kind of said it was comforting, any other feelings that-</b></p> <p>Annoying, it's just so overused. You know that shows its success, you know but it is quite annoying because it's [unintelligible] that are excused by its use.</p> <p><b>So do you like it, sort of, originally?</b></p>



		<p>I do I like that one, anything that says anything else is just annoying. But I guess that shows it's so, like almost that shows how successful it's been that now when I see it I'm annoyed in a way. It's just it's so everywhere. And it's the most successful meme I guess it's the idea that comes up throughout [unintelligible].</p> <p><b>And then kind of a weird question with this one, but which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>All of it, it's the whole thing, it's just the Keep Calm and Carry On, yeah it's just all of it on the red background. And the crown is probably the bit that you sometimes forget, but it's just all of it, cos you just know what it looks like as an image.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
14	48:33.4 - 53:21.4	<p><b>Two more left. Do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>I do yeah. See that was- that was obviously one I saw that first in primary school, and in the imperial war museum I'd assume and other stuff. But also in particular doing like you know it's in what year nine and year ten women in World War Two is a fashionable and important thing to study, like it's a pushed thing, correctly, but like you know [laughter] I don't want this to sound like a UKIP rant but umm it's just so yeah that's studied a lot. I associate it more with studying it then.</p> <p><b>Yeah so year nine, ten-</b></p> <p>Yeah and I think that like the Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb one it's one of the most impressive ones overall visually, like there is more going on, but it's just again you remember the whole thing it's the- and I've always never been sure if it is a play on the statue of liberty, it is a slight you know that arm is like it and just the tall woman, that's entirely dubious. But yeah.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the slogan come into the factories or is it all together?</b></p> <p>And then the tanks you know the women are producing- cos I've never been sure of it and I know this may be wrong, but I've always wondered with this one cos if they're deliberately sort of having obviously tried to keep women out of the workplace, they're suddenly almost associating this idea of women with producing children suddenly becomes in a factory they're producing planes and tanks, I've always wondered, I don't know if that applied but I'm sure there's some element of that they're trying to go for, but, don't know.</p> <p><b>Okay then what is this image?</b></p> <p>Well it's just it's saying how women must now work cos men have gone to the front, so you know ask at any employment exchange you can now work, you can be part of the war effort, you don't have to just look after children anymore, you can actually do something, enter the public sphere.</p> <p><b>And is there anything about it that makes it memorable to you?</b></p> <p>I think the woman is the most memorable thing, but it's the whole thing cos it works as a poster, it's just it's like, it's like the first Keep Mum She's Not So Dumb, it's the overall thing that does[unintelligible]</p> <p><b>Okay then any other thoughts or memories coming to mind?</b></p> <p>Umm, I'm thinking about made in Dagenham cos that's the only film I've seen that involves women working in a factory, but um, but that's sort of the only faint one. Not really is the answer. I guess there are a lot of iconic images of the queen working on the land, you know obviously that was on the land rather than factories but then that's the other thing.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>Umm excited about the breaking down of traditional gender norms no, errr but umm I think this is one of the- it's more like sort of the Dig for Victory the ideas of everyone coming together and [unintelligible] and it's so odd this one cos you know women are suddenly allowed to work, and it's like the two world wars changed, I know I studied- cos for a-level part of [unintelligible] study</p>

		<p>[unintelligible] the suffrage campaign in America, it's like the effects of the two world wars were like the biggest effects. So I'm thinking about that and then how obviously after the war they were like right out stop stop working now, to limited success.</p> <p><b>Okay so there's a positivity-</b></p> <p>Yeah and then a negativity of what then happened afterwards.</p> <p><b>Yeah.</b></p> <p><b>Okay and which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I think the woman more than anything else.</p> <p><b>And then is this a well-known image would you say?</b></p> <p>Yeah I'd say- you know, I'd say of the ones that aren't keep calm, well the big three, it's probably the one most after that, so not keep calm carry on, Dig for Victory and Careless Talk Costs Lives, which I do think are another level, like this is more than the other ones.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
15	53:21.4 - 57:46.5	<p><b>Then last one.</b></p> <p>Last one!</p> <p><b>Do you-</b></p> <p>Oh yes.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>I do yeah. Umm definitely in school cos they liked anything with places, cos young boys like planes.</p> <p><b>So primary school?</b></p> <p>It was yeah. But umm,</p> <p><b>Do you remember this phrase?</b></p> <p>Yeah but I couldn't- if you'd said to me what are the words at the bottom of the Churchill poster with spitfires I wouldn't have remember what it was, but I'd have known it was something like that, but I do now I see it yeah.</p> <p><b>In your opinion what is this image?</b></p> <p>Well this is something you know- the rest of them are all about, you know what you can do basically and this one's obviously that but it's like saying oh yes but I'm Mr Churchill, you know, we all- it's also saying we need to unite and all that sort of basic level stuff, but it's more about you know this is your leader, this is the army, these are the front of society at the moment.</p> <p><b>And why do you think you have remembered it? Is there something about it?</b></p> <p>I think it's- this one it's the planes and the tanks ad Churchill, which just form a younger age were exciting cos we weren't able to study them because we kept droning on about the bloody evacuees, umm, yeah. I was so fed up with it. I once brought in a book about El Alamein to a class on the evacuees saying can we talk about this instead, and was told no, we have to do what you would've done in the war.</p> <p><b>Oh yeah I suppose cos you're children, they'd be like oh yeah you'll be interested in other children.</b></p> <p>Exactly yeah. And I was but it was when it was like the third time we studied the evacuees and I'm just like I do not want to have to come in now in another sleeveless jumper dressed up as what I would've looked like during the war. I want to do the fighting. Yeah. But yeah that's what I think the most. This is a clever one because- and it's also cos like the whole colouring's quite interesting cos I think</p>

	<p>ben Macintyre's what agent zigzag, agent zigzag the sequel, agent zigzag the sequel, they all have like that sort of colouring on the front cover which I'm assuming is deliberate. But that may be completely off the reservation.</p> <p><b>And anything else, any other thoughts, memories not mentioned?</b></p> <p>I think the sort of the sense of sort of pride, it's a very small sense of pride, I don't want to overuse it, but it's like the Dig for Victory on in that sense.</p> <p><b>And which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I think Churchill's face. Smiley face.</p> <p><b>You see that as a smile?</b></p> <p>I think it's a reassuring smile, it's a very faint smile, but it is a sense of reassurance. He's not sticking his tongue out.</p> <p><b>And would you expect this to be well known by others?</b></p> <p>Yeah. But I think it's like the women in the factories one it's sort of like the next level it's not, Careless Talk Costs Lives, Keep Calm and Carry On and Dig for Victory are the most famous ones, and then I would say this is then in the next category of Make-do and Mend and [unintelligible] before the slightly obscure ones. Cos this one's different like it's not you know- it's showing who's leading you in a way the others explicitly aren't. [unintelligible] together.</p> <p><b>So it's more specific in that sense?</b></p> <p>Yeah exactly.</p>
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### Interview 15: 6208995313

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant 6208995313 on 22 September 2017 at King's College London.

- Year of birth: 1974
- Age bracket: 1966-1975
- Gender: Male
- Highest level of education: Master's Degree
- Birth region: Scotland

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 3:02.3	<p><b>Just to explain, there are going to be 10 images, five of which you've seen before, you can repeat yourself if you like. Just slightly more detailed questions and the questions will repeat themselves each time. The first section is really not with the images, it's for me to understand how Second World War features in your life, in your family and that kind of things. Are there any family memories that have been passed down to you?</b></p> <p>Yes. My granddad on my dad's side, he served in India and Burma during war, mainly India. There are various family stories about him disappearing for, it must have been three, four years he was gone and him coming home and he was still dressed in his tropical uniform. Walked up the street in I think it was Doncaster, my grandparents were living at that time, wearing his tropical fatigues and slouch hat, and my grand didn't recognise him.</p>

		<p><b>Wow.</b></p> <p>There's little snippets like that and then when I was growing up there were various photographs in my parents' house and in my grandparents' house of him in uniform with his gurka troops or the Indian troops he was working with or whatever. I was always quite aware of bits and pieces of the Second World War from quite an early age.</p> <p>One of favourite memories of my granddad is he has a err certificate, a commendation, that he got for his work during D-Day in— because they brought him home just in time for D-Day to help, because he worked with supplying things. He got accommodations, because he worked for 72 hours straight or something in preparing for D-Day he got mentioned. That's one of my favourite, memento of my granddad, because he's dead now. It was always something I was conscious of as a kid.</p> <p><b>Did he talk about it particularly or was it—?</b></p> <p>Not particularly, no. He wasn't averse to talking about it if you asked him, but it wasn't something he really wants to— by the time I a young— I was born in 1974. By the time I was old enough to ask him questions about it, it had been 40 years really since he done it. I don't think it really figured hugely in his own memories, necessarily.</p> <p><b>He'd moved on, to some extent?</b></p> <p>Yes. He had moved on. Although interestingly one of my abiding memories of my granddad is that he always used to get up at half past four in the morning and start making porridge. That was because that's what he used to do in the army. Literally, that was his habit for years afterwards.</p> <p>That was the family understanding was that that was a hangover from his army days, which is interesting. I don't know if it's true or not, but that was certainly a funny story.</p>
2	3:02.3 - 4:56.8	<p><b>Then apart from family, did you learn about Second World War at school?</b></p> <p>Yes, a little bit. In fact, I think possibly because of those little snippets from granddads past, I was always interested in the Second World War, which I was quite a bit young actually. I had comic books and popular history books and aircraft airfix models and all those things that little boys of my generation did. Yes, World War Two was the through all of it.</p> <p>I remember my mum used to get sick of it to be honest, because she always wanted a pacifist family and then she had two boys, who immediately loved to play soldiers built aircraft models and all that kind of stuff. My dad, for reasons I— maybe— again because of his dad, he had this huge collection of what I realize now were very '70s and '80s era novels about heroes in the Second World War.</p> <p>They were entirely fictional, but people like— there was an author called John Harris and another one called— I forgot his name, but they drew endlessly about, you know, heroes in the Second World War and I— because I just read I was a [unintelligible] reader when I was a kid, I actually read all these books. I had these— some very fictional ideas about the Second World War.</p> <p>But we did do a little bit in school. I went to school in Edinburgh, the curriculum was different than it would've been here. But we did a little bit on— I can't remember now, but actually it wasn't strictly speaking about the Second World War, it was about the 1930s and the dictators in Europe and that kind of stuff. and that lead into the Second World War. We only did a little bit then, about the Second World War. It was more about the rise in fascism, the rise of communism, that kind of stuff.</p>
3	4:56.8 - 11:46.0	<p><b>I'll move on to the first image. Do you recognise this?</b></p>

I do indeed recognise—I certainly recognise the phrase. Just a big—it was a big ministry of information letters, 'Dig for Victory', yes. I do recognise that one.

**Do you have a— this is difficult to think back but to this, but do you have a sense of where you might've seen this first? A guess.**

Honestly, I suspect it was the kind of thing that they'd shown us at school. Not in a structured way, but just in those courses I was talking about, some images about— because it's a good image for a kid in a classroom. Just with my own general reading about the war and stuff. Things like, 'Dig for Victory' and the land army and stuff.

To be honest when I was a kid, I probably wouldn't— or the first time that I saw it, I probably wouldn't have been able to tell you very much about what was behind it. I think that probably came a bit later, but the image I think I remember seeing it quite young.

**Then this is a deliberately vague question I'm going to ask you. In your opinion, what is this image?**

What is this image?

**If it was up on the wall and somebody said, "What is that?" How would you— ?**

I would say it's a propaganda poster from the Second World War. It's encouraging people to turn over gardens, public lands, open lands into productive agricultural land, because Britain was under a huge amount of pressure during the Atlantic war, 'Battle of the Atlantic', to import enough food.

It was an effort to get people to do even a little bit, to grow more food for themselves so that the British Isles were a bit more self-sufficient in terms of food.

**You do know it. Why do you think you know it? Is it that— do you think you've just seen it a lot or it's been repeated a lot or is there anything about it that makes it particularly memorable?**

Th boot on the shovel is quite an iconic image and it's very much in a style with some other posters of that period. It's very simple, but striking. Almost slightly abstract image of something to do with the war. I think I recognise it as part of a family of similar images and things, rather than specifically having a particular resonance with that one. If that makes sense.

**You know it, because it fits in with those another set of similar images?**

Yes.

**Are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at this? Anything at all?**

The movie, 'Land Girls.' Don't ask me why. I've only ever seen it once. Yes, and actually what was that one? Is it housewife 47?

**Housewife 49.**

49, yes. Again it's got that feel to it of the home front and ordinary people being drawn into something big.

**How does it make you feel, if anything?**

That's quite difficult for me to unpick, because 'm now a military historian, so I have a whole set of intellectual set of frameworks to look at it. But I suppose, growing up and particularly with the things I was exposed to as a kid, I'm quite proud of it just like that, because they speak to something about our history in Britain.

It's unlike some of the other images you might see from the war. It's quite an uncomplicated and morally simple image in that it's about people growing food to survive. It's not about bomber over Berlin or—

**It's inherently good.**

		<p>Yes. It's a civilian image. It's about people acting together, it's a certainly of self-sacrifice and hard work. It's an easy thing to be quite proud of from British history of that era. In a way that maybe some other things have become a bit more complicated, as time has gone on.</p> <p><b>Which part of it draws your eye first, when you look at it?</b></p> <p>I think it's that, the crop tip with the boot on the shovel.</p> <p><b>Then you did— actually, first, do you think this is a well-known image by other people in Britain, would you guess?</b></p> <p>I think so, yes. I mean certainly that phrase, 'Dig for Victory' in association with images like this. I don't know if they ever used any other images, but certainly that. That phrase and that image together is very— yes.</p> <p><b>You did use the word 'Iconic' earlier. What do you mean by that word, specifically?</b></p> <p>It might be a slightly more recent phenomenon, but you know that quirky, 'Keep calm and carry-on' and the rest of it. What that's done is reintroduce people or remind people of the set of posters that this was part of. That were the first time that people in Britain really saw— well, no it's not. The first one or the first time people saw propaganda posters, but there was something very particular about this type of propaganda posters from the home front and the Second World War.</p> <p>They weren't like this. They're quite modern in an artistic sense. There's an element of design and thoughtfulness to them as opposed to Kitchener pointing at you and saying, "We want you", kind of thing. That is just instantly recognizable. In fact, I think anyone who's seen any of them, they would immediately say, "Well that's one of those posters." It became almost style icons and design icons. I don't know whether they are iconic in terms of—to other people, in terms of speaking about the '40s and the war and the war experience.</p> <p>I presume to a certain generation, they must be, because they grew up with them. But in my generation, I didn't grow up with these, but I instantly recognise them and instantly know what they're part of.</p> <p><b>It's the instant recognition and linking to a wider -</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>- area.</b></p>
4	11:46.0 - 16:13.2	<p><b>Next one. Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>There's an element of it I think I recognise. But I couldn't place it, really. It's another thing, but there's something about the rows of seats under the table. Something about the layout of it is familiar, but I couldn't say I recognise that particular image. It's just something— there's a little points of it that I do recognise.</p> <p><b>You said possibly you've seen it before.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Again, do you have any guess as to, if you have seen it, where that might be in?</b></p> <p>It's a bit of a giveaway, it's got imperial museum in the...</p> <p>[laughter]</p> <p><b>Yes, that's this one.</b></p> <p>To be honest, no. This one, I couldn't tell you where. because it's not— it just doesn't grab me the way the first one did.</p> <p><b>Okay. In your opinion, what is this image then?</b></p> <p>It's an extension on the slightly more artistic, slightly more sophisticated development of the concept of the first picture. About everyone doing their bit to</p>

		<p>grow food, for themselves and take the pressure off the navy and the convoys, to feed themselves. I think it's quite interesting, the army flat cap on the table next to the plate which is an interesting one. That didn't immediately jump out at me there, it was just as I was looking at it. It's interesting actually, because there's a more explicit connection that it makes than the first one, between feeding yourself and the army. Being fed. Which is interesting.</p> <p><b>Would you say it's more or less effective than the other one?</b></p> <p>I actually think the other one is more effective. I think the trajectory is more effective. This one is a bit more refined, if that's the right word. Slightly more artistic maybe. But I think because it is slightly more sophisticated in a graphics sense, actually it loses a little bit of impact. But again, maybe that's— maybe I'm retroactively ascribing some impact to the Dig for Victory one, because of that status it's got—</p> <p>— <b>better, it must be.</b></p> <p>It must be more effective.</p> <p><b>Any other thoughts or memories come to mind with that?</b></p> <p>Not really, not with that one. I do recognise the style of it, because I have seen other— this one, you might even have it in the list. Some of those mum posters, the ones— 'Shut your mouth' posters. Some of them have a similar feel to them, a slightly cartoon-ish, newspaper-y— newspaper art or magazine art feel to them. That's familiar, but other than that, no.</p> <p><b>Does it make you feel anything at all talking about?</b></p> <p>This one, no. Actually. Not particularly. It just doesn't have that resonance, I think.</p> <p><b>Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I think it was this graphic transition from the knife to the spade and the fork to the garden fork. That immediately—</p> <p><b>Great. Would you guess that this is a well-known image by other people?</b></p> <p>I suspect not. Just because it requires a little bit more effort from the earth. It doesn't grab me quite the same way that some of the others do. I'd be surprised if it's as memorable as some others.</p>
5	16:13.2 - 20:56.3	<p><b>Next one. Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Actually from the exercise</p> <p><b>I can see that. I can check back on that.</b></p> <p>I think it's more I recognise the style and an effect, than I do the image. And the phrase, Make-do and Mend obviously, is that— making a bit of a comeback. I think it's a set of associations rather than actually recognizing the image, if that makes sense.</p> <p><b>The slogan then, you do?</b></p> <p>Absolutely.</p> <p><b>Did anyone use that slogan at all or is it from posters like this one?</b></p> <p>Actually, funny enough, I'm sure I remember my parents, my grandparents using it when I was growing up. It's just one that they throw away lines that— not in a slightly ironic sense that people use it now, but...</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>But yes, there was just a— because when I was a kid in the '70s, particularly in the— being born in the 70s, my earliest memories was about '78, '79. Actually, my family, although we were okay, we didn't have a huge amount of money when I was little.</p>

		<p>My mum and dad both had to start their career. There was an element of not doing— consumerism. There was an element of my mom mending things. Not in any poverty sense, but more of just a being a bit careful with things. That's certainly the way that they've both been brought up. I remember the phrase.</p> <p><b>Then lived by that phrase to some extent. Then in your opinion, what is this image?</b></p> <p>[pause] It's an interesting one, because it's very— it's quite an artistic attempt to get across, actually quite a simple message. So, and it's—[pause] I don't know how to describe this one. It's quite an interesting picture. There's a lot going on, umm, In a way, actually, the Make-do and Mend isn't prominent enough. You almost put the Make-do and Mend to the top and Go Through Your Wardrobe with the bottom kind of thing. But it's a slightly artistic appeal, I presume, from a women's magazine or something, to encourage women to find things in the wardrobe that actually with a little bit of effort, they could reuse.</p> <p>To try and encourage them not to be too sniffy about wearing something that's maybe got a tear in it or what have you.</p> <p><b>Okay. Any other thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>No memories, really. Thoughts, I think it's a but fussy. [laughter] But it's an interesting one actually.</p> <p><b>You don't like the design much?</b></p> <p>No. Again, it feels like one of those ones that's in like a magazine or in a newspaper or something that—like a half page ad or something. It fits with this journalistic style at that time in terms of what we actually see from papers of the magazines about Europe. But no, I don't particularly like the image, but it's interesting. Interesting to see the board of trade badge on the bottom, because that's such a '40s, '50s, '60s thing. The Board of Trade, the daily board, the egg production board, all that kind of stuff. It's quite interesting to see that.</p> <p><b>Looking at it, does it make you feel anything any emotion to it?</b></p> <p>I have to say, no. Not really. Not that one.</p> <p><b>Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I would say the figure, to be honest. I think my eye went to the figure first.</p> <p>This whole—her— the woman holding up her clothes and comparing them.</p> <p><b>Would you expect this is well-known by other people?</b></p> <p>I actually don't know, because I don't really recognise it other than the style. I genuinely couldn't say. I suspect not, but I couldn't really say.</p>
6	20:56.3 - 23:28.2	<p><b>Okay. All right. Next one. Do you recognise this image?</b></p> <p>Not at all.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise, Mrs. Sew and Sew? [laughter]</b></p> <p>I really don't. That's an odd one. I have to say—I mean obviously Make-do and Mend I recognise, but no the— she's quite sinister. She's got obviously the most entertainment. There's a certain Chucky doll thing going on there.</p> <p><b>Definitely, yes.</b></p> <p>No, I don't recognise that at all.</p> <p><b>What is this image then? What do you guess?</b></p> <p>[laughter]</p> <p>Well, -</p> <p><b>Difficult.</b></p>



		<p>- again, it's— I'll associate with that— encouraging people to be free to look and repair the culture and find new ones and all that stuff. It's got a certain unfinished, not used quality to it as if it was rejected. I don't know why. It just seems slightly unfinished. Maybe it was. I don't know. So, yeah, I'm honestly slightly disturbed. [laughter]</p> <p><b>That's interesting.</b></p> <p>[laughter]</p> <p><b>Any other thoughts or memories at all coming to mind?</b></p> <p>Not at all. That's completely new to me. That one.</p> <p><b>In terms of how it makes you feel then? Disturbed.</b></p> <p>Sorry, I realize that's quite a strong reaction.</p> <p><b>Not really. I get the same with this one and lots of responses. No. I'm just pleased when I hear that. Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I have to say, it's the creepy doll face. [laughter]</p> <p><b>Then I would suppose then that you wouldn't expect this to be well-known?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Of course you don't.</b></p> <p>No. There's no hook for that at all, that I recognise. No, I would be surprised if that was a memorable one.</p>
7	23:28.2 - 29:11.2	<p><b>Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>I do.</p> <p><b>I believe that you do.</b></p> <p>The walls have ears, Careless Talk Costs Lives. I do recognise that Hitler wallpaper. It is such an incredible idea. Yes, absolutely. Definitely, recognise that one.</p> <p><b>Again, do you have a sense of where or when you might've seen that?</b></p> <p>[pause] hmmm [pause] I have a feeling I've seen it in a history book or something like that. In something talking about this idea of espionage and spying and that intelligence work. I think, I'm sure I've seen this or something quite like it in a history book.</p> <p><b>In your opinion, what does this image?</b></p> <p>It's an appeal to people to not gossip, basically, about what they know. Whether it's, what ship her husband's serving on or something about a letter home from their brother or something to just not share that really or at least only share things that aren't careless, because the you never know who might be listening. It's a bit of a fear of— slight war-time paranoia, which because I've done the reading because of the history. Actually, Britain was very successful in shutting down German espionage, which actually was much less a problem than posters like this might suggest might suggest. Particularly on the home front. It was all part of their effort to remind people that they were— even when they were having tea and sandwiches they're still in a war. You never know who might hear what you might say.</p> <p><b>Again, as you know it— as you do know it, why do you think you know it? Is there something about it or is it just that you've seen it quite often</b></p> <p>I think I've seen it in the context of a slightly wider discussion about, as I said, about spying and espionage or things like that. It's just one of a number of images you will see for that.</p> <p><b>Any other thoughts or memories connected to any element of it?</b></p> <p>Well, again interestingly, 'The walls have ears' was one of these things that people used to say when I was growing up, if they wanted you to just maybe be slightly discreet. Obviously, I didn't actually think that people were— if you were listening.</p>

		<p>It was a slightly throwaway line, which was— if you were standing in the corridor at school and started talking, somebody might say, 'Watch out. Walls have ears', kind of thing. That's ironic in a way. No, it was definitely a phrase that people used when I was growing up.</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel?</b></p> <p>I think it's quite an interesting set, because I know that there are other posters which speak to the same thing. This isn't necessarily the most striking of them. There's one or two that I love when I see them they just make me laugh every time.</p> <p><b>Other ones like this one?</b></p> <p>Other ones specifically talking about 'Careless talk', cross line or keep mum and stuff like that. There's other posters, but in this family with the same message, I just find it really interesting and it's— I just think it's interesting that it treats it in quite a light way, if you know what I mean. It doesn't have the shadowy hand of Hitler reaching out of the wall and thing. There's a slightly humorous thing to it, which I like. That actually— that sort of slightly humorous thing, slightly— naive is not the right word, but simple kind of thing strikes me as very, umm, representative of a period that there was a certain amount of willingness to use a bit humour and a bit of, sort of, every day curtness to get on this huge message across.</p> <p><b>This has some positivity and humour if you like.</b></p> <p>Yes. No way disturbed by this one. [laughter] No. Well, that's the thing. They've made him slightly comic the way they've drawn it. They've made— they've taken the menace away from him, really, and made him— that's a slightly hapless Hitler on the wall there.</p> <p><b>Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>I think it's the two ladies or the sandwiches there.</p> <p><b>Would you expect this is a well-known image?</b></p> <p>I certainly think the phrase and, you know the sort of, the general composition is quite familiar. I don't know whether that specific combination of images is. But yeah, I think this is quite familiar.</p> <p><b>This design is a well-thought-of design?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Would you use the term 'Iconic', for this one?</b></p> <p>Of this particular poster, no, because I think there are others speaking to the same thing that I would immediately recognise. Certainly, that 'Careless talk cost lives', is definitely quite an iconic phrase.</p>
8	29:11.2 - 33:59.5	<p><b>All right. There's another one. Do you recognise it?</b></p> <p>Yes. That one is iconic.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>Absolutely, yes. That one makes me laugh every time. Obviously, that's just such a great image. It is one of those iconic ones. I think there is another one that's not dissimilar to it. Again a bit of a floozy, sit back in a chair and be courted by all these officers. It's just a great image. I love that image. I think it's really fine.</p> <p><b>Do you think this is— you've seen this in history books and things like that?</b></p> <p>Yes. If not this one, one very similar to it. I think it's just instantly— you just immediately know the era— of the issue. It's just very much— very recognizable idea.</p> <p><b>Yes, then what is this image?</b></p> <p>Yes. It's a really great image of the dangers of showing off, showing off that work of yours, because the people who are most likely to want to hear you showing off</p>

that you work here, are actually people you probably shouldn't know about it. It's warning about all sorts of dangers, the dangers of drink and fast women. [laughter] To your officer on leave kind of thing. Yes, it's great.

**The 'Keep mum' phrase.**

Yes.

**Do you remember anyone using that at all? 'Keep mum' phrase?**

Again, like 'The walls have ears', 'Keep mum' is one of those phrases for— you need to keep quiet about this.

**Yes, all right.**

When I was growing up— maybe again, it's just my family, maybe they were just— but no. Yes, 'Keep mum' again, was a fairly common place expression. It makes me wonder actually, because although I grew up in Edinburgh, my parents were both English and came from English families, who both had a particular experience with the war. Actually, I forgot when we were talking about experience of the war, I went to speak to my granddad in the military, but my mom's mom, she went away to work in to a factory.

**Okay.**

It was the first time she left Sunderland. She went away to work in a war factory in Birmingham. I think maybe, just because of the family background I have, maybe some of these expressions were a bit more prevalent than it would've been if I had Scottish parents.

**Yes, okay.**

Because there is some in quite English-

**Because they are all involved in—**

- about some of these phrases as well. That— you can imagine someone with a very received pronunciation accent, would've said these phrases over the radio.

**Yes. [laughter]**

Yes. Maybe that's what it is, actually. That they had a slightly stronger resonance for my parents, growing up in England than it might've done in Scotland— I don't know how these posters were distributed in different parts of the country. Because presumably, some phrases as I mentioned to you, the Ministry of Information propaganda would know that some phrases would and wouldn't work in different places, because we know they were quite sophisticated about some of that. Maybe that's it.

**Yes. [unintelligible] Okay. What is it about it that makes it so memorable? Is it something design?**

Well, it's— yes. It's actually quite a striking piece of art work, I think. Just the way it's drawn in that sort of charcoal effect, with the sort of splashes of vivid colour and contrast. It's actually just a really good image, umm, from an artistic point of view and is something quite— I don't usually say this about art, because I'm not much of an art critic, but it is quite alive as an image. There's a sense of sort of motion and things happening as an image, where some of those are a bit little flat. that's quite— you can almost hear the piano playing and smells the smoke.

**Okay. Any of these thoughts, memories that you haven't mentioned?**

I don't think so.

**How's it make you feel, the image?**

I think, it makes me smile, it makes me laugh, because it's just so— it's just such a particular moment. That it's just representative of something.

**Yes.**

It just makes me smile, a slightly, a nostalgic thing, which is slightly odd.

		<p><b>Nostalgic for the era, kind of thing, yes.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>[laughter] It's her lipstick. [laughter] Just something about the way that—</p> <p><b>I think that's deliberate</b></p> <p>Well, I think that's probably right. Yes, -</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>- exactly.</p>
9	33:59.5 - 36:13.4	<p><b>Right, okay. Do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>I recognise the phrase, I don't recognise the image -</p> <p><b>Okay</b></p> <p>- at all. It's just slightly odd image, actually.</p> <p><b>Yes. [laugh]</b></p> <p>Yes. I don't recognise that.</p> <p><b>Again, you mentioned that people used to say 'Keep mum', did they used to say the whole phrase -</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>- or was it just 'Keep mum' thing?</b></p> <p>No, but I do recognise the phrase from somewhere else. I couldn't immediately say where. I feel like another poster, I guess—</p> <p><b>Okay, yes.</b></p> <p>- because it's such a— it's very much of its era, that one. Be Like Dad Keep Mum. It could only be from the '40s or '50s really. But no, I don't recognise that at all.</p> <p><b>What is it? This image then, is it the same as the other?</b></p> <p>Well, I assume it's an effort to take that idea of not saying things you shouldn't, slightly more— isn't slightly more domestic setting. I don't know. There's something— because of that 'Be like dad' thing, it maybe intended to bring it home for people a bit more, rather than the idea 'That you're only in danger, if you are out.'</p> <p><b>Yes, like the other two. Okay, any thoughts or memory coming to mind?</b></p> <p>Honestly, no. Other than the phrase, no, that one I don't have any connection to, at all.</p> <p><b>Emotional response at all?</b></p> <p>Not really.</p> <p><b>It's a very simple image. [laughter]</b></p> <p>I'm wondering what this safety pin is for, to be honest. It seems like an odd design, but that's not really speaking to me, that one.</p> <p><b>Okay. A bit strange with this one, but which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The big, white.</p> <p><b>The white, okay. Great and then— that you wouldn't expect this to be well known?</b></p> <p>No.</p>

10	36:13.4 - 41:06.4	<p><b>Okay, next one. Do you recognise this image? [laughter]</b></p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>Oh look! That comes up so many times.</p> <p>Yes, I think you can safely assume -</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>- that I recognise that one.</p> <p><b>Yes, right. Do you have a sense of where you saw this? When you saw this first, more interesting?</b></p> <p>Actually, there was— the first time I saw it, funnily enough, it was not an internet meme that was actually in a shop in Edinburgh. One of these, sort of, umm, historical memento shops. They were selling, actually they all used— the proliferation of posters hadn't happened by that point. This was actually the only one they sold, of this style. I remember seeing it in there and really liking it, actually.</p> <p><b>You liked it when you first saw it?</b></p> <p>Absolutely, yes. I really like it, I thought it was great. I've actually been to the second-hand book shop that claims to have found the original, in Northumberland.</p> <p><b>Okay, I haven't been there. [laughter]</b></p> <p>But yes they claimed to have found, I don't know if it's true or not, they claimed to have found a whole bunch of things, but this was the one that they based art selling and then it took off. Presumably they weren't in a position to copyright it, because it was never produced at the first place. Otherwise, it wouldn't be inside that bookshop anywhere.</p> <p><b>[laughter]</b></p> <p>No, I love that. It looks great.</p> <p><b>What is it then?</b></p> <p>It's, again one of those ministry of information posters, exalting everybody to just get their head down and do their bit for the war effort. despite the bombs falling or rationing or whatever. I think it's probably a blitz one, to be honest, because of the 'Keep calm' element, I don't know actually. I've never actually went through to find out when it was produced, but it's got that sort of 1940s sense of crisis to it. I think it's great. I've no idea how effective it was, but now it's really so powerful message actually, I think.</p> <p><b>Why do you think it's become so popular recently?</b></p> <p>I don't know why. I guess I think— well, it's only—It's funny I have this theory that people who are governing the world at the moment, are dealing with some issues that they had growing up, in the '60s and '70s, having been bombarded with images of greatness and our finest hour and images like these. I think it's no coincidence that images like these are now coming back. Are being appropriated all kinds of different purposes, because actually I think, just because the world has— seems to have gone a bit mad over the last 10 years, phrases like that just suddenly make sense to everybody. In a way that they wouldn't have done in the '90s, when everybody thought everything was fine. <b>[laughter]</b> By the time you get to 2008 and actually the world's catching fire. Things like these people go, "Yes, our grandparents, great grandparents went through bad times" and there's something quite reassuring, I suppose. The big fact of that there were, messages like this or in 50, 70, 80 years ago.</p> <p><b>Okay, right. Any other thoughts or memories coming to mind?</b></p> <p>Just that— that just— I used the word again, but that iconic font. That block font, just really, strong simple message. Bold colour and it just screams 1940. <b>[laughter]</b></p> <p><b>Which is why it's iconic. [laughter]</b></p>
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		<p><b>Okay, strange. Very strange with this one, but which part of it draws your eye first? If there is— or just the whole thing?</b></p> <p>Yes, it's just that the thing— it is just such a strong image, that actually the whole thing just— the whole thing—</p> <p><b>How does it make you feel? Does it make you feel calm?</b></p> <p>Does it make me feel calm? Umm, no. It's an odd one that it makes me feel a bit patriotic and it makes me feel a bit nostalgic for an era. That same sort of feeling, [pause] that's my first thought. Then my second thought is well, it's actually quite— it's slightly patronizing and it's slightly naive.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>But it's very British, stiff upper lip. All those associations with the 1940s.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Still positive?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Not fed up with it?</b></p> <p>No, no by no means. Not a bit.</p> <p><b>That's good.</b></p> <p>I have an almost endless appetite for images like that too. I may not be your best sample.</p>
11	41:06.4 - 44:57.3	<p><b>Okay, then do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>I'm not sure I recognise that one specifically, but I'm sure I have seen an image like it, but—</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>I couldn't, for example, tell you whether in fact it was a Soviet one or something, because -</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>- I think to be honest, most of the big industrialized countries during the war produced similar pictures with streams of bombers -</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>- and women either waving them off or producing them or -</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>- or whatever. If you cut it off at just the image of a woman, a factory and bombers or tanks or whatever, then yes. That's, I think, quite recognizable. I couldn't honestly tell you that I had seen the bottom part of it, if you see what I mean?</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>That it was specifically about women working and coming into factories, kind of thing.</p> <p><b>Right.</b></p> <p>That's the top half of the images. It seems very recognizable.</p> <p><b>Yeah. Okay. And then, what is this image?</b></p> <p>Again, it's one of these great home front images about encouraging more women into the workforce, to free up men to serve at the front or to make up for the fact that so many men are having to go to the front.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p>

		<p>It's trying to encourage women to maybe abandon some traditional gender assumptions about what was appropriate work for women, umm, and actually get to work. Yes, I think that's it.</p> <p><b>Yes, okay. Any thoughts come to mind or memories?</b></p> <p>Well, like you say, I'm sure I've seen [pause] various images that are very similar in actually, in composition and in style and in tone. I don't have a memory of— well, I couldn't tell you that it was a memory of this poster specifically, -</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>- but I definitely have memories of again, in books that I've been reading about the war and of seeing images like that in discussions of the home front.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>The breakthrough that this was for the employment of women and things like that.</p> <p><b>Yeah. Okay. How does it make you feel looking at it?</b></p> <p>I don't know. I mean it— I find this one more intellectually interesting than emotionally resonant, because actually there's quite— [pause] I guess for example, if you'd ask my gran if you did go away to the factory, -</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>- it would probably have quite a strong personal experience for her.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>As a man, reading about the war started off with big battles and stuff and only later, understanding the home front stuff it's got slightly more intellectual associations.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>Yes, okay, I get that, I understand that, but it doesn't have that resonance that some of the others do, if that makes sense?</p> <p><b>Yes. Yes. Okay, which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>The arms. The sort of Maria in the hills singing "The Sound of Music" -</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>- expression.</p> <p><b>Then would you guess this is well-known?</b></p> <p>I certainly think images like this are well known. I couldn't speak to that one.</p> <p><b>Okay, similar, yes. You said the similar design.</b></p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p><b>Probably is. Okay.</b></p>
12	44:57.3 - 49:38.5	<p><b>Last one, do you recognise this one?</b></p> <p>Of course I do, yes. The man himself.</p> <p><b>Do you recognise the phrase?</b></p> <p>I do, yes. In fact I recognise the poster just straight out.</p> <p><b>The whole thing.</b></p> <p>I recognise the whole thing.</p> <p><b>Right.</b></p> <p>I couldn't honestly tell you where the phrase was come from. Whether it was specifically from one of his speeches.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p>

It may have come from the famous speech, I don't know, I know bits of that speech, I don't know all of it. The Battle of Britain speech. The fighting on the beaches speech. But yeah, instantly recognizable.

**Do you think you know this from books again or is it...?**

Yes. I think probably from history books. You do see it in the shops now as well, actually. It's one of those ones that, once the 'Keep Calm and Carry On poster' had taken the finger out— this was one of the posters that came up, so yes. It's had a second life, this image and but no. I definitely recognise it from any study of Churchill, any history book that talks about 1940 and the blitz and stuff. This is the kind of image you see.

**Yes.**

With Churchill as the smoker.

**Okay.**

Well, he was loving it. He was having a great time. If ever there was a man born to be a war time hero -

**Yes.**

- it was Churchill.

**Okay, then what is this image then?**

Well, this is one of those very straightforward, but very powerful, direct appeals from Churchill to population. Reinforce the radio messages and the speeches and the visits.

**Yes.**

You know that actually is— that actually is really good example of the way that the entire British establishment put Churchill's face on the war, because he was just— he was obviously the man for the job. It's just— it's just— it's actually quite an, effective effort to make the war, make you part of Churchill's army as it was.

**Yes.**

And tie you into that fighting spirit. The bulldog spirit that Churchill was exemplifying.

**Okay. Then any other thoughts or memories come to mind?**

Well, it's quite a familiar image of Churchill, but it then leads on by association to the various other images we see of Churchill. With him the cigar and his Tommy gun, or um, the 'V' sign on the steps of Downing street and stuff like that. It leads you into the whole set of images with Churchill.

**Yes.**

Because I'm a bit of an equipment geek, I'm trying to figure out what the tanks and aircraft are. Because those are some very early tanks actually. It must be a relatively early poster. Yes, I'm doing my little thing— No, it's not a great picture, but I would probably hazard a guess as to what those were. But, anyway—

**How does it make you feel?**

I love it, I think it's great. It's got one of those again, it's one of those nostalgic, finest hour images.

**Yes.**

I realize there's a lot of myths about— I wrote an essay about some of the myths -

**Yes.**

- from that period, but there was something genuinely quite noble about this period.

**Yes.**



	<p>In 1940, particularly actually before people got a bit tired by 1942. No, I— yes, I think it's a— it gives me sort of warm and fuzzy feelings.</p> <p><b>Pride.</b></p> <p>Yeah. Absolutely.</p> <p><b>Despite myths.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Okay. Which part of it draws your eye first?</b></p> <p>It's got to be Churchill's face.</p> <p><b>Yeah. This is a very obvious one. Would you expect this is well known?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>Yes. If not this one, then one of the very similar images. You know it's got to be of those Churchill in profile shots?</p> <p><b>Yes. Yes.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>So iconic.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Yes. Okay. The last one. Is there anything else you want to add at all?</b></p> <p>I don't think so. No. I just love looking at some of these pictures. If you like to see a couple of them, I'd just say, Oh. What's that', but no—</p>
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### Interview 16: 6140448209

Below is a transcript of an interview conducted with participant 6140448209 on 14 November 2017 at the participant's home in Wokingham.

- Year of birth: 1930
- Age bracket: 1925-1930
- Gender: Female
- Highest level of education: Bachelor's Degree
- Birth region: International

	Timespan	Content
1	0:00.0 - 3:41.3	<p><b>So the first things I want to ask are really about your own experience of the Second World War, your own memories of the Second World War, so-</b></p> <p>I was only ten when it started.</p> <p><b>And so what were your memories of the beginning of the war? Do you remember it?</b></p> <p>Mostly being evacuated, because we lived in Suffolk, when the false war came they thought Suffolk would be a great place for Germans to land, so they thought, because my brothers went to schools on the other side of England, they thought I'd be better if I wasn't there at this stage, and luckily that only lasted three months and</p>

		<p>I was allowed back home again. So that was when it first started. I remember sitting around the big old wireless listening to it being said that we're now at war. That's all I remember.</p> <p><b>And was that a scary time or, or did you not really think about it?</b></p> <p>I don't think- because especially because I was on my own, I don't know whether my brothers were still there, but it didn't really connect, what was it the second of September when war was declared.</p> <p><b>3rd of September I think it was.</b></p> <p>3rd. Well perhaps they wouldn't have been at school yet. Anyway, so it didn't really impinge on our— ourselves at all really. The first thing we knew about was probably the home guard being formed and that sort of thing, and mum not being there because she was at something else.</p> <p><b>Or right so she was involved in-</b></p> <p>She went to VAD and things like that in the village, when we lived in a small village.</p> <p><b>So did you live there throughout the war then?</b></p> <p>No we lived there from 1940, mmm, I suppose for two, and then we moved, my mother moved down to Devon and I was sent to school in Scotland.</p> <p><b>Oh right.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>And so you stayed there-</b></p> <p>Well because it was Scotland and Scotland never received much, they got a bit of bombing but not much, so I was more or less...</p> <p><b>It was quite quiet up there?</b></p> <p>It was very quiet I didn't know anything about it and one didn't have the, one didn't realise what the effect of all the bombing was, only what we read and what we heard, so as far as we were concerned really there wasn't a lot, the only- when we were still in Suffolk we knew it because there were prisoners of war around the place, we could see the squadrons of planes coming across to Coventry and Birmingham, but we didn't see the ones or course going to London, or might have made a much greater impression on us.</p>
2	3:40.7 - 6:10.3	<p><b>What about things like shortages and rationing - did that effect you? Did you notice it?</b></p> <p>We didn't notice a terrible lot about it no, err, I suppose sweets were the main thing [laughter] at that age.</p> <p><b>Yeah I suppose so.</b></p> <p>My mother was a good manager so we didn't really notice any of the other things. The one thing that did impinge was having our butter-each of us had a plate with our two ounces of butter on it for the week. And that was well guarded. Nobody took yours. Otherwise shortages- I don't think one really noticed it, cos I was really too young to go shopping, so it really was sweets until I went to school in Scotland, then you realised it.</p> <p><b>So it affected you more up there?</b></p> <p>It was a foul school, foul, well the really rather revolting food one got in schools.</p> <p><b>What sort of thing?</b></p> <p>Well interminable sort of mince which was usually termed as boiled baby cos you could see bits of tube in it and things like that. And endless baked beans, goodness knows where they came from, and it depended, the houses there were about four, five, six, seven, eight houses, the ones that had good housekeepers in them did very</p>

		<p>well, but the ones that didn't did not do so well, so- I do remember one time opening my fish on the plate and everything crawling out of it.</p> <p><b>Crawling out of it?!</b></p> <p>Yeah, little white bugs crawling out. And I was immediately sent out as though it was my fault, because I made remarks about it [laughter]. Otherwise- well you go on to ask a question.</p> <p>[PAUSE]</p>
3	6:10.3 - 11:09.8	<p><b>So do you remember when the war ended- were you in Scotland then?</b></p> <p>Pardon.</p> <p><b>At the end of the war-</b></p> <p>At the end of the war '45 I was still in Scotland and my mother was in Scotland too, she had moved up from the south, she was preparing to move south, she lived just on the banks of the Tay, so if any Germans did come up in their aeroplanes cos they all followed rivers to get where they were, you had a good view of them. I also remember too cos my bulldog died on VE died which rather upset me cos I was still at school of course, I wasn't there. But after that I think most- was when we went down during the war still, I used to go down in my holidays, down to my grandmother's in Devonshire where they bombed the church, or they thought they would. It was a catholic church and a church of England, they were very close together and they were on a high ground and our own people used to use them as landmarks coming home, but the Germans also used them as landmarks for going to places like Plymouth which was bombed to Hell. And er, things like that, but I remember coming back and seeing the church in ruins. And that was- the only other time we had it down there was when, not long after that, or could've been just before it, they made another attempt to bomb it, that's right and they only hit the church rooms which were beside the church- and my dog escaped from where it was chained up in the vicarage yard and I eventually- I didn't know what happened and a warden came up eventually and said do we own the bulldog that was now ensconced in somebody's doorway down the main thoroughfare would we come and fetch, its face was covered in glass so, wasn't very nice cos she got it all in her paws, but umm, I don't know. I remember the odd time going up to London and- it was amazing how quickly they cleared up the messes, it was amazing I mean considering the- we had always to go up by train and you'd see as you went through London the awful devastation around but it's amazing how they sort of cleared it up so you could walk through it. Traffic still continued, trains seemed to still run- it was- considering- we were up there one stage and I can't remember why, and they did a direct hit on some station, and they killed about two hundred people, I remember seeing that, I still remember seeing that in a, on a newspaper board.</p> <p><b>Do you remember being frightened?</b></p> <p>Yes at times, very frightened, yes. Although having said that I mean, we never got hit by a bomb or anything. Our best friend further down the road at the same time that they hit the church rooms was bombed out and she was in a wheelchair, and there was a- the lady in the house opposite was having her bath at the same time and the bath was blown out the window with her in it [laughter].</p> <p><b>Oh my goodness [laughter] did she survive that?</b></p> <p>Well she was alive yes, furious because there were male wardens and male things all around the place, here she was without anything, not even a- but that of course- these were the things that hit young people and we remembered. I suppose cos, a great deal of the laughter managed to help people along I suppose. Made you not so frightened.</p>

4	11:09.8 - 12:00.9	<p><b>Did you find that you talked about the war a lot afterwards, with the family and things or-?</b></p> <p>No, not a lot, not a lot, no. My brother, my eldest brother was called up and he went out to South Africa so he came back just as peace was declared and he landed, I don't quite know how, but he landed in England when they were all romping round London in all the squares.</p> <p><b>Ah yea Trafalgar Square and all that.</b></p> <p>Yeah. He used to try and find newspapers of himself, but I don't think he ever did [laughter].</p>
5	12:00.9 - 15:36.4	<p><b>Okay, then I'll show you some of these posters, and see what you have to say. So there are ten pictures here, five of them you saw before in the survey you did, so you can repeat yourself if you like or not it's fine I've got the survey. And the same questions with every one of them basically, so, the first one is this.</b></p> <p>Yes we did see that one, cos we lived in the country.</p> <p><b>Yes so where did you see it? Where was it displayed?</b></p> <p>Well I can't tell you exactly where but it was- cos we lived in a little village and we lived six miles from the nearest town which was Bury St Edmonds, and so one would've seen it when one went in to there or in the- against the school and against the church also had it, but it was a very familiar one.</p> <p><b>So in the streets generally, on walls, outside, that's where you were seeing it.</b></p> <p>Yes, oh yes. In actual fact it's the wrong foot isn't it.</p> <p><b>Yeah this is something that's been raised before, that it's got one leg.</b></p> <p>You don't dig like that, unless you're a one-legged man [laughter].</p> <p><b>Was it in this size when you saw it or was it very big?</b></p> <p>Oh no much bigger than that, yeah, it'd be full length, nearly full length, except possible if it was stuck on the noticeboard somewhere.</p> <p><b>Then are there any other thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at that? Does it remind you of anything?</b></p> <p>— looks like old [unintelligible] but, it was- no I suppose except- cos we dug our gardens before the war, we just thought well Dig for Victory it wasn't much different.</p> <p><b>Oh okay so you were already doing-</b></p> <p>We already dug anyway, whether for victory or not [laughter].</p> <p><b>[Laughter] Yes so this didn't really have an effect on anyone at the time.</b></p> <p>Yeah. It's a very- it was one that was everywhere.</p> <p><b>Okay and then do you have any feelings attached to this one, so when you look at it do you have any emotional response to it now, looking at it?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>And then, would you expect that this is a well-known image by people today in Britain?</b></p> <p>Well Dig for Victory the words certainly, whether the picture would remain on somebody's mind I don't know, but the words certainly meant more to people than the picture I should think.</p> <p><b>Yeah. Do you remember anyone using that phrase at all, saying it, during the war or any time?</b></p> <p>Probably only in sort of semi-joke if you know what I mean.</p>

		<p><b>Okay yeah.</b></p> <p>Not as- well not as a serious thing.</p>
6	15:36.4 - 17:39.3	<p><b>Next one, do you recognise this at all?</b></p> <p>No. I never saw that one, not even in the canteens or- no.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>IWM, what's that?</p> <p><b>That's the Imperial War Museum so that's just the mark from where the image comes from.</b></p> <p>No I never saw that one. Every available piece of land must be cultivated, yeah, no [laughter].</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p><b>[PAUSE]</b></p> <p><b>So this is a sort of a similar theme to Dig for Victory.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p><b>Which one do you think is kind of more successful or works better.</b></p> <p>I would think that one, it impinges on one's mind. The fact that- I might have seen that I wouldn't remember it.</p> <p><b>Okay so why do you think that might be, something about the image itself, that's not as good?</b></p> <p>Yeah I imagine- I don't know, I don't know it's a very difficult thing to say, in canteens about the only thing you know like- what were they called...</p> <p><b>The public canteens or?</b></p> <p>No they were on every railway station and the British something canteens or something- it might come to me.</p> <p><b>Okay, yeah. So that's where you think it's possible that you might have seen this?</b></p> <p>It could have come in that yes.</p> <p><b>That's where you'd expect it.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p>
7	17:39.3 - 22:18.2	<p><b>Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>I don't recognise the picture but I do recognise the sentiment.</p> <p><b>And the slogan Make-do and Mend?</b></p> <p>Make-do and Mend, well, yes, I remember that alright.</p> <p><b>Yes and did you know that from other posters or was it something people said, or-?</b></p> <p>I would say umm, I don't know cos it depends what sort of family you grew up near or what sort of area you lived in because so many people in those days made and mend anyway, so it really- I would have thought that really went through the more richer society should have had that but probably didn't.</p> <p><b>Yeah. So in your family you were already making do and mending?</b></p> <p>Well yeah.</p>

		<p><b>Making clothes and things like that?</b></p> <p>Yes, wearing all my cousins and brother's clothes.</p> <p><b>Did you sew and knit clothes and things?</b></p> <p>I did and in fact upstairs I still have a teddy bear I sewed all its jersey and its hat for. Just discovered it the other day in a box.</p> <p><b>And that was at that time?</b></p> <p>Yes. I got the bear when I was about 4, and I made the clothes when I was about 8 I suppose or 9.</p> <p><b>Impressive.</b></p> <p>So that was Make-do and Mend alright, probably pinched them off my brother.</p> <p><b>So again do you think people ever used that phrase in conversation, like Dig for Victory?</b></p> <p>Only just in passing as a throwaway line, but not over a serious— like WVS sewing parties and things like that. Because you didn't- it would be like telling your neighbour what to do and mostly when those sort of people got together for their sewing things it was making things for soldiers and sailors and things like that or rolling bandages and jobs like that.</p> <p><b>Any other thoughts or memories come to mind connected to anything here?</b></p> <p>No I don't think so. No, except the fashion [laughter].</p> <p><b>Yeah does that fashion sort of fit with what it was like-?</b></p> <p>Oh yeah, very much so.</p> <p><b>And then any emotional response at all, to the idea-?</b></p> <p>No, not really — I was too young to be worried about my clothes.</p> <p><b>Yes. Okay and then looking at that image, where's your eye drawn to first would you say?</b></p> <p>I'd probably think the dresses.</p> <p><b>The dresses first.</b></p> <p>Yes I would imagine so, cos they were very different from- quite different from the thirties dresses in a way. Yeah.</p> <p><b>Yes, sort of smaller, utility designs.</b></p> <p>Yes, utility things had a lot of different- like you'd make a skirt of panels using other clothes and things which these people didn't get through to- that picture doesn't get through to that, are you going to use that to make something to go with that do you understand me?</p> <p><b>Yes, so these don't look like they've been mended?</b></p> <p>No they don't, yeah, they don't.</p> <p><b>Okay and then would you expect that to be a well-known image at all?</b></p> <p>I don't think so. I don't think so. I never met it anyway.</p>
8	22:18.2 - 24:20.7	<p><b>Do you recognise that at all?</b></p> <p>No, never seen that one either.</p> <p><b>Do you remember at all the character Mrs Sew and Sew?</b></p> <p>Nope.</p> <p><b>Any other thoughts or memories that come to mind when you look at that?</b></p>

		<p>I think Make-do and Mend, they pinched from off the navy, who always made do and mend.</p> <p><b>Yeah, so that phrase you think definitely was around before then?</b></p> <p>Oh yeah I'm sure, Make-do and Mend. Cos it is- it's two different things isn't it. You make do and you mend something, they're different, two different occupations [laughter].</p> <p><b>Yeah [laughter].</b></p> <p><b>And then this one where is your eye drawn first?</b></p> <p>I don't know to the- probably to the- I don't know to the patch.</p> <p><b>The patch.</b></p> <p>Yes I don't know, it's difficult. Not particularly to anything but...</p> <p><b>And do you like this image?</b></p> <p>Not particularly I don't like the face.</p> <p><b>Yeah okay, so why not?</b></p> <p>Umm, I don't know it's- it's too doll like. I mean there were dolls that you liked and dolls that you didn't and that was a sort of peg doll- it was a sort of face that was sort of drawn on things, could quickly become [grimace].</p> <p><b>Yeah sort of scary.</b></p> <p>Yeah.</p>
9	24:20.7 - 28:35.5	<p><b>Do you recognise that one?</b></p> <p>Oh a very famous one yes. Don't forget walls have ears. Careless Talk Costs Lives was everywhere. Radio- I mean, railway stations, railways carriages, everywhere in hotels, everywhere you went. There were various versions all done by Fougasse, he was very good and because they were so well done like that people remembered them. I think he did an awful lot to help people to stop it..</p> <p><b>Okay so it worked?</b></p> <p>It did work because, it was everywhere, so that people who might start gossiping in carriages or buses if they caught sight of that they might think twice before they said anything but everybody liked the pictures they brightened everybody up and they thought oh my god I better be careful, I'm pretty sure, okay we might have got bored with it at the end of the war, but to start with I think it cut a wider swathe than people with their boots and their spades.</p> <p><b>Okay so when you say careless talk was everywhere you mean Fougasse, his designs?</b></p> <p>All of Fougasse- he did a lot of them and all of them were Careless Talk Costs Lives, okay he may have done other ones as well, but that was the one that I think everyone remembered.</p> <p><b>So on buses, trains-</b></p> <p>Buses, trains, everything.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>Also I think- they weren't just for you cos he was all over wherever there were military establishments, they were all over those as well, so,</p> <p><b>Okay then are there any other thoughts and memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>Oh just the general ones, they were well done, he was a well-known man.</p> <p><b>He was already popular-?</b></p> <p>Oh yes he was well known yeah, in punch and things like that.</p>

		<p><b>Yeah. And how does that make you feel, looking at it now?</b></p> <p>Bring back memories. Yeah the walls have ears it was the catchphrase.</p> <p><b>Okay so that's something people said.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>As a warning to each other?</b></p> <p>Yes, walls have ears, nudge nudge.</p> <p><b>Do you remember it being kind of uncomfortable feeling, that, in the sense that people were worried about spies and that kind of thing?</b></p> <p>Oh yes I think so, I think that was one of the reasons and because people did gossip so.</p> <p><b>Okay they did.</b></p> <p>Yes so I think it did help to make people aware of people listening to what you were saying. That was really it. You weren't alone in this world, just cos two of you were together having tea, or not.</p> <p><b>And then would you expect this is a well-known image today?</b></p> <p>Oh yes, that all of them I should think, all of them would be remembered, no matter how old you were.</p>
10	28:35.5 - 30:53.3	<p><b>Then this one, do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>I don't remember that one at all, I never saw that.</p> <p><b>Okay, do you think you've seen it after the war at all?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>Never seen it before?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>And the phrase 'keep mum' do you remember that?</b></p> <p>No, I mean, no I don't remember that, in that context at all. I mean obviously Careless Talk Costs Lives goes on but keep mum not so dumb that wasn't till I suppose the Americans arrived over. I don't know but I suspect that.</p> <p><b>So you think that was an American phrase maybe that they brought?</b></p> <p>I don't think we used the word dumb so much until the Americans came. I may be wrong but...</p> <p><b>And then any thoughts or memories that reminds you of?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel if anything?</b></p> <p>Typical.</p> <p><b>Typical?</b></p> <p>Typical [laughter]. I mean it's so,</p> <p><b>What do you mean by that?</b></p> <p>Well expecting people to be, I mean okay it's fair enough but, I suppose if you— It might mean something but, you'd put up in an officer's canteen probably or something like that but not other places, cos most of them wouldn't be associating with girls like that looking so beautiful, I mean you wouldn't have the money would you.</p> <p><b>No, so not as good as the Fougasse one?</b></p> <p>Oh definitely, absolutely.</p>



11	30:53.3 - 31:36.6	<p><b>Then this one. Do you recognise that at all?</b></p> <p>Be Like Dad Keep Mum. Umm, I don't remember that one because I suppose it wouldn't have- cos we didn't have a dad. So I would've blacked it out anyway, cos it was too soon, so I don't remember anything like that.</p> <p><b>And the keep mum phrase at all you don't remember that?</b></p> <p>No. Again I would've blacked it out.</p>
12	31:36.6 - 34:03.0	<p><b>Do you recognise this?</b></p> <p>Probably but it was so used and abused in Dad's Army [laughter].</p> <p><b>Ah yes [laughter].</b></p> <p>I don't remember seeing it, no. Not until I saw Dad's Army.</p> <p><b>Okay so you think that's probably the first time you've seen it?</b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b>And have you seen it much in recent times?</b></p> <p>No. Except in reruns of dad's army, which I don't watch anyway. So you only see it in people taking the mick out of it.</p> <p><b>Yes. Do you associate this with the Second World War?</b></p> <p>No. Could be First World War, Second World War, anywhere.</p> <p><b>Okay yeah.</b></p> <p>I mean it could be anything after any disaster, somebody shooting around shouting that.</p> <p><b>Yes.</b></p> <p>But as I say most people remember it I'm sure from Dad's army, rather than the poster.</p> <p><b>Yes so the phrase. Do you like the poster? Do you like the phrase?</b></p> <p>No I think it's rather, annoying I should think for people, I mean you're trying your best to keep calm and some toffee-nosed- comes along and tells you to Keep Calm and Carry On [laughter] very irritating.</p> <p><b>[laughter] okay so kind of, a bit patronising as well.</b></p> <p>Yes. Bit OTT all that.</p> <p><b>Yeah.</b></p> <p>But...</p> <p><b>Okay and any other thoughts at all that come to mind?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>And it makes you feel...?</b></p> <p>Annoyed, irritated probably.</p> <p><b>And would you expect this image to be well known today?</b></p> <p>No, except as I say on comedy programmes.</p>
13	34:03.0 - 36:26.5	<p><b>Okay just a couple more. Do you recognise that at all?</b></p> <p>I don't remember seeing it because we didn't live in factory areas at all, in the country or Devonshire which didn't have them anyway much. But umm, I suppose,</p>

		<p>I mean millions went so it must have had a certain, people must have listened to it and read it. Yes.</p> <p><b>Do you think you've seen it at any point at all or you don't recognise it at all?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>You don't think you've seen it in recent times at all?</b></p> <p>Nope.</p> <p><b>Okay.</b></p> <p>They might want to do it now.</p> <p><b>Hmm?</b></p> <p>They might want to remove the aeroplanes and do it now.</p> <p><b>Yes [laughter]</b></p> <p>[laughter].</p> <p><b>Okay and any thoughts or memories that come to mind?</b></p> <p>No.</p> <p><b>And do you like the image?</b></p> <p>Yes it's quite a good one I should think. That [message] might have been a bit bigger. I mean you'd have to go right up close before you could read it.</p> <p><b>And how does it make you feel looking at it now?</b></p> <p>Nothing. My feelings of that goes back to, oh, to- oh must go back to first world war, where an elderly nurse who looked after my brother worked in the factories. Conditions were much worse in those- she used to tell us about those days, but that was all. All it reminds me of.</p> <p><b>What sort of factory was it do you know?</b></p> <p>I think it was munitions, Gloucester somewhere, so I suppose it was munitions.</p> <p><b>And which part of it draws your eye first when you look at it?</b></p> <p>I suppose her, her gesture.</p>
14	36:26.5 - 40:49.4	<p><b>Then last one. This one, do you recognise that?</b></p> <p>The wording I do not follow and I don't remember, obviously the pictures I do, but I don't remember that wording at all. I would have thought there were more well-known phrases of his to put on to spread abroad. I mean that's too cosy for words.</p> <p><b>So do you think you saw this actual image during the war?</b></p> <p>Oh his image was everywhere during the war and obviously I think it must have helped during the war, he was very well respected.</p> <p><b>So it was reassuring?</b></p> <p>Reassuring yes.</p> <p><b>Was this on walls in the street as well, posters like this?</b></p> <p>Oh all sorts of places yes, all over the place. I don't know who put it out I suppose it doesn't say does it.</p> <p><b>No this was the Ministry of Information.</b></p> <p>Yeah but I mean distribution I was going to say, did you go and fetch them or were they delivered to you or were you asked.</p> <p><b>That's the problem we don't always know with some of these.</b></p> <p>Yeah. I mean do they give them to the poor postman to deliver or did you just go and pick them cos I don't think anybody would have had time to bother, so there</p>

		<p>must have been somebody who planted them all around the place the same as all the rest of them I suppose. But I don't think it was the best.</p> <p><b>Yeah okay, so you remember other ones.</b></p> <p>I don't at the moment no, but I'm not familiar with that one, because it's- as I say there's no real punch is it. Let Us Go Forward Together oh!</p> <p><b>Do you remember hearing speeches on the radio?</b></p> <p>Umm yes I do. My mother used to always listen to them, when she did listen. Of course if there was anything that was worth- you know that he was going to say, but we didn't listen we only really listened to the big ones when there'd been a- something ghastly or they'd half buried London or something.</p> <p><b>Okay so they were the ones you tuned in deliberately for that purpose?</b></p> <p>We tuned in deliberately, sometimes she used to listen to the 9 o'clock news, that was when- but I don't remember that phrase at all.</p> <p><b>Okay. And how does it make you feel looking at it now?</b></p> <p>He looks too complacent.</p> <p><b>Ah yes.</b></p> <p>Doesn't he though?</p> <p><b>Yeah what the smile and the-</b></p> <p>Yeah he's too complacent. I wouldn't have thought- I wouldn't have picked that one at all.</p> <p><b>Do you like Churchill?</b></p> <p>I did, one had to he was the only hope we had. He even managed to make everybody go together. Didn't last but never mind that the war, got us out of a hole. He got on with all his buddies round the world, but, I don't think that was their best.</p> <p><b>And then would you expect this is a well-known image today?</b></p> <p>No, because it wasn't a good one.</p> <p><b>Because it's not a good one yeah.</b></p>
15	40:49.4 - 42:15.6	<p><b>Then that's my last image. Are there any other posters you remember seeing?</b></p> <p>Umm, I don't think so, as I say most of the ones were the careless talk ones, which were everywhere. Yeah, but I can't off hand remember anything it was a long time ago.</p> <p><b>[Laughter] Yes that's fair enough. So the ones you think you remember best were the careless talk and this Dig for Victory one as well.</b></p> <p>Yes.</p>

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Events & stories	14	41
Family	13	117
Memory of seeing image	16	113
Book	6	14
Children's studies	1	1
Internet	2	3
Museum	8	23
Newspaper	3	11

Poster	8	18
Products	7	9
School	6	18
Shop	6	7
TV	3	5
Memory of slogan	16	52
Films	1	1
Museums	2	2
Print	3	3
Radio	3	3
School	4	6
Television	3	3
Word of mouth	14	33
Objects	9	15
Memory transition	7	29
Reasons for memorability	15	62
Adaptability	1	1
Aesthetics	10	17
Emotion	3	3
Humour	1	1
Personality	4	5
Power	4	5
Relevance	6	8
Repetition	9	10
Simplicity	9	12
Recognised	16	160
No	16	74
Yes	16	86

## Appendix G: Digital data

### REVERSE IMAGE LOOKUP DATA

See Microsoft Excel file, [DATA5 Reverse Image Lookup Data](https://doi.org/10.18742/rdm01-483), which is openly available at <https://doi.org/10.18742/rdm01-483>

#### Description

This spreadsheet contains the data collected through the use of the Google Reverse Image Scraper, after the removal of duplicate data and data ineligible for analysis. The spreadsheet contains 1850 rows of data. The data also includes the categorisation by function for each URL collected, to prepare the data for sampling. For each URL, details about the URL itself and the image are automatically recorded by the tool. Additional fields are included for the function categorisation. For those URLs categorised as ‘information’, the topic categorisation of the web page is also recorded.

#### Key to field names

Field name	Description
page_url	URL of the web page
RIL collection code	Code for the batch of data collected
Unique ID	Unique ID for the web page assigned at random by the researcher
Date of collection	Date when the data was collected
image_search_url	The URL used to point to the MoI image used for the reverse image search
Searched image	Simplified version of the MoI image URL
Title	Title of the web page
image_result_url	URL pointing to the MoI image found in the web page
image_width	Width of the MoI image found in the web page
image_height	Height of the MoI image found in the web page
Date	Date of the publication of the web page, generated by the tool
description	Description of web page generated by the tool
Function of web page	Function of web page categorised by researcher (see section 7.2.4)

Type	Additional detail about the function of the web page
Webpage topic	Topic of the web page categorised by researcher (see section 7.2.4)



## CONTENT ANALYSIS OF REVERSE IMAGE LOOKUP SAMPLE

See Microsoft Excel file, [DATA6 Content Analysis of Reverse Image Lookup Sample](#), which is openly available at <https://doi.org/10.18742/rdm01-483>

### Description

This spreadsheet contains the sample of 500 URLs taken from the reverse image lookup data and full details of the content analysis conducted on the sample, including analysis using the Wayback Machine. As well as basic details about each URL, the spreadsheet contains data recorded for each content analysis category specified in section 7.2.6.

### Key to field names

Field name	Description
page_url	URL of the web page
Unique ID	Unique ID for the web page assigned at random by the researcher
RIL collection code	Code for the batch of data collected
Date of collection	Date when the data was collected
image_search_url	The URL used to point to the MoI image used for the reverse image search
Searched image	Simplified version of the MoI image URL
title	Title of the web page
image_result_url	URL pointing to the MoI image found in the web page
image_width	Width of the MoI image found in the web page
image_height	Height of the MoI image found in the web page
date	Date of the publication of the web page, generated by the Google reverse image scraper tool
description	Description of web page generated by the Google reverse image scraper tool
Function of web page	Function of web page categorised by researcher (see section 7.2.4)
Type	Additional detail about the function of the web page
General observations	Topic of the web page categorised by researcher (see section 7.2.4)
Caption	Text of any caption appearing with the image

Reference to 'iconic'	Whether or not the text surrounding the image refers to it as being 'iconic'
Topic	Topic of the web page categorised by researcher (see section 7.2.4)
Concept/s	Concepts associated with the image (see section 7.2.6)
Audience	Interpreted audience for the web page (see section 7.2.6)
Expected user knowledge	Interpreted knowledge of the audience expected by the web page creator (see section 7.2.6)
Used for aesthetic value	Whether or not the image is used for aesthetic value (see section 7.2.6)
Other images present	Notes on any other images present (see section 7.2.6)
Alterations made to image	Notes on any alterations made to the image from the original (see section 7.2.6)
No. wayback pages	Number of archived versions of the web page available on the Internet Archive via the Wayback Machine
Earliest archived page	The earliest archived version of the page available on the Internet Archive
Wayback notes	Notes on observations made of the archived versions of the web page
Wayback category	Category of change based on observations made of the archived versions of the web page